The Religious Orders And Collegiate Churches In Scotland, C. 1450-1560: Popular Perceptions And Reactions

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VOL I

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The page numbers listed below relate to the photographs referred to in the notes of the first volume of this thesis, and their appearance in volumes 2, 3 and 4 of the same work. To simplify the task of examining these photographs, each plate has been placed on a separate page; thus, whilst the page numbering of volumes 2, 3 and 4 breaks with that of volume 1, it is felt that this approach provides the reader with the most rapid means of relating the text of volume 1 to the photographs contained in volumes 2 to 4.

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Elgin Cathedral, East end, pl. 557, 557.

Dryburgh Abbey, Wheel window, pl. 558, 558.

Arbroath Abbey, Rose Window in west end, pl. 559, 559.

" " , Lancets, pl. 560, 560.

Paisley Abbey, Figure in nave, pl. 561, 561.

As above, pl. 562, 562.

" " , pl. 563, 563.

" " , pl. 564, 564.

" " , pl. 565, 565.

" " , pl. 566, 566.

" " , pl. 567, 567.

" " , Head in nave, pl. 568, 568.

" " , Head in nave, pl. 569, 569.

Melrose Abbey, The Virgin and Child, pl. 570, 570.

Tain, Old church, pl. 571, 571.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are those most commonly used in this thesis, and those which relate to the lengthier titles employed; they are listed here in alphabetical order to aid the reader. The other abbreviations in use in this thesis will appear in the notes to the text, where, on the first occasion a work is mentioned, the full details which relate to it will be cited in the notes, thereafter a convenient shortened title will be employed.

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ABSTRACT

By the mid-fifteenth century, attitudes in society towards the religious houses had begun to change. Not only were the monasteries (most of which had been founded by 1220) ceasing to attract fresh endowments but a new fashion in ecclesiastical endowment had appeared in the form of collegiate churches, where several priests and choristers, under a provost or dean, responded to the increased demand for saying multiple masses, particularly for the souls of the dead, with a splendour unknown in most parich churches. In some ways this trend suggested a movement of opinion away from some medieval ideas and institutions, hinting even at a loss of trust or faith in the monastic houses (and possibly even of the friars to whom laymen had turned their attention in preference to the monks from the thirteenth century onwards) and also a readiness to assert a measure of lay control over the priests serving the chaplainries within the collegiate churches. Magnates and lairds, therefore, increasingly chose to lavish funds not on the religious Orders but on collegiate churches which the founder's family might hope to dominate. Similarly, in towns, affluent burgesses favoured the foundation of proprietary chaplainries in the churches where they could exercise very considerable control over the chaplains. Thus not only had devotion to the monastic Orders long been reduced, but the value of the friars, who represented the next phase, had begun to be questioned. The collegiate churches, by contrast, were corporations of secular (not monastic) clergy and, unlike the religious Orders, owed no allegiance to headquarters overseas. In short, the new institutions, represented by the collegiate churches, were founded because the old institutions -the monastic Orders-
were no longer pulling their weight.

Against this background of changing fashions in ecclesiastical endowment, and of the special value which growing numbers of laymen attached to collegiate churches, the thesis seeks to examine lay attitudes to the religious Orders and collegiate churches in the century preceding the Reformation. The status of heads of religious houses and collegiate churches is established in chapter 1, which also examines their demanding and time-consuming roles as servants of the crown in affairs of state. Contemporary literary works are utilised to depict the attitudes of influential laymen with an intimate knowledge of court life and with a wider perspective on the Church and churchmen. Thereafter, primary record sources are empoyed in a careful analysis of the assorted roles of particular prelates and other churchmen to determine the accuracy of comments by courtly laymnen. Thus in chapter 1, it emerges that charges of plurality, naked ambition and careerism, a preoccupation with life at the royal court and absenteeism from their religious offices can indeed be substantiated. Chapter 2 shows the means whereby the wider laity beyond the royal circle and educated few became aware of the extent of their involvement in decisions of state. This was demonstrable, for example, in the possession by prelates of castles, that mose potent symbol of authority. Here one of the principal claims of the thesis may be noted, namely, that the material remains of the period are as valid a source for research as documentary charter evidence. The literary and record evidence can testify to the perceptions of the literate but the architectural remains demonstrate ways in which the largely non-literate population could observe for themselves the degree of royal power, patronage and associated benefits enjoyed by the leading religious figures of the period. The palaces and castles occupied by the prelates were thus a tangible measure for layfolk of the social prestige prelates enjoyed and the authority they weilded, often in reward for services rendered to the crown. Andrew Forman, just one of numerous examples, emerges as a formidable figure controlling the religious houses of Arbroath, Coldingham, Cottingham, Dryburgh, Kelso, Kilwinning and Pittenweem and holding the assorted offices of papal legate, Bishop of Moray, Archbishop of Bruges and Archbishop of St. Andrews at various stages in his career, with the prestigious homes of Darnaway and Dingwall castles and the massive fortresses of Dunbar and St. Andrews.

As is shown in chapter 2, the laity were well placed to observe Forman's lifestyle and to conclude that it was by no means unique. Chapter 3 explores the status symbols and the sometimes warlike disposition of heads of religious houses and their followers (their

involvement in military action, their personal feuding, their grandiose funerary monuments), and their impact on the laity. The aim here is to establish the degree to which the men, ostensibly clerics, who held the castles were themselves men of war and how far this warrior image was compatible with their duties as servants of Christ. Not only did leading churchmen perish with their king on the battlefield of Flodden, but others were accustomed to take part in cross-Border raids and some fought in armour in the "Cleansing of the Causeway" episode. Deeds of violence and bloodshed by clerics were far from inconsiderable. Yet despite their worldly and often violent lives, they enjoyed all the privilege of churchmen and seemed, increasingly to layfolk, to have the best of both worlds: spiritual and temporal powers in this world, with all their attendant trappings, together with an easier passage, as men of God, to the next world. Their funerary monuments were indeed striking pieces of work. Carved and painted to resemble the subject in life at the height of his power, each displayed and conveyed to onlookers the privileges enjoyed by the religious figure, visual proof of the contradiction between the ideals of the religious life and the reality of the lives of churchmen. Abbots had become essentially great landlords interested primarily in their rents; and chapter 4 discusses another shortcoming identified in contemporary literary sources, namely financial malpractice and unseemly competition for ecclesiastical preferment. Similarly, chapter 5 asseses contemporary reports of a growing criticism, fostered by the Renaissance, of clerical lifestyles.

In the middle ages there had been no undue concern when practice and canon law did not coincide. The Church, it might almost be said, operated on the principle that the law could be habitually disregarded: every irregularity, every breach in canon law, could be covered by a dispensation from Rome. But the late medieval Church, with all its medieval characteristics, survived into an age when medieval attitudes were beginning to questioned. A new highly critical questioning and somewhat cynical cast of thought, the product of Renaissance Humanism, presented a challenge to all institutions, and this change in attitudes is apparent not least in the belief that practice should accord to the law. Chapter 6 demonstrates the numerous ways in which the Church reacted positively to remedy some of the failings identified; and chapter 7 focuses on the assorted challenges faced by Scottish society which heightened fears and anxieties about life in this world and the next. The Church continued, however, as is shown in chapter 8, to exercise authority through a renewed emphasis on the crucial intercessory role of the priest. Both tradition itself and the employment of vivd imagery reinforced that message in the minds of the faithful; hence the concern to purchase intercession in the from of masses, prayers and good works. It might therefore be argued that clerical shortcomings were tolerated as priests performed this central role as intercessors, especially so as the Church maintained that the sins of the celebrant did not affect the efficacy of the services offered.

Continuing strands of vitality of the Church, depicted in chapter 9, are indicated in the Church's ability to create new institutions as older institutions ceased to perform adequately the functions for which they had been established. Aging institutions, though seen to be less useful, nonetheless did not lose their wealth. Yet even some of the old institutions, as chapter 10 and 11 show, might still be viewed sympathetically, as witnessed in popular attitudes towards pilgrimage, fostered by the mendicants.

Yet, in an age of Renaissance and Reformation, amid critical questioning and theological ferment, sustained criticism of the clergy and their lifestyles often meant that people lost respect for individual churchmen, that in turn often meant that they lost respect for the offices the clergy held, and ultimately a loss of respect for the whole sacramental system.

INTRODUCTION

At the outset, an explanation may be offered for the selection and use of the assorted sources cited in this thesis. While it is true to say that much of the secondary literature consulted identifies the nature and extent of clerical failings, no previous attempt has been made to relate such perceived shortcomings to attitudes towards death, judgement and the horrors of Purgatory then prevalent within society, issues of crucial to the remit of this thesis. Against a background of increased aniexty about the means of salvation apparent in lay religious attitudes, the present work provides a fresh appraisal of the conditions of the religious Orders and collegiate churches, c.1450 - 1560, of the changing perceptions of the laity towards the personnel of these institutions, and also of popular reaction, mediated through the literature of the period, to the roles of the monasteries and collegiate churches in assisting access to the kingdom of Heaven.

Although the central works of Gordon Donaldson and I. B. Cowan provide examples of clerical lifestyles, neither they, nor any other writers on the subject have attempted to analyse systematically popular perceptions of, and reactions to, the clerical personnel who form the substance of this thesis. Professor Donaldson, in his THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION (Cambridge, 1960), devotes an introductory chapter to the clergy of the pre-Reformation church which includes some treatment of the religious Orders and contains some scattered references to collegiate churches. Similarly, Professor Cowan's THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION, CHURCH AND SOCIETY IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY SCOTLAND (LONDON, 1982) explores "the monastic ideal" in one chapter and has allusions to the growth of collegiate churches. While both of these works are indespensible in setting the broad framework for the period, some earlier studies such as Hay Fleming's THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND: CAUSES, CHARACTERISTICS, CONSEQUENCES (London, 1910), which combined sound scholarship with a exaggerated criticism of clerical abuse, provided a rather different perspective. That, in turn, has invited a reassessment and reinterpretation of the detailed evidence which Hay Fleming and others adduced, in the hope of acheiving a balanced assessment of the issues, based on a through acquaintance of the primary material. The secondary literature, therefore, may be best seen as providing a foundation for a fuller understanding and appreciation of the complex, emotive and controversial issues which this thesis explores in depth by utilising a much broader range of primary sources.

Among the many questions explored in this thesis, attention focused on whether members of the religious Orders and colleges were as worldly, ambitious, immoral or ignorant as contemporary authors, in light of Renaissance Humanist

criticisms suggest, they were or whether their conduct and careerism might be legitimately defended. And, if such a defence is feasible on then their eventual fall from favour and esteem must be explained on other grounds. Every effort has been has been made not to treat the subjects of this study in isolation from the wider Church and its activities or from other ecclesiastics, for frequently they were all, in some measure, the object of similar accusations and critiscisms by layfolk; hence the inclusion of material relating to the papacy, the episcopate (whose members sometimes held the monastic office of commendator), and the clergy of the parishes (whose revenues were largely diverted through appropriation to the religious houses)1. Besides, the patronage of parish churches often lay with the religious houses themselves.

The extent to whether churchmen at the higher levels -abbots and bishops- were able satisfactorily to discharge their ecclesiastical duties while also serving the crown as officers of state is also examined. Nor is it always easy to reconcile the monastic ideal exemplified in the resident head of an enclosed community, shunning worldy affairs, serving God only through a simple life of obedience, poverty and celibacy, with the careerism so evident in those promoted as heads of religious houses who were often absent from their community as servants of the crown, employed in a variety of functions, financial, diplomatic, administrative and military. Equally, the activities of these churchmen ought not to be isolated in terms of geography or time, for much of the Church's emphasis on tradition helped shape the outlook and tradition of the religious Orders and colleges in the fifteenth and earlier sixteenth centuries2. Thus some material, both primary and secondary, on developments both within the western Church on the Continent and in England is utilised for comparitive purposes (both in earlier and later phases) in relation to movements for reform and heretical activity.

A further fresh approach in the present work is the crucial emphasis placed on material remains surviving from the late fifteenth and earlier sixteenth centuries, which are just as valid an historical source as any charter evidence3. Here the aim, broadly speaking, is twofold. As the majority of the population enjoyed little formal education, their appreciation of the lifestyles of leading churchmen was gained not from documentary evidence of their offices, lands and revenues but from the buildings they occupied and lordship they exercised. Their palaces and castles were a tangible measure for lay-folk of the social prestige they enjoyed and the authority they wielded. Secondly, and no less importantly, the architectural remains of these buildings is a reminder of the impact they had on the minds of the faithful, and a reflection of the myriad imagery employed by the Church. Domestic and military structures as well as purely ecclesiastical buildings are included in the assessment, for they were arguably relevant symbols of an individual's standing in the upper eschelons of society. Accordingly, photographic evidence of surviving

buildings of the period, and their architecture, is presented to support and illuminate various arguments advanced in this thesis. By so doing, it emerges, for example, that Patrick Hepburn, Bishop of Moray, was linked not only with the mighty fortress palace of Spynie, and to Elgin Cathedral but also the Augustinian house of Scone. Photographic evidence will also be presented, for instance, to show how leading members of the religious Orders in the period commissioned grandiose tombs for themselves in a manner which rivalled those of high-ranking nobles.

In relation to this, and particularly the imagery employed by the Church, the significance of the photographic material is hard to underestimate. The use of imagery in a largely pre-literate society was viewed by the Church and her servants as the most valuable, emotive means by which the Christian message could be made available to all. This is reflected not only in the countles statues, representations and altars dedicated to the Church's elite -the saints- displayed for all to see within the religious foundations of the day but in other symbols of faith, doubtless once equally common, which saturated the consciousness of the laity, from the private chapels of the gentry and nobility to the small,
perhaps crudely fashioned, crucifixes and figures to be found within the homes of the poor.

Such symbolism testified to what was an intensely personal relationship between the supplicant, on the one hand, and the object of his or her adoration, on the other4.
The intention here is to focus on the audio-visual means of communication, in spiritual terms, in use in pre-Reformation Scotland by analysing such evidence as saints' lives, and the use which was made of music, atmosphere, ceremony and spectacle, the physical trappings through which the Church shaped and helped guide the formation of popular religious belief which reached the minds of the laity at every level of society. Through these means a better understanding may be gained of the decline in prestige which the religious Orders and collegiate churches ultimately suffered in the decades before the Reformation.

In this section of the thesis, the emphasis ranges from the architectural fetaures within the Scottish kingdom to Continental parallels; and an attempt is made to identify those features which served to link the parish churches with the grander collegiate churches (which sometimes retained a parochial role) and with the splendour of abbacial and episcopal churches. The nature of the photographic evidence encompasses examples of funerary monuments, decorative figures, misericords, fonts, piscina, sacrament houses, roof bosses, windows, doorways and towers of Scottish provenance.
Architectural evidence, therefore, plays a central role in this study of the religious Orders and the collegiate churches as an aid to understanding how the laity perceived and finally reacted to them. Particular attention is placed on such themes as the educational implications of the wealth so conspicuously

displayed and the links which can be made with such pieces of devotional evidence as Books of Hours, owned by the more affluent members of society, and the popular prayers and supplications used by a far wider cross-section of society. The architecture, the artefacts, the symbolism the imagery were all redolent of spiritual values as well as material ones.

Throughout the thesis, particular emphasis is placed on several inter-related key issues, namely, the relationaship between the beliefs inherent in the doctrine of Purgatory, those expressed in the rise of collegiate foundations, the hopes and fears associated with pilgrimage, and the ever present terrors which these cults and the multiplication of masses should have allayed but which arguably intensified, as fear of death and thoughts on the afterlife became all pervading. Again, the architectural evidence is of paramount importance in supporting the arguments advanced in relation to these themes, especially so in chapters 9, 10 and 11. The value of such an approach may be justified by the words of Dr. John Durkan, who remarked that:

"In any age there is nothing more difficult to pin down than a climate of thought, and nothing more necessary to reckon with than this intangible; historians who prefer tidiness to grappling with realities have an understandible impatience with what they feel is a flight from footnotes anmd factuality. The risks are great, it may be necessary to take them."5.

Finally, as a ready means of reference to the religious houses which appear in the text, and to allow for an appreciation of the immense strength of the presence of the late medieval Church in Scotland, the following list has been compiled from I. B Cowan and D. E. Easson's MEDIEVAL RELIGIOUS HOUSES: SCOTLAND6.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

RELIGIOUS ORDER AND NAME OF HOUSE

Augustinian

Blantyre	Canonbie	Cambuskenneth
Holyrood	Inchaffray	Inchcolm
Inchmahome	Jedburgh	May/Pittenweem *
Monymusk	Restennet	St. Andrews
St. Mary's Isle [Trail]	Scone	Strathfillan
Loch Leven [Portmoak]	Oronsay	

*[here the authors of *Med. Rel. Houses*, state it is possible to suggest that "Pittenweem was used as an alternative designation of May before the priory was transferred from the island...." c. late thirteenth century to early fourteenth century This event also witnessed the transfer of the house from Benedictine to Augustinian control.]

Trinitarian, [under the Rule of St. Augustine.]

Aberdeen	Berwick	Dirleton
Dunbar	Fail	Houston
Peebles	Scotlandwell	

Benedictine

Coldingham	Dunfermline	Iona
Pittenweem [see "May" above.]	Pluscarden	Rhynd [Rindalgros]
Urquhart [united to Pluscarden 1453/4.]		

Carthusian

Perth

Cistercian

Balmerino	Beauly [under Kinloss]	Coupar Angus
Culross	Deer	Dundrennan
Glenluce	Kinloss	Melrose
Newbattle	Saddell	Sweetheart

Clunaic

Crossraguel

Paisley

Premonstratensian

Dryburgh

Fearn

Holywood [Deconal]

Soulseat

Tongland

Whithorn

Tironensian

Arbroath

Fogo

Fyvie

Kelso

Kilwinning

Lesmahagow

Lindores

Valliscaulian

Ardchattan

NUNNERIES

RELIGIOUS ORDER

Augustinian Canonesses

Iona [St. Mary]

Perth [c.1434 annexed to Perth Charterhouse.]

Cistercian

Berwick

Coldstream

Eccles

Elcho

Haddington

Manuel

North Berwick

St. Bothan's

Dominican

Edinburgh/Sciennes

Franciscan

Aberdour

Dundee

MENDICANT HOUSES

RELIGIOUS ORDER

Augustinian Friars

Berwick

one unidentified house in the diocese of Glasgow, and three "incomplete foundations" which the editors identified at Haddington, Linlithgow and Manuel.

Carmelite [white]

Aberdeen	Banff	Berwick
Edinburgh/Greenside	Inverbervie	Irvine
Kingussie	Linlithgow	Luffness
South Queensferry	Tullilum	

Dominican [black]

Aberdeen	[dedicated to St. John the Baptist.]
Ayr	[" " St. Katherine]
Berwick	[" " St. Peter the Martyr of Milan.]
Cupar	
Dundee	
Edinburgh	[" " the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.]
Elgin	[" " St. Peter.]
Glasgow	[" " St. John the Evangelist.]
Haddington	
Inverness	[" " St. Bartholomew.]
Montrose	[" " the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary.]
Perth	[" " St. Andrew.]
St. Andrews	[" " the Assumption and Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.]
St. Monans	[" " St. Monan.]
Stirling	[" " St. Laurence.]
Wigton	[" " the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.]

Franciscan [grey]

The Friars Minor Conventual.

Dundee	Dumfries	Haddington
Inverkeithing	Kirkcudbright	Lanark
Roxburgh		

The Observants

Aberdeen	Ayr	Edinburgh
Elgin	Glasgow	Jedburgh
Perth	St. Andrews	Stirling

SECULAR COLLEGES AND DEDICATIONS

Aberdeen	St. Nicholas
Abernethy	St. Bride
Biggar	The Holy Trinity, The Blessed Virgin Mary, St Nicholas & St.Ninian.
Bothans	St. Cuthbert
Bothwell	St. Bride
Carnwath	
Corstorphine	St. John the Baptist
Crail	St. Mary
Crichton	St. Kentigern
Cullen	St. Mary
Dalkeith	St. Nicholas
Dirleton	
Dumbarton	St. Mary
Dunbar	
Dunglass	St. Mary
Dunrossness [Shetland]	
Edinburgh	St. Giles
	St. Mary in the Fields
	The Trinity
Fowlis [Easter]	St. Marnock
Glasgow	Our Lady
Guthrie	St. Mary

Haddington	St. Mary
Hamilton	St. Mary
Innerpeffray	St. Mary
Kilmaurs	
Kilmun	St. Mund
Lincluden	
Markle	St. Mariota
Maybole	St. Mary
Methven	St. Marnoch
Peebles	St. Andrew
Restalrig	St. Triduana
Roslin	St. Matthew
St. Andrews	St. Mary on the Rock [Kirkheugh]
Semple [Lochwinnoch]	
Seton	St. Mary and the Holy Cross
Stirling, Chapel Royal	St Michael and St. Mary
Stirling, Holy Rude	
Strathmiglo	
Tain	St. Duthac

ACADEMIC SECULAR COLLEGES

Aberdeen,	King's College
Glasgow,	The College of Arts
St. Andrews,	The Pedagogy
	St. John's College
	St. Leonard's
	St. Mary's
	St. Salvator's College

Notes

1.) A reasonably concise summary of the form which this criticism followed, is provided by H. Y. Reyburn in the views which he attributes to Knox, that is that:
"Episcopal government was practically in abeyance and the Church as an organism was completely ineffective. The monks, as for example in Melrose and Balmerino, had abandoned the laws of their Orders and were a law unto themselves. Nuns of every kind were living nefarious lives. The bishops were pluralists and were frequently appointed to their office years before they came of ecclesiastical age. The priests could seldom read, and were notorious for their rapacity, their gluttony, their drunkeness."

H. Y. Reyburn: "Calvin and Scotland", in, *R.S.C.H.S.* , Vol. 1, (1926), 211.

For an introduction to the concept of the religious within Scotland as an integral part of society as a whole see, A. Ross: "Some Notes On The Religious Orders In Pre-Reformation Scotland", in, D. McRoberts (ed.) : *Essays* , 189. Hereafter A. Ross: "Notes".

2.) J.K. Newison (ed.): *Certane Tractates Together With The Book Of Four Score Three Questions*, in S.T.S. First series (Edinburgh, 1988-90), Vol. 2, 8, l. 16 - 18, 19, l. 15 - 20, 19 - 20, l. 29 - 17, 52, l. 19 - 25, 58, l. 2 - 12, 61, l. 20 - 24, 62, l. 1 - 16, l. 17 - 24, 63, l. 24 - 31. and,

D.Laing (ed.): *Ane Compendius Tractative .... Set Furth Be Maister Quintine Kennedy, Abbot Of Crosraguell, In The Zeir Of God 1558*, in The Miscellany Of The Wodrow Society , Vol. 1, (Edinburgh, 1844) 101, 103 - 4, 106, 108 - 9, 115, 117, 133.

A similar emphasis on the importance of considering the international, as opposed to the purely national scene, is advised by Prof. J. A. F. Thomson with regards to the English Church in the same period in his most recent work, J.A.F. Thomson: *The Early Tudor Church And Society, 1485 - 1529*, (London, 1993), 26.

3.) S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, (Edinburgh, 1986), Preface, vii.

4.) See for example: M. Aston: *England's Iconoclasts, Vol. 1, Laws Against Images* (Oxford, 1988) 20-1.

F. Hopman (Trans.): J. Huizinga: *The Waning Of The Middle Ages, A Study Of The Forms Of Life, Thought And Art In France And The Netherlands In The Fourteenth And Fifteenth Centuries* (London, 1924), 136-60. Of the buildings which reflected the status of the subjects of this thesis in lay circles, see for example chapters 2 and 3, for their ecclesiastic authority, chapters 9 to 11. In terms of the use of imagery the reader's attention is drawn to chapters 8 to 11.

5.) J. Durkan: "The Cultural Background in Sixteenth Century Scotland", in, D. McRoberts (ed.) : *Essays*, 292-3.

6.) I. B. Cowan and D. E. Easson: *Med. Rel. Houses* ,
"Houses of Monks", 55 - 86.
"Houses of Regular Canons", 88 - 113.
"Houses of the Mendicant Orders", 114 - 42.
"Houses of Nuns", 143 - 54.
"Secular Colleges", 213 - 30.
"Academic Secular Colleges", 231 - 4.

See also: D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vols. 1 - 3.

Chapter One

In The Service Of God Or Man?

"Sum at the Mass levis all devotioun, And besey labouris for promotioun".

Introduction

Such was the remark of William Dunbar, court poet of King James IV writing in the late fifteenth century. [1] Perhaps the best point at which to embark upon this study however, is with the accusations levelled in the earlier, anonymous work, *The Thre Prestis Of Peblis How They Told Thar Talis*. In this collection - thought to relate to the reign of James III - the blame for falling standards within the Church as a whole was traced principally to the failure to appoint individuals to the episcopate on the basis of merit, by "Electioun"; instead, they were now known to come:

> " in at the North window And not in at the dur nor yit at the yet, Bot ouer Waine and Quheil in wil he get. And he cummis not in at the dur God's pleuch may neuer hald the fur" [3]

Thereby many of the leading figures within the religious Orders were seen to be wholly unsuited and unable to meet the spiritual demands which such an office placed upon them. The anonymous author of the above work was - as evidenced by the opening quote - by no means alone in holding such opinions, for William Dunbar, in a piece written in the late fifteenth century entitled *Aganis The Solistaris In Court*, referred in equally acid tones to those who:

> "Be dyuers wayis and operatiounis.... makis in court thair solistationis."

Thus, in listing the figures so occupied at court - and the various means they employ to secure a living - he provides the opening quote of this chapter, when he refers to the religious present:

> "Sum at the mes levis all devotioun, And besey labouris for promotioun."

Here the accusation levelled above - of unsuitable individuals achieving high office within the Church - is not only repeated, it is further expanded upon, in that here the author paints a picture of

individuals who had abandoned all but the merest pretence of being religious; here they are seen as well known faces at the court, endeavouring to secure "promotioun" within the Church by making themselves useful to the crown. [4] Non - resident - by virtue of their presence at court - careerists therefore, civil - servants, appointed to office with little regard for the Church itself, or the souls within her care. [5]

Later still, in *The Complaynt Of Sir David Lindsay*, - written 1529/30 - ⑥ the poet Lindsay condemned the higher ecclesiastics for their involvement in the realms of government and its associated lay affairs contrary to their calling:

> "Quhareof i thynk thay sulde haue schame, Off spirituall preistis to tak the name".[7]

Why, he asked, did they mingle with the court, or Session, other than for purely spiritual matters? If they took care of matters relating solely to their religious remit, and left "temporall" matters to the "lordis and Kyngis" Lindsay suggested, they would be well enough employed. [8] Further continuity in the criticism levelled at many of the leading religious of the day, is evident in Lindsay's referral - in the *Testament Of The Papyngo* written c.1528/30 - ⑨ to the unsuitable, yet apparently prevalent means whereby "dyke lowparis" - individuals wholly unsuited to the religious life placed in power by influential lay benefactors - gained authoritative positions within the Church. Through the words of the "Raven", he echoed the sentiments of *The Thre Prestis Of Peblis....* seemingly looking back to a golden age when the wisdom of free election gave rise to such religious giants as "Gregory", "Jerome", "Ambrose" and "Augustine".[10]

It is Lindsay too, who provides a concise account of the commercial extremes to which many churchmen were prepared to go, in what he portrays as an unseemly, almost feverish competition for promotion to lucrative offices. In *Ane Satyr Of The Three Estates* - first performed at Coupar on the 5 June 1522 - ⑪ the character of "John the Common - Weill" talks of the vast sums of gold and silver which left the country, destined for Rome as bribes; in this accusation he is supported in turn by the "Merchand" who makes the claim that he and his brethren had - "furneist preistis ten hundreth thowsand punds For thair finance, nane knawis sa weill as wee".

This money, he further stressed, was not being used for the good of the Church or Her flock, rather it was being employed in simonical activity. [12] "Gude Counsall" for his part remarked that initially only the prize of a great bishopric excited such a trade at Rome, now however - presumably through the example set by their superiors - mere priests were travelling to Rome in pursuit of simple vicarages. The result? according to Lindsay plurality increased rapidly, and the

offices of the Church were being held by men who possessed neither the education nor the inclination to fulfil their duties.

Perhaps the most damning summary of the pre - Reformation Church to appear from the pen of a Catholic adherent however, was the letter which the Humanist Archibald Hay - a scholar of Paris, principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, 1546/7 who died 1547 - sent to his cousin Cardinal David Beaton, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primate of Scotland, Commendator of Arbroath which listed the failings which the former saw within the Church around him. In it he claimed he was:

> "ashamed to review the lives of the common and even of certain other priests...."

and astounded that the bishops of his day could admit such men to handle:

> "the Lord's body, when they hardly [knew] the order of the alphabet".

More worrying still he talked of:

> "priests [who came] to that heavenly table who [had] not slept off yesterday's debauch...."

and of how:

> "entrance to the Church [lay] open to all without selection,...."

of how some of the entrants brought with them:

> "utter ignorance, others a false pretence of knowledge, some a mind corrupted by the greatest sins and trained to commit all the most scandelous excesses, certain of them a studied intention to do harm, so that there [was] no greater danger to be feared from the most noxious animals than from this offscouring of most abandoned men."

Thus warming to his subject he continued:

"Virtue has now yielded____yielded to gold, piety has been overcome by impiety, purity of character has been banished, and impious superstition exercises a tyrannical rule.... If (i) proceed to review the inordinate desire of glory, the incredible cruelty, passion, envy, hate, treachery, the insatiable longing for vengeance, the wicked words and disgraceful actions, all of which rage in the breasts of churchmen, no one would believe that monsters so savage lurked under a human countenance."

In drawing to a close, Hay delivered perhaps the most damning indictment of all, for in commenting on the:

> "riotous living of those who, professing chastity, [had] invented new kinds of lust,...."

whilst he admitted that:

> "these charges [could not] be made against all...."

he made it perfectly clear that they could be levelled at

> "very many...."

It is perhaps appropriate to pause at this point, and consider the accusations levelled thus far. Briefly, all levels of ecclesiastics would appear to have been tainted by exhibitions of the most outrageous conduct, ranging from simple ignorance, disinterest in a truly religious calling, through simony, to violence, greed and lechery. The upper reaches of the groups under examination - the prelate commendators, abbots, priors - (a) in addition may be said to have been securing power from their activities at the royal court, rather than by election, or by their aptitude for the spiritual life, and that they were therefore, by necessity, absent from their named seats of spiritual responsibility - for example as abbot or prior of a religious house (b); that they were shameless pluralists who relied upon a mixture of royal and noble patronage and simonical activity to both consolidate and expand their powerbase within the Church, and thus, within the higher echelons of lay society itself.

In order to try to determine the degree to which these criticisms were justified, the following section will embark upon an examination of the leading ecclesiastics of the period in question -

c.1450 to 1560 - principally - at this stage - to try to determine the degree to which these individuals were observing the strictures which the Church officially placed upon them; that is, with regards for instance to "residence" and "plurality", to see how they both obtained and maintained positions of authority within the Church, and whether it was indeed largely a matter of their efficiency in procuring favour at the court. Were they occupied with the spiritual duties incumbent upon their office, or were they - as suggested above - given more to involvement in worldly matters, affairs of state? Here, it is necessary to include a further note to aid the reader of the present work. In terms of quantity, the *Records of the Great Seal of Scotland* provide an abundant supply of material relating to the task in hand, however in handling this information an element of caution is necessary. In certain instances for example, overlaps occur, in that while two charters may appear to have been granted on the same day, the location provided for each places the witnesses to the first charter say in Edinburgh, those to the second in perhaps Stirling. Similarly, the location given for the issue of one charter might place the witnesses involved in Dingwall in the north of Scotland, whilst that which follows suggests that they travelled an impossibly long distance to appear in Edinburgh a mere two days later.

Equally, a series of entries may occur which suggest that members of the royal court were involved in several such journeys in rapid succession. Here, it might be supposed, that in view of the large amount of work which the scribes responsible for the Records of the *Great Seal* were forced to handle, errors would inevitably creep in, but that nevertheless, when such obvious errors as those highlighted above were discounted, the scribes could be relied upon to provide a reasonably accurate account of the date most charters were granted, the location of their grant, and the names and titles of the men present to witness the business of their king. In terms of the present work the immediate appeal was obvious; if for example an abbot regularly occurred in the witness lists of these charters, then it would be possible to not only prove his absence from his spiritual responsibilities, but also determine broadly the length of time he was spending at court, and thus how familiar a figure he would have been in the highest levels of lay society. The reliability of both the dates and the witness lists attached to these charters however have been conclusively denied in the excellent study of *The King's Council, Patronage and the Governance of Scotland, 1460/1513* by Dr. Trevor M. Chalmers.

In his exhaustive study of the governmental, primary sources of the period in question, Dr. Chalmers observed that "Documents were registered in the order in which they were brought to the engrossing clerks, not in chronological order....", further that the clerks responsible for the work in hand were "very careless in transcribing witness lists, frequently omitting or transposing names, and assigning completely inappropriate lists by time - saving but erroneous cross - referring." This

aside however, the printed *Register of the Great Seal* may be used in a number of highly useful ways. For example, it serves to demonstrate the various offices held by the individuals whose lives form the core of the present work; thus it may be used to determine the degree to which pluralism was a problem for the Church at this time. It may also be used to demonstrate that the same individual could appear under a combination of titles at one and the same time, under varying selections of these titles, under purely ecclesiastic titles, lay titles or as stated a combination of both! The point to note here is that the scribes who compiled these documents, and presumably the wider society - in the main - saw no harm in thus addressing men from the religious Orders of the day, under a confusing plethora of titles which by their nature and very number were often mutually exclusive. Similarly, although the mass of detail provided in terms of the witnesses, location and date of granting of these documents cannot be seen as strictly accurate in all instances, it does show that there was obviously nothing strange in a scribe placing an abbot at the royal court for long periods of time, and at a variety of locations which meant that he was nearly always at some remove from his spiritual charges. Further, in the repeated use of many of the same individuals it is possible to suggest that some individuals were indeed familiar figures at the court of their royal master. In terms of - for example - the titles held by these individuals, the *Register of the Privy Seal* serves to supplement the information available from the *Great Seal*; in addition it provides an insight into the formidable duties which many of these individuals undertook on behalf of the Crown. With regard to being able to place these individuals at the royal court, three sources in particular proved to be invaluable: the *Register of the Privy Council*, the *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs* and *the Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes*. In the latter two sources especially for example, Dr. Chalmers points out that particular care was taken to produce an accurate record of those present. Using a combination of these and other works therefore, it is hoped that it will be possible to arrive at an accurate assessment of the criticism levelled at prelates, that is with regard to ecclesiastics at court, their securing promotion through service to the Crown as opposed to the Church, the degree to which absenteeism and plurality may be said to have existed in the period in question, the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Evidence relating specifically to such other perceived failings as those listed above - with regard for example to simony, immorality etc. - will be dealt with in later chapters. To provide as systematic an approach as possible, in this chapter the Orders will be examined alphabetically, the houses within them treated in a similar fashion; "character portraits" of the heads of selected houses will then be compiled to provide the fine detail required for analysis. [13]

In beginning therefore with the Augustinian Order, the first house chosen for analysis is that of Cambuskenneth Abbey, the figure of Abbot Henry providing an immediate example of an ecclesiastic imbued with considerable authority at the court of King James III. In a charter granted under the *Great Seal* at Edinburgh on 25 June 1471, for instance, the king "confirmed and appointed Henry, Abbot of the monastery of Cambuskenneth, of the Order of St. Augustine, [of] St. Andrews diocese, lawfully and undoubtedly his agent, and he gave him full power and special commission to present himself to the Holy Pope, Paul III, and in the court of Rome, and wherever the same was to be reached, to take care of, the king's business and that of the kingdom of Scotland." In terms of residence at his house therefore, the above entry would seem to cast doubt on his fulfilling the ideal of a resident guardian and model for the brethren of the house in question, an image which is further strengthened when the extent of his other activities are considered, for he appeared as a Lord of Council in the period 1489/91, and in the same role in the period 1492/93. Thereafter, in a period stretching from 3 October 1496 to 18 March 1500/1 he served on a total of 159 occasions in his capacity as a Lord of Council; where he can be located with certainty, he could be found in Stirling and Edinburgh, the later appearances revealing that he also served his royal master as a Lord of Exchequer and as a Parliamentary Commissary.

In turning now to examine his successor Abbot Henry Abercromby, this individual's first appearance in the records of the *Great Seal* occurred on 20 September 1492, where his name was appended as a witness to the business of King James IV, alongside his office, which was given as Abbot of Cambuskenneth; in this capacity he was to appear on a further 6 occasions. Thereafter, the *Register of the Great Seal* mentions this individual on a further 101 occasions, - between 12 August 1492 and 30 June 1494 - functioning not only as the Abbot of Cambuskenneth but also as Royal Treasurer. Such evidence to suggest that this abbot at least had achieved power in both ecclesiastic and lay circles through his familiarity with the royal court, may in addition be supported by the fact that in no less than 57 of the 107 entries examined from the *Register of the Great Seal*, the scribe saw fit to place him in the king's court in Edinburgh; thereafter Stirling stands out from the other locations listed with a total of 13 entries. In summary therefore, both of the above abbots may be said to have served more the crown than the Church, for in addition to the above references, they can be seen to have been involved in many of the parliaments of the period, ranging from 1467 to 1505. [15]

Later, during Patrick Panter's tenure of office as Abbot of Cambuskenneth, an even more industrious character would seem to emerge, since the earliest reference to him in the business of the *Great Seal* - on 14 August 1507 - showed him acting not only as the king's Secretary, but also as parson of Fetteresso, and Master of the Hospital of the Blessed Virgin, near the burgh of

Montrose; from this entry it may be assumed, that his earlier attempt to gain control of the vicarage of Eastwood had met with little success. A slightly later charter still provides an additional surprise, for it showed him witnessing King James IV's business as not only his Secretary but also as parson of Tannadice. Under this guise, he was to appear in a total of 209 charters ranging from 12 May 1508 to 1 August 1513. Again it should be noted that despite the doubt cast over his actual presence in the locations provided on the dates specified, the compilers of this record saw fit to place him in Edinburgh on no less than 193 occasions; Stirling again followed in second place with 9 entries. At this point it is possible to turn to yet another popular combination of titles used by Panter, that of Royal Secretary and parson of Fetteresso. Here, Panter's name was assigned to 52 charters ranging from 4 March 1509/10 to 18 November 1511; a total of 46 entries assigned him to Edinburgh, 5 to Stirling. To attempt further to clarify the whereabouts and activities of Patrick Panter, it is necessary to turn to yet other titles which he held, those of archdeacon of Moray, and Royal Secretary to James IV. Under this guise, he was included in the witness lists of a total of 11 charters ranging from 21 July 1509 to 27 March 1511; Edinburgh again being the favoured destination with 9 entries, Stirling following with 2.

These relatively isolated appearances of Panter as concurrently archdeacon of Moray, Royal Secretary however, must in turn be supplemented by the 100 occasions on which the scribe saw fit to include him in the witness lists of the *Great Seal* from 26 April 1510 to around 22 August 1513, purely in his role as the king's Secretary. Edinburgh accounted for no less than 95 of the locations included, Stirling following with 2.

At this point it may be asked what the connection was between this individual and the Abbey of Cambuskenneth. Here, the suggestion that he had been acting as both the king's Secretary and the Abbot of Cambuskenneth as early as 18 April 1510 - as suggested by the *Register of the Great Seal* - may be strongly challenged, for James IV it would appear, did not write to the Papacy to recommend Panter for this honour - Cambuskenneth - until at least 7 April 1513. After the death of James IV at Flodden on 9 September 1513, Panter managed to cling on to his privileged social position into the minority of James V, appearing in the witness lists of three charters granted under the *Great Seal* in his capacity as Abbot of Cambuskenneth, Royal Secretary, again at Edinburgh, on 18 July 1514, and 7 and 23 March 1516/17 respectively. Similarly late entries under the *Great Seal* also show that he continued to appear on occasion merely as parson of Tannadice, - at Edinburgh on 2 October 1513 - or simply as the king's Secretary - at Perth on 3 December 1513). [16]

From the above examination of Panter's activities therefore, a clear overlap in the offices to which he could lay claim occurred, so that he could appear at times for example, to be parson of

Tannadice, parson of Fetteresso, Master of the Hospital of the Blessed Virgin Mary near Montrose, Master of the Hospital of the Church of Torrence, [17] archdeacon of Moray, Chancellor of Dunkeld, [18] the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, the Secretary to James IV - and indeed thereafter James V - [19] Customar of Edinburgh, numbered amongst the "Customars - General" of the kingdom. [20] As staggering as this inventory appears, it still nevertheless fails to impart the full extent of Panter's undoubtedly acquisitive nature, for there is evidence both that he pursued, and was recommended, for yet additional honours still. In a letter dated 5 August 1514 for example, Queen Margaret and a young king James V - he was just over two years old at this time - [21] expressed "their" desire to the Pope, Leo X, to see Panter assume control of Holyrood Abbey. [22] Although frustrated in this attempted promotion Panter, undaunted, pursued a vigorous campaign to secure the Preceptory of Torphichen; here the infighting, claims and counter - claims surrounding such an action become apparent, as - again - does the need for a powerful benefactor to champion one's cause. In this case, no less a figure than the English monarch Henry VIII could be numbered amongst the pro - Panter faction, since he too petitioned Leo X to press Panter's cause over that of his rival George Dundas. [23] Leo however came down heavily in favour of Dundas, enlisting in turn on his behalf the Archbishop of Glasgow [James Beaton], the Bishop of Aberdeen [Alexander Gordon], and the Bishop of Whithorn [David Arnot], to strengthen his hand; the above named being ordered to proceed against Panter, James Cortusius, Alexander Stewart and any "others" pressing a similar claim to Torphichen. [24] At this point the Duke of Albany entered the fray to support his candidate; writing to Leo X - on 20 January 1516/17 - he referred - in condemnatory fashion - to Dundas's attempts to compel both Panter and Stewart - Albany's brother - to pay the ever increasing costs of the litigation over Torphichen. Albany thereafter informed the Pope of the importance of the Preceptory to the Scottish nation, and of the need thereby for a suitably prestigious and trustworthy head; Dundas he considered unsuitable. Having thus voiced his disapproval of Dundas, - the individual possessing the strongest claim in this somewhat undignified business - Albany - in drawing to a close - although he praised Panter, was particularly anxious that the Pope should consider the qualities which his brother Alexander Stewart possessed, and which - he assured Leo - recommended him for the Preceptory. [25]

At this point, it is interesting to note two entries in the *Register of the Privy Seal* of Scotland, both dated 30 November 1508; the first records the admission of "George Dundas, Knight of Rhodes, to the temporalities of the Preceptory of Torphichen of the Order of St. John", the second, "a Lettre in inglis", shows James IV reiterating the admission of his "lovit familiar George Dundas, Knycht of the Rhodis, to the temporalite of the preceptory of Torphichen.... as is rehersit in the precept immediately preceding". [26] The keen rivalry evidenced above therefore, had continued

long after Dundas had apparently established an unshakeable claim to this particular office. Further, that Panter's motivation was financial, rather than spiritual, may be judged from the terms which accompanied his resignation of the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, namely, that he receive a pension paid from the lands and churches which belonged to the house, and that he be allowed the "right of regress" if Cambuskenneth should become vacant again. [27]

The image of Panter as a churchman was further undermined in Papal correspondence, which shows that he successfully petitioned the Pope on more than one occasion for dispensations which excused him from the usual demands "regarding habit and profession"; [28] significantly, in one such letter to Leo X, Panter excused himself from such commitments on the grounds that he was then employed on the king's business in France. [29] Further evidence of his prolonged absence from his brethren in Cambuskenneth, - on matters outwith a spiritual remit - appears for example in three letters dated 1518, 1519 and 1521 respectively. In the first, Panter - writing from Paris - proffered his sympathy to the authorities of Middelburg, over their having lost out to neighbouring Vere over recent trading agreements - "the staple" - with Scotland; in the second, Albany wrote to inform Pope Leo X that Panter's ill - health had forced him to stay on in France for "a second year", whilst in the third, Alexander Myln the new Abbot of Cambuskenneth - in writing to the Abbot of St. Victor - referred to the demise of his predecessor Patrick Panter, "who" he said, had "died recently in France...." [30]

From the material available from the *Register of the Great Seal* therefore, it would appear that Panter possessed a series of titles covering both lay and ecclesiastic spheres; since he was to function as Secretary for both James IV and James V, it would be fair to say that his time was spent in the service of the court as opposed to any of the spiritual offices which he accrued. Further, that these offices - foremost amongst them being the Abbacy of Cambuskenneth - were a reward for his efficiency at court rather than a recognition of any particular spiritual merit on his behalf. In support of this it should be remembered that regardless of what titles he appeared under, the clerks compiling the *Register* saw nothing amiss in placing him, in the main, in Edinburgh. As stated above, however, a more reliable source to place this individual's whereabouts is available in the *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs*, and it is to this source which this work will now turn. Here it emerged that this individual had been recognised as the King's Secretary as early as 12 November 1505, and that he had been nominated to sit on the King's Council as such from at least 19 September 1513 when he appeared at Stirling. That he was absent from his spiritual charges in the Abbey of Cambuskenneth for some time may be assumed from the fact that when he can next be placed with any certainty it was in Perth on 26 November 1513, thereafter - although the location is uncertain - again at the royal court on 2 December 1513. Entries for the following year support

the impression given in the *Register of the Great Seal* that Panter moved around the country with the royal entourage, for alongside two unplaced records of his attendance at the court in April 1514, 8 references to the months of June, July, September and October of the same year place him in Stirling, Edinburgh and Dunfermline. Entries relating to his involvement in the squabble over Torphichen - detailed above - show Panter appearing at court as early as 1511 to press his case; thereafter, 6 examples may be seen to prove that he pursued his case at court through 1515 and into 1515/16. As to his whereabouts at this time, on 6 June 1515 he could be seen at the Council in Edinburgh, a similar location likely for another appearance at this body the following month. That he was at Cambuskenneth at all in this period may doubted for in the business discussed before the Lords of Council on 10 September 1515, it emerged that Panter was at that time "in ward and keeping" at the fort of Inchgarvy.

The clerks responsible for compiling the *Register of the Great Seal* therefore, whilst not as careful as they should have been, were nevertheless accurate in portraying Panter as an integral member of the royal court, moving round the countryside in the king's entourage. They were also correct in assigning the role of Royal Secretary to Panter in both the reigns of James IV and James V, for as late as 5 January 1516/17 Panter appeared as such in a list of those appointed to sit on the forthcoming Session, whilst two months later he could be seen fulfilling a similar role, again in Edinburgh. [31]

In turning to examine the career of Panter's successor, Alexander Myln, this individual's first inclusion in the witness lists of the *Great Seal* saw him appear as the secretary of George Brown, Bishop of Dunkeld, on 19 October 1501; [32] by 26 August 1505 however, he appeared under the additional title of parson of Lundeiff, this at a time when he also held the office of rural dean of Angus. [33] Of equal interest here, three charters granted by James IV on 7 April 1506, 29 January 1506 and 16 December 1508 which recorded him acting as a canon of Dunkeld Cathedral; [34] these serving to complement two charters belonging to 1516 and 1516/17, in which he appeared as canon and official of Dunkeld. [35] By 2 May 1523, however, [36] he was being entered as a witness to the charters of James V as the Abbot of Cambuskenneth. [37]

Having achieved this promotion, Myln was to appear in a further 35 charters granted under the *Great Seal* in this guise, ranging from 2 May 1523 to 14 November 1538; again the clerk responsible for compiling these entries placed him in Edinburgh on no less than 23 occasions, Stirling on 6, Falkland on 4. [38] At first glance, this Abbot of Cambuskenneth at least may perhaps be said to have devoted less time to matters of state than his predecessor Panter. However, it is vital to remember that at the same time as he bore the title of abbot, Myln was also appearing as the President of the College of Justice, [39] as a Lord of Council, [40] and as an auditor of the king's

accounts, in the company of Robert Reid, Abbot of Kinloss. [41] There is evidence too, of Myln performing what would appear to be purely administrative tasks for James V within the Church; two entries within the *Register of the Privy Seal* for example - both referring to 27 July 1539 - record his appointment as coadjutor to, administrator for the Commendator of Holyrood, - Robert Stewart the king's son - and the Commendator of St. Andrews Priory - James Stewart - , another of the king's offspring. To fully appreciate this individual's importance to the crown as opposed to the Church, it should be remembered that he appeared in the business of parliament at intervals from 1525 to 1540. [42]

It is further worthy of note that thus far the emphasis has been on Myln's activities within Scotland, but these alone create a distorted picture of his career, for the abbot was also actively engaged in serving the crown abroad. In the desperate years which followed the debacle of Flodden, Myln - in the service of Albany who was then acting in the name of James V - appeared in the company of Gavin Douglas Bishop of Dunkeld, and Robert Cockburn Bishop of Ross, working at the French court to enlist support both to defend the Scottish kingdom from further English aggression, and perhaps even mount an attack upon their old enemy. Albany, in writing to give then their instructions, clearly conveyed the importance of their mission. With the present truce with the English due to end on 30 November he informed them, - in letters relating to 1517 - they were to secure details of what help the French could offer, to ascertain whether Francis was contemplating war with the English, to discover what he planned to do with regards to his alliance with Scotland, - ensuring if possible that he include the Scots in any treaty he might agree with the English - and - in addition - explore the possibility of sealing a marriage treaty between the French and Scottish crowns. [43] Myln therefore, was no mere sheltered religious, rather he emerges as a seasoned performer on the social, political and economic stage at both home and abroad. Staying with the Augustinian Order, but moving now to the Abbey of Holyrood, this work will proceed with an examination of the career of Abbot George Crichton. Here, the first block of entries in the *Register of the Great Seal* which refer to Crichton as a witness to the business of the court, show him acting in this capacity on 79 occasions over a period ranging from 12 January 1500/1 to 25 June 1513. In no less than 52 of these references he was placed in Edinburgh, Stirling warranting a clear second place with a total of 14 entries. In the second block reference to Crichton in his capacity of Abbot of Holyrood, the clerks of the *Great Seal* saw fit to place his name on the witness lists of a further 19 charters ranging from 2 April 1514 to 14 January 1524; again the most favoured location in the eyes of the scribes involved was Edinburgh which attracted a total of 17 entries [44]

from 18 July 1514 to 9 July 1524. Here, the answer lies in his performing the additional role of Keeper of the Privy Seal, a title under which he first appeared - in the records of the *Great Seal* - as early as 12 July 1514; from this date, Crichton in the dual role of Abbot of Holyrood, Keeper of the Privy Seal was placed in the witness lists of 69 charters covering the period up to 15 June 1526, in no less than 57 of these entries the clerks responsible saw fit to have him appear in Edinburgh. [45] As seen earlier however, just as the addition of the title Keeper of the Privy Seal led to a break in the references to him merely as the Abbot of Holyrood, so too on closer examination may his absence from the witness lists of the *Great Seal* as the Abbot of Holyrood, Keeper of the Privy Seal be explained, by the entries which follow, in which he appeared for the first time in the above records, in Edinburgh, on 14 November 1526 as the Bishop of Dunkeld. Here again, it is reasonable to argue - when the events leading up to this promotion are considered - that it was royal favour rather than spiritual merit which secured this prize for Crichton. As early as 1 March 1511/12 for example, James IV had suggested that the Papacy grant him the Priory of St. Mary's Isle in commendam for life; similarly, in a letter dated 5 August 1514, Queen Margaret had petitioned Pope Leo X to have Crichton promoted to the see of Aberdeen. [46]

Frustrated on these occasions the crown tried again in 1524/5 when James V wrote to Clement VII, asking him if he would - in light of Robert Cockburn the Bishop of Ross being translated to Dunkeld - promote "George.... Abbot of Holyrood.... a household man of James IV from his early boyhood.... a friend" of James V himself, to the position of "coadjutor and successor" to the See with the "right to retain Holyrood". [47] Although foiled again, royal persistence continued thereafter, a further crown nomination being made on 21 June 1526 [48] finally paying off when the Pope relented, providing Crichton - who in the event did resign Holyrood - to the See of Dunkeld on 25 June 1526. [49] Significantly, in terms of the locations allocated to Crichton by the clerks of the *Great Seal*, there would appear to be little difference to the pattern established in his previous combinations of office, for in his 82 appearances as Bishop of Dunkeld under James V - ranging from 14 November 1526 to 26 October 1542 - no less than 48 related to the town of Edinburgh, 10 to Stirling and 9 to Falkland. [50]

At this point, it is perhaps appropriate to turn once more to the task of filling in at least some of the gaps in the entries of the *Great Seal* which refer to Crichton as Bishop of Dunkeld; here, it is important to note that as early as 16 November 1526 he appeared - according to the compilers of this source - in Edinburgh under yet another title, that of Bishop of Dunkeld, Keeper of the Privy Seal. In all, 12 entries refer to him as such, covering the period 16 November 1526 to 13 December 1528; again it should be noted that precedence was accorded to Edinburgh with 12 entries for this town, 4 for that of Stirling. [51] This variation in the way Crichton could appear as a

witness in the documents of the period, and thus in the eyes of his contemporaries, is highly significant in that it showed the various stages which marked a successful career spanning both lay and ecclesiastical circles; Crichton appearing first as Abbot of Holyrood then as Abbot of Holyrood, Keeper of the Privy Seal, thereafter as the Bishop of Dunkeld, Keeper of the Privy Seal. Of additional interest - when determining the authority which this one individual possessed - is a reference - in a charter given on 10 October 1515 - to both Crichton - as Abbot of Holyrood - and John, Abbot of Newbattle functioning as "Commissaris" of Pope Innocent... [52]

Finally, in considering his long service to the crown during the reigns of James IV and James V it is equally important to remember that he continued to appear - mainly in Edinburgh - at the royal court in his capacity as the Bishop of Dunkeld as late as the reign of Queen Mary, [53] relinquishing his hold on Dunkeld only in death, in 1544. [54] Again therefore the picture presented by the *Register of the Great Seal* is one of an individual who devoted his energies to the service of his royal master, and who as a result saw corresponding advancements in both lay and ecclesiastical terms. Here, it is possible once again to check the image thus projected by referring to the *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs*. In this source, it emerged that the abbot had been present at the court in Stirling on 19 September 1513 to hear of his appointment to the ranks of the above body, and from - at least - this date until 9 March 1524/5, he did indeed take an active part in royal affairs; this suggestion further supported by the numerous occasions on which this individual attracted a mention in the affairs of the Scottish parliament from the late fifteenth century through to almost the mid sixteenth century. His location - where it can be determined - shows him in Dunfermline and in Edinburgh, his duties varying from handling the Chamberlain's accounts, acting as guardian of the young James V, and participating in the transfer of power from the Governor John Duke of Albany to James V on 1 and 3 of August 1524. That this individual's actions were determined by the needs of the state as opposed to those of the Church, as illustrated in the *Register of the Great Seal*, may be further proven by his actions on his appointment to the episcopate, for there was no marked change in the pattern which he had established whilst he was Abbot of Holyrood; his duties were still those of a royal advisor, statesman - appointed for example to the prestigious office of Vice President of the Session on 13 March 1526/7 - his location - where known - that of Edinburgh, the town he chose to retire to the year prior to his death. [55]

In turning to the third Augustinian house chosen for examination, that of Scone, the abbot falling beneath scrutiny on this occasion is James Abercromby. Here, the clerks responsible for the compilation of the *Register of the Great Seal* saw fit to append Abercromby's name to some 113 charters, covering no less than 19 separate destinations over a period ranging from 12 August 1492 to 2 July 1504. As with the examples covered above, Edinburgh was the most favoured town -

receiving 71 entries - followed by Stirling - with 16 entries - the importance of the abbot to the crown further seen in his attracting a mention in the parliaments of 1493 and 1503. [56] Although no exact, detailed plan of this individual's movements can be made, it would seem permissible to suggest that the clerks who favoured Edinburgh as his most likely location were not too far from the truth.

Having touched upon the houses of the Order of St. Augustine, it is the intention of this thesis to focus now on those foundations which followed the Rule of St. Benedict. Here - as seen in the above table - there were seven houses which could be strictly termed Benedictine in Scotland, those of Coldingham, Dunfermline, Iona, Pittenweem, Pluscarden, Rhynd and Urquhart. Since however the intention in founding the Clunaic and Tironensian Orders had been one originally to revitalise the Benedictine movement, although both of these latter Orders were independent units in themselves, it is proposed here for the purposes of a general comparison to include them under the Benedictine mantle. In terms of the Cistercian Order, although a similar claim might be levelled, in view of the sheer number of houses involved - Balmerino, Coupar Angus, Culross, Deer, Dundrennan, Glenluce, Kinloss, Melrose, Newbattle, Saddell, Sweetheart [and arguably Beauly since it was under Kinloss] - this Order will be treated as a separate unit. With these points in mind, the first house chosen for analysis is that of the Tironensian house of Arbroath. Here, an immediate example of the courtly abbot, functioning as a crown servant, may be found in the character of David Lichtoun, for through his position as Royal Treasurer in the late fifteenth century, he would surely have been a familiar figure amongst those who surrounded the throne. [57] His position at court however was surely eclipsed by that of his successor, George Hepburn. Early references to this individual call him the Provost of Lincluden, [58] parson of Prestonkirk, [59] a man who - in the words of a contemporary document - was to be given in addition "collatioun of the personage of the Forest.... quhen it sal happin to vake be permutatioun of the personage of Halich"; [60] by the 9 February 1504 - whilst still Provost of Lincluden - [61] recognised as Abbot of Arbroath, and appearing for the first time as a witness to a charter under the *Great Seal* as such at Edinburgh on 13 March 1503/4, a further 16 entries from this date up to 29 October 1506 covering his allotted appearances purely as Abbot of Arbroath at court. In 16 of the above days he was placed in Edinburgh, in 1 entry, Stirling. [62]

As seen above however, George Hepburn was privileged to bear more than one title, and in addition to that of Abbot of Arbroath it is necessary to remember that on no less than 95 occasions ranging from 13 November 1505 to 28 August 1510 he also appeared as the Royal Treasurer; in 65 entries the compilers of this record placed him in Edinburgh, in 27 at the court in Stirling. [63] Hepburn's itinerary therefore, - allowing that it may be taken as no more than a rough

guide to his whereabouts - as detailed above, left little room for the consideration of any abbatial duties even when he was in the country, which was by no means always the case; the *Register of the Privy Seal* for example, in the year 1506 recorded:

> "A Lettre of Respitt and Protectioun maid to George, Abbot of Abirbrothok, his familiaris, tennendis..... fra his passing furth of this realm to the court of Rome and uthir partis bezand the sey in his erandis he has thare ado, quhil his gane cummyn and xl dayis eftir his hame cummyn." [64]

In determining the nature of Hepburn's career therefore - in terms of the criticism of then contemporary authors, as outlined in the opening stages of the present work - the abbot was indeed clearly more at home in the court than in the cloister. Furthermore, in terms of offices held, an overlap of dates occurs on a number of occasions that suggests at the very least, that the compilers of the *Great Seal* saw nothing strange in according him the right to hold the titles of Provost of Lincluden, parson of Prestonkirk, dean of Dunkeld [65] and Abbot of Arbroath concurrently. More noteworthy still however, were the titles which followed, for on 21 June 1510, James IV had written to the Cardinal of St. Mark, enlisting his support to petition the Papacy to have Hepburn appointed to the joint office of Bishop of the Isles and Commendator of Iona; as part of the same plea, the king also requested that his Treasurer be allowed to hold the Abbey of Arbroath in commendam. [66] That the king was successful in his efforts, may be seen from the temporalities of the See being granted to Hepburn on 11 May 1511, [67] and his subsequent appearance in the combined role of Bishop of the Isles, Commendator of Arbroath and Iona. [68] On the whole therefore, considering such evidence as presented above, references to him in the parliaments of 1503 and 1505, and the fact that Hepburn himself wrote to Rome - on 4 October 1510 - irritated at what he saw was an undue delay in his achieving the latter promotion, [69] it would indeed seem that the "abbot" in question was more intent in collecting benefices than in caring for the souls committed to his care; such a comment applicable to all stages in his career.

In the second Abbot of Arbroath chosen for examination, David Beaton, it is possible to compare the detailed portrait of his life provided by Sir David Lindsay - specifically in his work entitled *The Tragedie Of The Late Cardinal Beaton* - with the ample evidence which survives, and thus provide a clear indication, of the accuracy of the accounts of the behaviour of Scotland's higher ecclesiastics.

In *The Tragedie Of The Late Cardinal Beaton* the author has Beaton himself catalogue his rise within the Church; his first real taste of power came on achieving the office of Abbot of Arbroath, but despite the wealth which this brought him, he sought:

> "To get more ryches, Dignitie, and glore,...." [70]

Through the support of the king, his wish was granted and he was promoted to the Archbishopric of St. Andrews; even here however Lindsay has him say:

> "My prydefull hart was nocht content at all, Tyll that i create wes one Cardinall." [71]

Ambition still drove him ever on however, and he thus secured the office of Chancellor of the kingdom, then Legate; "than", in Lindsay's words, he said "had i no compare". [72] With the enormous wealth which he now possessed, he then purchased the Bishopric of Mirepoix in France, and stood back to take stock of his achievements:

> "Abbot, Byschope, Archibyschope, Cardinall, In to this Realme no hicar could i ryng, Bot i had bene Pape, Emperour, or Kyng. [73]

A clear, concise portrait emerges therefore of an obviously highly motivated, ambitious individual; the question which arises now however, is just how accurate it was.

In turning to the witness lists of the *Great Seal*, on 3 January 1528/9, the clerks of this record had him appear in Edinburgh as the Abbot of Arbroath, Keeper of the Privy Seal, an office which saw him appear in the witness lists of 57 charters, 36 of which saw him placed in Edinburgh, 10 in Stirling. [74] At this point it is important to note, that although by far the most numerous references to him in the *Great Seal* describe him as the Abbot of Arbroath, Keeper of the Privy Seal, these were not his only titles. A series of entries for February 1533/4 for example, describe him as Abbot of Arbroath, Keeper of the Privy Seal and Prothonotarius Apostolicus. [75] His career did not end here however, and his rise through the upper echelons of ecclesiastical and lay circles may be witnessed by periodic additions to, and combinations of, the titles which he was permitted to use. A few examples will suffice to show the extent of his commitments as Archbishop of St. Andrews, [76] Bishop of Mirepoix, Commendator of Arbroath, [77] Cardinal, [78] Chancellor, [79] Primate of Scotland, Apostolic Legate [80] all titles which could be applied separately - as above - or simultaneously. [81]

In pausing to consider both the array of titles to which Beaton could lay claim, and his undoubted familiarity with court life, it would seem that Lindsay did indeed provide an accurate summary of Beaton's achievements; the question remains however, as to the means employed in attaining such authority within the realm.

Among the immediately identifiable factors which served to explain Beaton's success, was the power of those who backed him. As early as 1521, for example, the Archbishop of Glasgow, James Beaton, appeared in the role of his benefactor, improving his prospects for promotion by recommending him to the Cardinal of Ancona; it is significant to note here, that the Archbishop was his uncle, and that David at this time already held the position of Chancellor of Glasgow, an office doubtless secured through similar channels. [82] Two years later, James Beaton - by now the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the Chancellor of the realm - was again pressing to advance his nephew's cause; on this occasion he had expressed his desire to relinquish his claim to the Commendatorship of the Abbey of Arbroath in favour of David, a suggestion which was warmly received by the crown. Again it is interesting to note, that the qualities which the crown referred to when putting this motion to the papacy, concentrated on the administrative abilities which he displayed - "when the Governor was negotiating important matters in France" - rather than any perceived spiritual merit. Moreover, further evidence of his being at some remove from ecclesiastical matters appeared in the same letter, both in the reference to David as "Prothonotary and Royal Councillor", and the request that the papacy present David with the abbey so that he could hold it "in titulum", "with dispensation in respect of the habit for two years". That financial interests were also placed above spiritual concerns in the negotiations surrounding this promotion, may be assumed from the fact that with David's consent, half the fruits were to be reserved for his uncle, further that he should retain "bulls of access and regress" in the event of the death of the holder. [83] Two letters dated 31 December 1523 show that James Beaton's request met with the ruling faction's approval, whilst a third - of the same date - supports the idea that nepotism alone was not the only factor in David's advancement. In it, the Archbishop of St. Andrews related that "the Governor in full council", had commissioned "David Beaton" to act as "orator to the Pope and the consistory" [84]. Subsequent correspondence illustrates the fact that he was an integral figure in the machinery of government, privy to the thoughts of the highest in the land. [85]

Here again it is possible to identify another factor in Beaton's rise to power, as detailed by Lindsay above, in that it is fair to say, that if the examination of his travels within Scotland suggests he was an active servant of the crown at home, then the evidence of his activities on the Continent suggests a workload of even greater dimensions still, imparting responsibilities which placed him at the centre of the European political stage. Albany for example, in recommending his promotion to

the Abbey of Arbroath, - on 23 April 1524 - claimed that Beaton had "repeatedly and most judiciously acted as an envoy to France, Spain and England, exposing himself to danger and spending heavily in the Governor's service". [86] Evidence of the validity of these remarks in turn may be gauged by a letter from Francis I in the same year, in which the French monarch acknowledged Beaton's position as Scotland's "ambassador", [87] and in a communiqué of 1525 which referred to the French crown's intention of rewarding his services with either a bishopric or an abbacy in France. [88] Although such a reward was not forthcoming from the French court at this time, a mere three years later, an entry under the *Privy Seal* - for 3 January 1528 - showed the value placed on Beaton's work by the Scottish crown in that it records:

> "Ane lettre maid to ane venerable fader in God David, Abbot of Abirbrothok, makand him kepar of our soverane lordis Prive Sele for all the dais of his liffe" [89]

whilst four months later, the same register records the gift of the revenues of:

> "the kirk of Newtyle, and all teyndis, proffittis, offerandis,.... quhatsumevir therof, quhilkis pertenit to James Lord Ogilvy of Erlie.... - now belonging to the king - .... be resone of eschete...." to David, Abbot of Arbroath. [90]

What then were the specific tasks on which Beaton was thus employed and which brought him such favourable recognition? Can they be said to have been in any way related to the prestigious spiritual offices which he held? In dealing first with the nature of the tasks on which he was employed, Lindsay stated that no small part was played in establishing Beaton's reputation in both the Scottish and French courts, through his role in arranging the betrothal of James V to his first bride Madeleine, then the marriage of the king to Mary of Lorraine following his first wife's untimely death. [91] Here again, arguably one of the most productive areas of examination with which to check on Lindsay's claims, are the letters which survive from the reign of James V. On 19 February 1533/4, [92] James V wrote to Francis I expressing his gratitude that the French monarch had - finally - given his approval for the marriage between James and his daughter Madeleine. The importance of this letter should not be overlooked, in that it signified a major, long awaited step towards fulfilling one of the conditions proposed for the Treaty of Rouen in 1517, that a Franco - Scottish band of unity against English aggression be sealed by the marriage of James V to a French bride; on 10 August 1520, the birth of Princess Madeleine provided a suitable candidate, her father agreeing the terms of the Treaty of Rouen on 13 June 1522. [93] When a change of plan

was subsequently envisaged, - in that Francis suggested the daughter of the Duke of Vendome, Mary, as a suitable replacement for his own daughter - the Abbot of Kinloss, Robert Reid was placed in charge of negotiations [94] whilst Beaton travelled as part of the king's household, as James went through what appeared to be the final steps in securing a bride. [95] However, when the king set his sights once more on a royal match with Madeleine, it was to Beaton that James returned, entrusting both him and the chief Royal Secretary - Sir Thomas Erskine - to handle the arrangements surrounding this long planned, crucial union with the French crown. That it was to Beaton that the king turned, was no small indication of the trust which the king placed in him. Moreover, it was clearly Beaton as the Abbot of Arbroath, prothonotary apostolic and Keeper of the Privy Seal, who was accorded precedence between the two ambassadors. [96]

In the event, the marriage proved to be of short duration, taking place on 1 January 1536/7, James himself later writing to the French court, breaking the news of Madeleine's death on 7 July 1537. [97] Thereafter, it was again Beaton who proved instrumental in securing a replacement, on this occasion in the form of Mary of Lorraine, daughter of Claude of Guise - Lorraine, Duc d'Aumale. [98] Once more therefore, Lindsay would indeed appear to be correct in attributing a major role to Beaton in the marriage arrangements between the two crowns. Of greater import still, however, must be considered the abbot's strenuous efforts to secure Continental support for the Scottish realm. Letters dating from the period 1532/4, for example, show his involvement with the Queen of Navarre, [99] the Queen of Hungary [100] and Eleanor of France [101] whilst some seven years later, Beaton, - by now a Cardinal - was still obviously industriously engaged in his royal master's affairs; employed - for example - on an embassy to Francis I in 1541, on the "business of king and kingdom", and representing James's interests in the peace negotiations between Francis and Henry VIII in 1542. [102]

As has been stated above, - in Beaton's securing, for example, control of a rich abbacy and possession of the Privy Seal - such dedication had its rewards; thus in August 1538, [103] James V - with his customary ability to phrase his requests in such a way as to make them difficult to refuse - wrote to Pope Paul III, reminding him of how well Beaton had served the crown, and of the need for a Cardinal in Scotland to counter the threat of heresy. The king's solution was that David Beaton, "destined soon to be primate of Scotland", be still further rewarded by being appointed to the office of Papal Legate in Scotland. Two letters followed in the same month - August - to Cardinal Farnese and the Cardinal of Capri, as James sought to gain support in Rome for Beaton's promotion. [104] The king's impatience is evident in yet another similarly worded letter to Paul III in September. Here, it is interesting to note, that in James's letter of August, he referred to Beaton as "Bishop"; the title clarified in a letter of the following month when he repeated his request that the

Cardinalate and Legateship be conferred on the Bishop of Mirepoix, that is, Beaton. [105] While Lindsay's statement that Beaton had used his enormous wealth to purchase the Bishopric of Mirepoix, [106] may contain more than a grain of truth, it is perhaps more accurate to suggest that here was the French crown rewarding Beaton for his diplomatic services using high ecclesiastic office, just as James himself had done, and was now attempting to do again in Scotland. It further emerged upon investigation, that Francis had presented Beaton with the Bishopric as early as 5 December 1537, [107] his consecration following, supported by the dating of the letter sent by James V to Paul III in August - in July 1538. [108] The suggestion that his status in French ecclesiastical circles was indeed high, is perhaps best illustrated by the evidence provided by Margaret Sanderson in her comprehensive biography of Beaton, which shows that at least on one occasion he was referred to as the "Cardinal of Mirepoix". [109]

Throughout the rest of the year - 1538 - James continued to increase the pressure on the Pope; letters to Cardinal Farnese, [110] the Cardinal of Capri, [111] the Cardinal of St. Balbina, [112] and the Cardinal of St. Ciriac in Thermis [113] show the king recruiting support at the highest levels within the Church to promote his case. A letter dated 16 December 1538, showed that the Pope was still reluctant to grant James's request however, [114] and it is quite surprising therefore to see, a mere four days later, Rudolph, Cardinal of Capri writing to James from Rome to inform him of the Bishop of Mirepoix's promotion to the office of Cardinal. [115] Perhaps less surprising, however, is that immediately after this communiqué, several other letters began arriving from Rome at the Scottish court, as members of the Cardinalate - doubtless seeking reciprocal favours - began reminding James of their part in securing Beaton's promotion. [116] At this point it is relevant to note that in creating Beaton a Cardinal, the Pope had allowed him to retain control of both of his sees, that is of Mirepoix and that of St. Andrews, [117] - where he had been named as coadjutor and successor towards the end of 1537, assuming the mantle of Archbishop of St. Andrews officially after the death of his uncle on 14 February 1538 - as well as the additional title of "presbyter cardinal of St. Stephen on the Caelian", on 20 December 1538. [118] The words which Lindsay placed in Beaton's mouth therefore, do indeed provide a reasonable assessment of this ambitious individual's rise in Church and State:

> "Abbot, Byschope, Archibyschope, Cardinall, In to this Realme no hicar could i ryng, Bot i had bene Pape, Emperour, or kyng...." [119]

In this concise resume, the author nevertheless failed to mention Beaton's additional title of Papal Legate. It emerges, that a mere five months after writing to thank the Pope for his elevation of

Beaton - on 8 March 1538/9 - James was reminding the Pope of his additional request; that the Cardinal of St. Andrews be made Legate a latere. [120] Further, it would appear that the King employed roughly the same tactics which had proved so successful in securing Beaton's earlier advancement; pressing Paul III to approve the promotion, [121] dropping hints that the Church in Scotland should be strengthened in light of such unsettling influences as the action of "neighbouring peoples" [122] - that is English military aggression and her treatment of the Church - and by securing the sympathetic ear of his Cardinal's colleagues at Rome. [123] Again, the determination of Beaton's royal patron was to prove successful, as the Cardinal did indeed come to add the office of Papal Legate to his many other honours. [124]

In turning to the records of the *Register of the Privy Council* and those of the *Lords of Council*, the picture thus presented above may be reinforced considerably. In terms of the latter source, evidence may be produced to show that from the 1520's to the mid 1540's David Beaton was actively engaged in foreign diplomatic missions to the French court, an occupation which saw him make several attempts to secure financial recompense for the expenses involved in these duties. In terms of his location whilst in Scotland during his reign as the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Commendator of Arbroath and Royal Chancellor, the former source would again point to the general accuracy of the assumption made by the men responsible for the compilation of the *Register of the Great Seal*, that is that as a rule he was usually busily occupied in the affairs of the court at some remove from his centres of ecclesiastical power. On numerous occasions in the year 1545 for example, Beaton was a regular figure in the business of the court, his location - where it can be determined - entered as Edinburgh - on 2 occasions - , Glasgow - on 2 occasions - , Linlithgow - on 7 occasions - and Stirling on 4 occasions; to this information in turn may be added the numerous references to this individual in the Scottish parliaments from the 1520s to the 1540s, which support the idea of Beaton as a key feature of the court. [125]

In summary therefore, - leaving aside his military actions and political manoeuvring for a more detailed examination in chapters 3 and 7 - David Beaton, Abbot of Arbroath, would seem to have carved a successful "ecclesiastical" career through his undoubtedly outstanding abilities as a civil servant who specialised - in particular - in foreign diplomatic missions of the highest importance.

In turning now to the Abbey of Dunfermline, the career of George Dury provides another example of an individual who arguably devoted an equally large part of his time to attending the royal court. In terms of the *Register of the Great Seal*, Dury warranted a total of 181 entries as Abbot of Dunfermline covering the period ranging from 4 August 1493 to 15 September 1498. In terms of the location allocated to this individual by the clerks compiling the *Register*, no fewer than

85 charters place him in Edinburgh, Stirling appears as the second favourite choice with 36 entries, Glasgow third with 18, Linlithgow drawing 11 entries Falkland 4; the remainder are mainly single references to a wide variety of other locations scattered across Scotland. [126]

Later references still to this individual ranging from the 1520's to the 1550's show that Dury functioned in a variety of roles; as Abbot, [127] and Commendator of Dunfermline Abbey, [128] as the Commendator of Dunfermline, and archdeacon of St. Andrews, [129] as the Commendator of Dunfermline, and principal archdeacon of St. Andrews[130] and - in what was perhaps his most impressive union - as the Commendator of Dunfermline, Keeper of the Privy Seal. Here, - as in the above combinations - the principal location which the clerks of the *Great Seal* saw fit to place him in proved to be Edinburgh; from a total of 21 entries examined, 15 place him in this town, 2 refer to visits to Linlithgow and Perth respectively, whilst single entries for Inverness and Banff cover the remainder. [131]

In terms of the accuracy of these entries, again whilst no real reliance may be placed on the majority of the locations and dates provided, the titles held by this individual may be taken to be accurate, furthermore, the general pattern established of regular court attendance, may be supported by the activities of the Lords of Council, by the records of the Privy Council and by the records of the Scottish parliaments where his name appears even as late as the mid sixteenth century. With regards to the former body it emerges that the *Register of the Great Seal* was at least accurate when it placed Dury in Stirling on 11 May 1497, for on 10 and 11 May the records of the *Lords of Council* show that he was indeed at this location; it further emerged from this source that Dury appeared as a Lord of Council on no less than 88 other occasions spanning the period from 3 October 1496 to 29 July 1500. Similarly, the *Register of the Privy Council* shows that this individual was to maintain a high profile at the court into the 1550's; entries in this record again illustrating the point that as a rule this particular Abbot of Dunfermline was to be most often found in the royal centres of Edinburgh, Stirling and Linlithgow. Dury, moreover could lay claim to a variety of titles in his long career in addition to those already covered, for he also appeared as parson of Moffat, vicar of Linton and parson of Strathbrock at other times still; furthermore, the idea that he spent long periods of time away from his abbey may be given yet additional credence, for he had been in France with the Queen Regent, appeared in parliament in 1531, became Senator of the College of Justice in 1541, a Lord of Articles in 1543, whilst in 1549 he had been among those in attendance at the Provincial Council of the Scottish Church. Despite the last mentioned appearance therefore, like so many of the examples covered thus far, Dury would appear to have been awarded office within the Church more as a result of long and faithful service to the crown, as opposed to any spiritual merit. [132]

Staying with the Abbey of Dunfermline, the next individual chosen for analysis is James Beaton. Perhaps the first step in this individual's ecclesiastical career, may be identified in two entries under the *Privy Seal* for 17 September and 11 October 1497 which relate to the presentation of Beaton to the Chantory of Caithness "vacand be the deces of M. James Auchinlek, last possessour thairof...." [133]

Beaton would seem to have resigned this office however, a mere two years later [134] his next appearance being as the Provost of the collegiate Church of Bothwell in 1502/3. [135] This too would seem to have been a position which he occupied for only a short duration, since his first - "reliable" appearance as a witness to a charter given under the *Great Seal* - at Edinburgh on 13 March 1503/4 - showed he had achieved promotion not only to the Abbey of Dunfermline, but also to the job of the King's Treasurer. [136] Thereafter, from 13 April 1504 to 10 February 1508/9 Beaton was placed in the witness lists of some 399 charters, the location favoured by the clerks of the *Great Seal* again the town of Edinburgh which drew a total of 345 entries, Stirling following a long way behind in second place with a mere 21, Linlithgow in third place with 7. [137]

As with so many of the individuals examined so far however, on closer scrutiny it emerges that Beaton was able to assume a variety of titles which brought him influence, prestige in both lay and ecclesiastic circles. It would seem for example, that whilst acting as the Abbot of Dunfermline, Beaton had been appointed to the position of Vicar General of Dunkeld, - 1507/8 - effectively charged with acting in the place of the then bishop, George Brown, - whom the king said was becoming too old to carry out his episcopal duties - and that if not for the Pope's opposition to the king's repeated requests throughout 1506/7, he would have been officially recognised as the Bishop's successor. [138] Royal persistence continued however, for on 1 March 1508 James IV wrote to Julius II with the first of a series of demands, namely that Beaton be appointed to the vacant Bishopric of Whithorn and the office of Dean of the collegiate Chapel Royal, and that he be allowed to retain the abbacy in commendam for life. "Furthermore," the king asked that Julius allow the "Priories of Restinot and Inchmahome.... and the Provostry of Lincluden collegiate church, a benefice of royal patronage, be incorporated in perpetuity for the episcopal mensa, to supplement the small episcopal revenue...." That James was at least partially successful, may be seen in the fact that his proposed elevation of Beaton to Galloway, at least met with the approval of both the Chapter in question and Julius II, Papal sanction of the promotion following on 12 May 1508; [139] thereafter an entry in the *Register of the Privy Seal* dated 17 July recorded a letter to James, Abbot of Dunfermline, Treasurer:

> "of the gift of all and sindry males, fermes, deniteys and revennuys quhatsumevir, pertening or may pertene to the kingis hienes of the bishoprik of Galloway.... be the deceis of George umquhile bischop of Galloway...." [140]

It is also worth noting at this point, that in gaining the title Bishop of Galloway, Beaton also automatically became head of the King's collegiate Chapel of Stirling, [141] yet despite these honours Beaton's rise through the Church's hierarchy continued unabated, for James IV was soon pressing for his further elevation to the See of Glasgow - with the chapter's approval - on the death of Robert Blackadder on 9 November 1508. [142] Equally noteworthy, are both the details of the stages in which this promotion progressed, - these being that Beaton was seemingly translated from Galloway to Glasgow on 19 January 1509, almost three months before his consecration at Stirling on 15 April 1509 - and the fact that a roughly contemporary document referred to Beaton as the:

> "postulate of Glasgow and archdeacon of St. Andrews." [143]

In light of the above dates, - relating to his elevation to the see of Glasgow - it is perhaps somewhat surprising to find that the clerks responsible for compiling the *Register of the Great Seal* first referred to Beaton as the Archbishop of Glasgow, Royal Treasurer, as early as 1 December 1507; the suggestion being that Beaton had therefore - arguably - assumed the role of Archbishop of Glasgow well before Papal approval had been secured. [144] In continuing the investigation into his activities, the next relevant entries under the *Great Seal* place Beaton in Edinburgh on 7 June and 10 October respectively; thus the clerks give the impression of Beaton's lengthy absence from the business of the court. Here, however, it is important to recall from the above - that is from the entries referring to him as the Abbot of Dunfermline and Royal Treasurer - that he could still be thought of as a regular figure in society's highest circle. [145] Again therefore, even allowing for the fact that the dating of the charters and the locations of their granting cannot be relied upon, it is still possible to suggest that Beaton was an accepted member of the royal entourage, and that it was seen as a fairly routine matter for him to be credited with so many conflicting offices at one and the same time. Returning to the pattern of activities suggested by the *Register of the Great Seal*, out of a total of 15 entries examined covering the period 21 May 1509 to 20 June 1510, Beaton - as the Archbishop of Glasgow and Royal Treasurer - was placed in Edinburgh on 8 occasions, Stirling on 4. [146] The confusion of this individual's many titles continued however, when in turn the entries which refer to him as the Postulate of Glasgow,[147] Treasurer to the king are examined. The first of these was given as occurring at Perth on 30 August 1508; it should be noted here that this ties in

with Beaton's claimed whereabouts on 28 August 1508, but not with the title under which he appeared then, or on 31 August - in Edinburgh - both of which refer to him as Abbot of Dunfermline and Treasurer, as indeed do the numerous charters which follow. [148] The same individual, therefore, may be said to have been acknowledged as holding the combined responsibilities of being Abbot of Dunfermline, Archbishop of Glasgow and the King's Treasurer simultaneously. In turning to examine the occasions on which he appeared as "Postulatus" of Glasgow and Royal Treasurer in the witness lists of the *Great Seal*, it emerges that as the clerks had him witness one charter as such on 8 February 1508/9 at Edinburgh, two days later they saw nothing untoward in having have him witness another charter - also in Edinburgh - as the Abbot of Dunfermline and Treasurer to the king, whilst on 12 of the same month he had returned to the former title once more. [149] Returning to the subject of Beaton's suggested activities - as the "choice" of the chapter of Glasgow and as Royal Treasurer - in some 32 charters covering the period 30 August 1508 to 12 November 1509, the clerks of the *Register* saw nothing amiss in placing him in Edinburgh on no less than 27 occasions. [150] At this point, a series of charters were included by the clerks responsible for compiling this *Register*, which serve to provide a rough guide to Beaton's activities at this time, and an equally rough guide to the overlap in the offices which he secured, in this instance, between his role as the Archbishop of Glasgow and that as Archbishop and Chancellor of Scotland.

The first, dated 18 April 1510, placed him in Stirling solely in the role of Archbishop of Glasgow; thereafter, similar entries scattered over the period from 18 January 1511/12 to 1 August 1513, placed him in Edinburgh. [151] On 2 October 1513 he appeared again at Edinburgh, on this occasion however in the joint role of Archbishop of Glasgow and Chancellor to the king. From this date until 25 April 1518, Beaton's name was attached to the witness lists of some 42 charters, again Edinburgh proving the most popular choice for the clerks of the *Register* with a total of 40 entries. [152] At this stage, it is perhaps appropriate to pause once more and turn to the task of evaluating Beaton's prestigious collection of titles, to see what changes time had wrought. Here, for example, it emerges that as early as 10 March 1515/16, an entry in the *Records of the Privy Seal* referred to him as being both the Archbishop of Glasgow, and the Commendator of Kilwinning, [153] whilst on 25 August 1517, the Governor Albany had written to Pope Leo X recommending that the Archbishop/Chancellor be given control of the Abbey of Arbroath; [154] official recognition of the success of this appeal in turn seen - for example - in yet another entry under the *Privy Seal*, on this occasion for 17 March 1517/18, [155] which refers to Beaton as the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Commendator of Arbroath. Perhaps the most significant advancement of his career at this stage however is marked by his appearance in the records of the day as one of the Regents of Scotland. [156] Moving forward in time in the *Register of the Great Seal* to 1519, 13 charters dating from 26

November 1519 to 2 May 1523, witness to Beaton's continuing to be recognised as the Archbishop of Glasgow and Royal Chancellor; the favoured location again Edinburgh which appeared on a total of 6 entries, Glasgow receiving 5, Linlithgow and Stirling 1 a piece. [157] From 21 December 1524 to 29 November 1527, Beaton was being included in the witness lists of the *Great Seal* as the Archbishop of St. Andrews; in a total of 21 charters which refer to him acting in this capacity, the clerks saw fit to place him in Edinburgh on 20 separate dates[158] It is perhaps true to say that this step in Beaton's career was again first marked by the intervention of the Duke of Albany who, on 1 December 1521, requested that the Pope promote Beaton - already note, the Archbishop of Glasgow, Commendator of Arbroath and Kilwinning, Chancellor and Regent of Scotland - to the See of St. Andrews and the perpetual Commendatorship of the Abbey of Dunfermline. [159] Papal permission for this seemingly extravagant request followed shortly afterwards; Beaton's translation to the see of St. Andrews occurring on 10 October 1522, [160] - although it did not take effect until 5 June 1523 - [161] the Archbishop receiving the Pallium on 10 December 1522. [162] At this point, the sparcity of the closing references to Beaton's supposed whereabouts in the early 1520's, when he was witnessing charters as the Archbishop of Glasgow/Chancellor, and his appearance on 21 December 1524 in his capacity as the Archbishop of St. Andrews, prompted a closer examination of his activities at this time.

It emerged, that although Beaton's translation to St. Andrews was announced on 10 October 1522, he appeared as a witness to a charter given in Edinburgh on 2 May 1523, in the role of Archbishop of Glasgow, Royal Chancellor. [163] Even allowing for the fact that Beaton's translation to St. Andrews would appear not to have actually taken place until 5 June 1523, [164] it is possible to suggest that this highly motivated, ambitious individual was effectively making use of the apparent clerical slip in dates and offices, by appearing simultaneously as it were, as the Archbishop of both Glasgow and St. Andrews.

Returning once more to the question of Beaton's offices in both Church and state, the *Register of the Great Seal* provides a series of 14 entries covering the period 16 July 1523 to 15 June 1526 in which he is described as the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and as the Royal Chancellor; significantly, Edinburgh was favoured on 12 occasions by the clerks of this *Register*. [165] From the detailed references examined so far therefore, it is possible to suggest in general terms that, the career of James Beaton (1st.) saw him almost always at some remove from the centres of his ecclesiastic authority. Further, it saw him assume an astonishing array of mutually exclusive titles. How could he, for example, combine the role of "Abbot" of Dunfermline, with that of Archbishop of Glasgow and Royal Treasurer the position of Archbishop with that of Chancellor? In light of these points it is perhaps even more astounding to recall that this same individual could also be seen to

have acted as an Archbishop and as Regent, [166] whilst at other times still he was referred to as the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primate of Scotland and Legate, [167] a man granted the power - along with others - to act in the king's name. [168] Thus, when in addition to the evidence already presented it is considered that Beaton's name also often appeared in the parliamentary business of the realm from the early to the mid sixteenth century, Sir David Lindsay's remark in *The Testament of the Papyngo* that next to the king James Beaton was:

> "moste hych in this regioun," [169]

was perhaps no great exaggeration.

At this point it is perhaps useful to evaluate the material provided by the *Register of the Great Seal* with regard to Beaton's whereabouts, which as with so many of the above examples already covered would seem to have been the royal court. In turning to the business of the Lords of Council for the period in question, it would seem that in terms of a general picture of his location and activities, the clerks of the *Great Seal* were not wholly wrong in portraying Beaton as a leading figure in society's highest circles, found most often in Edinburgh, and in the other royal centres which possessed a palace such as Stirling, Dunfermline and Perth [Scone]. He was indeed therefore a familiar face in the Council's records, appearing on many occasions from around 1512 through to the 1530's. That he was most certainly absent from his religious responsibilities in the early 1530's may be taken from the fact that at this time he was ordered to keep to his "lugeing in Edinburgh...", to resort only to the Blackfriars in the town for his spiritual needs whilst he was investigated on suspicion of treason with England. [170]

The evidence accumulated therefore, leaves little room for any other conclusion, than that which suggests that despite the reference by the clerks compiling the *Register of the Great Seal* to - for example - Beaton's election to the archdiocese of Glasgow, the ecclesiastical offices which this member of the Beaton "clan" collected, were never little more than a means of the crown rewarding him for his work as Treasurer, Chancellor and Regent. This suggestion is borne out by his holding - apparently through a scribal error - the offices of Archbishop of Glasgow and Archbishop of St. Andrews at the same time. [171]

The Abbey of Paisley is next in line for examination. The first figure chosen for analysis is that of Abbot George Shaw. Over a period covering 9 October 1493 to 15 September 1498 the clerks of the *Great Seal* placed him on the witness lists of some 158 charters, acting in joint capacity as Abbot of Paisley and Royal Treasurer. On 78 occasions, Edinburgh was the favoured location, Stirling following with 33 entries. Like Beaton above, it would seem that Shaw was more at

home in the court than in a cloister, a suggestion borne out by his frequent presence amongst the ranks of the Lords of Council in the 1490's. [172]

Moving forward in time to the reign of James V, the Shaw family connection to the Abbey of Paisley was maintained by Robert Shaw. Although never to enjoy the title of Royal Treasurer, Shaw was destined to appear in the witness lists of forty - two charters granted under the *Great Seal* over - approximately - a twenty - one year period. Appointed to the position of abbot on 13 March 1498/9, [173] Shaw's first appearance as abbot - under the auspices of the *Great Seal* - occurred on 18 March 1503/4, his last on 14 January 1524/5; in no less than 37 of these charters the clerks of the *Register* placed him in Edinburgh, his image as a courtier as opposed to an ecclesiastic further enhanced by the numerous references to him in the records of the Scottish parliaments held in the above period.[174] It is important to note however, that Shaw's career did not end - in terms of advancement - with the position of Abbot of Paisley, for a letter from the Scottish crown dated 11 January 1524/5, asked the Pope to elevate "Robert" to the See of Moray, following the death of the last incumbent, James Hepburn. [175]

A few months later, in May of 1525, the Privy Seal duly recorded the admission of Shaw to the temporalities, lands and possessions of this bishopric; Dowden providing the exact date of the provision, 17 May. [176] Although therefore, Robert could perhaps be said to have been a less familiar participant in the business of the *Great Seal* than some of his contemporaries examined above, the entries which do relate to his whereabouts whilst Abbot of Paisley - particularly those for the years 1516 and 1524 - suggest absences from his house ranging from several weeks to several months whilst he was engaged in the king's business; further, if the qualities exhibited by those abbots already examined are brought to mind, Shaw would have been selected as someone of known value in the service to the crown as opposed - perhaps - to the Church. That such a suggestion is valid, may be seen from the fact that he was now expected to spend even more time in the company of the king, on promotion to the See of Moray, this being clearly stated in the royal letter which sought his elevation to the episcopate; in it the Pope was requested to grant Shaw a "dispensation regarding vestments", since he was now to become an even more familiar face in the royal court, household and council. [177] Further evidence of his lay involvement may be seen in the activities of the Lords of Council, the abbot's involvement here stretching back to at least 1513; equally significant, an announcement in the year of his promotion to the See of Moray - 1525 - of his nomination to sit as a member of the Privy Council. [178] Arguably however, despite such a reference to Shaw, it was not in his "rule" that the Abbey of Paisley possessed its most ambitious head in the period in question, rather it is to the later abbacy of John Hamilton that such an accolade should perhaps be awarded.

Promoted from the ranks of the choir of the Abbey of Kilwinning at the instigation of James V [179] to the position of Abbot of Paisley on 17 May 1525[180] the success and diversity of his career may be said to rival any of the preceding examples. A charter entered under the *Register of the Great Seal*, dated 13 September 1543 for example, referred to him as the Abbot of Paisley, Royal Treasurer and Keeper of the Privy Seal, a further 4 charters covering the period up to 15 December 1544 describing him in the same fashion; again - as with so many of the above examples - Edinburgh the most favoured location by the clerks compiling this record. [181]

So few references to Hamilton over this period however, should not create the impression that he was an infrequent visitor to the royal court, for as with so many of the examples covered thus far, the apparent absence of Hamilton from the business of the *Great Seal* may be explained by his appearance under numerous other guises. On 15 January 1543/4 for example the clerks of this *Register* saw fit to append his name to a charter which referred to him merely as the Abbot of Paisley and Royal Treasurer; thereafter, a further 12 charters covering the period up to 6 March 1548/9 refer to him in this fashion, 7 of them said to have been granted in Edinburgh. [182] Equally noteworthy, the appearance of Hamilton in the witness list of a charter given the date 10 February 1543/4, the location of Edinburgh, which referred to him as the Abbot of Paisley, Keeper of the Privy Seal. [183]

Again however, in trying to fill in the chronological gaps which occur in the abbot's itinerary, it emerges that the clerks of the *Register* saw fit to refer to him as early as 1 February 1544/5, under an even more prestigious combination of titles, those of Bishop of Dunkeld and Royal Treasurer. [184] From the fact that Hamilton had gained control of the temporalities of the see as early as 20 January 1544, and had been consecrated as Bishop on 17 December 1544 - following the demise of George Crichton the previous incumbent - he was now appearing as the holder of two mutually exclusive offices. [185] Four further charters said to have been given in Edinburgh, ranging from 12 February 1544/5 to 11 August 1546, provide additional evidence of his increased standing in both ecclesiastical and lay circles. [186] Even yet however, the collection of exalted titles which Hamilton accrued was not yet exhausted, for although he was said to have appeared in Edinburgh on 2 and 23 May 1546 respectively, as the Bishop of Dunkeld and Royal Treasurer, mid - way between these dates - on 16 May 1546 - Hamilton was said to have been in Irvine, acting in the court's affairs in the joint capacity of Archbishop of St. Andrews and Treasurer.[187]

In this instance - leaving the possibility of clerical error aside - it would appear that the clerks saw nothing amiss in granting him the use of the title of Archbishop of St. Andrews, before he was granted the temporalities - on 31 May 1546 - [188] and before his translation to the office in question, which followed on 28 November 1547, a transaction which in turn does not seem to have

taken effect until as late as 1549. [189] It is also equally revealing to note, that in addition to his new office of Archbishop of St. Andrews, Hamilton was granted the additional favour of being allowed to retain possession of the Abbey of Paisley. [190]

In turning once more to the task of tracing Hamilton's career, the confusion of his titles continues, for although he supposedly appeared as the Archbishop of St. Andrews and Royal Treasurer in Edinburgh on 10 January 1546/7, on 20 and 24 of the same month, he had "reverted" to his title of Bishop of Dunkeld and Treasurer; that is, until 18 March 1546/7 when he once more assumed the title of Archbishop. By 23 April 1547 however, he was placed in Edinburgh once more appearing as the Bishop of Dunkeld and Treasurer. Thereafter examples drawn from the period spanning 13 May 1547 to 13 August 1549, showed him seemingly alternating frequently between his role as the Bishop of Dunkeld and that of Archbishop of St. Andrews, the one common feature being his lay role in the royal court as Treasurer, [191] a task doubtless better facilitated by his assuming the secular garb of a bishop in place of a monastic habit as early as 15 March 1546. [192] Scribal error in this case may perhaps be explained by Hamilton's being known more for his state role than that of his religious office. In terms of location, of the charters examined said to cover the period 20 January 1546/7 to 24 January 1548/9, which show Hamilton acting as the Bishop of Dunkeld and Treasurer, all place him in Edinburgh; [193] of the corresponding 8 referring to him as the Archbishop of St. Andrews and Treasurer - from 10 January 1546/7 to 13 August 1549 - 5 located him in Edinburgh, whilst the remaining 3 point to his supposed presence in Glasgow, St. Andrews and Haddington respectively. [194] In turning to examine Hamilton's supposed location solely in the role of Archbishop of St. Andrews and Royal Treasurer, in a total of 41 charters dated from 16 May 1546 to 4 May 1555, Edinburgh was again clearly favoured by the clerks of the *Great Seal* for they placed him here on 26 separate occasions. [195] At this point, it is possible to further enhance the picture of Hamilton's itinerary, by examining those charters which refer to him solely as the Archbishop of St. Andrews. Here, 65 charters said to cover the period from 24 April 1550 to 9 December 1560, point to his supposed presence in Edinburgh on no less than 56 occasions. [196]

In drawing to a close therefore, the opening description of John Hamilton as the Abbot of Paisley, Royal Treasurer and Keeper of the Privy Seal, may be seen to pale into insignificance when it is considered that he could claim, apparently, to being the Abbot of Paisley and Royal Treasurer, [197] the Bishop of Dunkeld, [198] the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primate of Scotland, National Legate, [199] - or Lord Legate of Scotland - [200] and Commendator [201] - or indeed Abbot - [202] of Paisley at what would appear to be the same time; [203] this in a career which - as oft mentioned above - also saw him assume the weighty lay mantles, of Keeper of the Privy Seal, Royal Treasurer and a Lord of the Articles - in 1543. Such evidence therefore would suggest that Hamilton's

ecclesiastical titles were incidental to his main function as a governmental official, indeed a clear example of this may be seen in the material contained in the *Register of the Privy Council*, which clearly shows that whether he appeared as the Abbot of Paisley, the Bishop of Dunkeld or as the Archbishop of St. Andrews, his known whereabouts were always at some remove from these centres of his spiritual responsibilities. In terms of the first office for example, out of some 21 appearances in the Privy Council, from 7 June 1545 to the second - last day in July 1546, where he can be placed in particular locations, he could be found in Edinburgh on 5 occasions, Stirling on 4, Linlithgow on 11, and once in both Glasgow and Ardrossan. In terms of the last office, out of 20 known appearances covering the period from 25 March 1550 to 18 September 1553, he may be placed in Edinburgh no less than 16 times, the remaining entries referring to his being in Linlithgow - on 2 occasions - , Stirling and Perth. Whilst the clerks of the *Great Seal* were careless in both the dates and locations they assigned to him, they were accurate in assuming that he followed the court as it travelled the countryside, and that he long served the state at the highest level, as witnessed above, and in the numerous references to him in the business of the Scottish parliament. [204]

Having looked at examples drawn from representatives of the Augustinian and Benedictine Orders, it is now proposed to include a brief sketch of an individual serving within the Scottish branch of the Order of Citeaux. With this object in mind, the house chosen is that of Melrose, the abbot in question one Andrew Hunter who first appeared in the witness lists of the *Great Seal* - according to the compilers of this record at any rate - at Linlithgow on 10 December 1449; again as with so many of the above individuals, not merely as the abbot of his house, but also as an official in the king's court, in this instance, as the Royal Treasurer of James II. On the same day however, he appeared on the witness list of a second charter, which showed that he possessed another title likely to ensure his absence from the inmates of Melrose, that of the King's Confessor, a title also held by Abbot John Fogo, his predecessor during the previous reign. [205] In a total of 91 charters examined in relation to Abbot Andrew Hunter ranging from 10 December 1449 to 24 March 1451/2, Edinburgh was favoured with 60 entries, Stirling with 10, Falkland with 8, Linlithgow 6. [206] Finally, when attempting to form a picture both of the whereabouts of this individual, and the titles which he held during his abbacy, it is highly relevant to note that he was sufficiently important to the crown to warrant mention in the records of the Scottish parliament, and that on 23 February 1458/9, King James II referred to him acting - in the company of the Herald of Rothesay - on his behalf, as his ambassador on a mission to Henry VI of England; [207] thus it appears again that here was an individual who could have spent little - if indeed any - of his time acting as a resident, spiritual model for the brethren of Melrose to emulate. In turn he was succeeded by Robert Beaton,

brother of James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow and later of St. Andrews; thereafter Robert Beaton was succeeded by his nephew Andrew Dury in 1525, an individual who appears in a somewhat less than favourable light in this chapter and in chapter 5 below.

In pausing to assess the information accumulated so far, it would appear, from the examples provided, that it was common - place for one man to hold several prestigious - and often mutually exclusive - offices within the Church at one and the same time; this, whilst he may well have fulfilled equally demanding roles in a public office, as a servant of his ruler. It is equally important to note, that on the many occasions on which these individuals whereabouts are stated in the *Register of the Great Seal*, they are to be found placed as a rule - regardless of the title of their religious office - in attendance at the royal palaces of Edinburgh, Stirling, Linlithgow and Falkland, far from the seats of their ecclesiastical power and spiritual responsibilities. [208]

The suggestion that such a pattern was not merely formed through the shoddy recording techniques of the clerks responsible for the above record can be supported from a variety of other, more reliable sources, such as those referring to the activities of the Lords of Council. At this point, however, it is perhaps possible to argue - correctly - that the above examples represent a mere fraction of the individuals involved in the period under study, and that as a consequence the overall picture which emerges - as detailed above - is at best patchy, and at worst inaccurate, since it is based upon too limited a cross - section. In order that a more reliable, detailed picture may be obtained therefore, the present work will now turn to the task of providing additional material relating to both the religious houses, and their heads, who have, hitherto, failed to feature. To ensure a continuity of pattern with the material already examined, the same alphabetical format will be employed. In turning once more to the Augustinian Order, the patterns which emerged above may seen to be maintained in the latter years of the fifteenth century, in the career of one David Arnot; here, two entries in the *Register of the Privy Seal* record what were perhaps the initial steps in Arnot's climb up the ecclesiastical ladder of promotion. The first, dated 19 September 1497 recorded the:

> "Presentatioun to schir David Arnot, of the personage of Kirkforthar vacand be the deces of umquhile Schir Johne Elatsoun,...."

whilst the second - for the following year - promised his position to one:

> "James of Kincragy, clerk to the thesaurar.... quhen it sal happin to be vak be resignatioun of Schir David Arnot, now possessour thairof...." [209]

At this stage in his career, a further two entries under the *Register of the Privy Seal* serve to show that Arnot was free of any taint of pluralism; the first, dated 26 October 1498 recorded the promotion of Arnot to the office of Archdeacon of Lothian:

> "vacand be the deces of umquhile M. Archibald Quhitelaw...."

the second - dated 11 November 1498 - referred to the above promised appointment of "James of Kincragy" to the:

> "personage of Kirkforthar, vacand be resignatioun of Schir David Arnot possessour thairof." [210]

Further glimpses of Arnot's career may also be gleaned from the records of the *Privy Seal*, for example, on 20 September 1499, he was occupied in the office of Provost of the collegiate Church of Bothwell; on 19 September 1503 however, an entry in the above register referred to the appointment of one Edward Blare to a:

> "prebend create and maid within the college kirk of Glasgw of the froitis of the personage of Are, being ane chanonry within the said college kirk, now vacand be dimissioun of Schir David Arnot, last prebendare and possessoure of the samyn...." [211]

Here, it is perhaps possible to question the ethical stance of Arnot, for if he were in possession of the office of provost of one collegiate foundation whilst he received an income as a member of another, he would surely have been ignoring one of the foremost demands of the patrons of such foundations - as seen in chapter 9 - that is for residence. [212]

That he may have been guilty of such a fault, is further suggested by the fact that he had been appointed to the position of Abbot of Cambuskenneth, as early as 19 March 1502/3. [213] At this point a defence - of sorts - could be offered on Arnot's behalf, in that the above resignation might be said to be an attempt on his part - albeit belatedly - to redress the obvious imbalance. On further investigation however, such an argument becomes untenable. As early as 8 November 1508 for example, James IV had been seeking Arnot's advancement not only to the See of Whithorn and the collegiate Chapel Royal, but also to the possession of the Provostry of the collegiate church of

Lincluden, and, the Priory of Inchmahome; [214] a further three letters to Rome in the same month, equally show the king pressing for a successful conclusion to these requests. [215] Here, although it would appear that Arnot did not receive either Lincluden or Inchmahome, he was subsequently promoted to the see of Whithorn and the Chapel Royal, - receiving control of the temporalities on 27 May 1509 - [216] and, - in answer to yet another royal request to Pope Julius II in 1509 - [217] the additional charge of the monastery of Tongland; [218] Arnot appearing under this plethora of titles for example, on 18 February 1516/17 as a witness to a charter granted under the *Great Seal.* [219] In terms of the means whereby Arnot maintained his favoured role within the Church, two interrelated pieces of information may be proffered as evidence; the first, that he was a familiar face at the royal court - in all of the entries examined under the *Great Seal* where his name was appended as a witness he supposedly alternated between Edinburgh and Stirling, this in addition to references to him in the business of parliament - , [220] the second, that he served that court as a diplomat of the first rank, as may be seen for example in an entry under the *Privy Seal* which reads:

> "Ane speciale protectioun, safegard and Respitt.... to David, Bischope of Galloway quhilk passis in the kingis ambassiate to the King of Ingland for certane materis concerning the commoun wele of the realme...." [221]

Finally, that his nature was as materialistic as any of the individuals examined thus far may be assumed from the evidence which reveals, that while he resigned both his commendatorship of Tongland and the see of Whithorn in 1525, he nevertheless continued thereafter to draw an income from both. [222]

Staying with the Augustinian order, but moving now to the Abbey of Holyrood, this work will now examine the activities of Archibald Crawford. This individual's first appearance in the business of the *Great Seal* in the period 1459/60, suggests that his earliest appearances at court can be traced to the reign of James II. [223] Thereafter a series of entries relating to the reign of James III, - covering the period 23 September 1463 to 15 February 1466/7 - suggest that he appeared in Edinburgh on 9 occasions out of a total of 10 witness lists - to serve his king in the role of Abbot of Holyrood. [224] Further entries still in the business of the *Great Seal*, showed that as with the majority of the examples covered thus far Crawford's titles were not merely confined to those of a spiritual calling, for in the witness lists of a further 21 charters, he could be seen to hold the additional office of Royal Treasurer; significantly, the clerks compiling the above record saw fit to place him in Edinburgh in all of the above instances. [225] In light of previous examples, it would

perhaps be fair to say that despite the close proximity of his house, this abbot spent his time in the royal entourage within the palace of Holyrood, as opposed to his monastery of the same name.

Moving forward in time, to the reign of James V, the figure of William Douglas first appeared in the records of the *Great Seal* as Abbot of Holyrood on 15 June 1526; Douglas having been admitted to the temporalities of the abbey some two months earlier on 28 August 1526. [226] Thereafter, he was credited by the clerks of the *Great Seal* with witnessing a total of 23 charters over the period covering 15 June 1526 to 7 July 1528; the city of Edinburgh attracting 22 of these entries. [227] In touching upon this individual's career, note should also be made of his apparent pluralism; holding the office of Provost of the collegiate church of Methven [228] for example, along with the Abbey of Holyrood, whilst an entry under the Privy Seal - for 11 July 1527 - bears witness to still further roles within the Church, since it records his resigning his hold on both "the provostry of Methven and the priory of Sanct Mary Ile", to "Adam Blacator", in exchange for the latter granting him possession of the Priory of Coldingham. Although some doubt has been cast on the actual date of Douglas's possession of Coldingham, - for J. Dowden: *Bishops*, suggests that he held Coldingham before Holyrood - of his ambition their can be little doubt, for in addition to an apparent attempt to secure the see of Moray along with Melrose Abbey, [229] it would appear that Douglas may have held the post of Chancellor of Dunkeld Cathedral from at least 1534 to 1540. [230]

In analysing the career of Robert Carncors, - Douglas's successor at Holyrood - perhaps an even more ambitious individual still emerges. Here, the earliest reference to Carncors in the records of the *Great Seal*, showed him holding the office of a chaplain, this supposedly in Edinburgh on 26 February 1520; Dowden clarified matters still further in that he recorded Carncors acting as "a priest of the Diocese of Glasgow", seeking entry to the ranks of the Canons Regular of Holyrood, this on "6 November 1528, or about five weeks before his provision as abbot". [231] Thereafter however, the following relevant entry in the charters of the *Great Seal* posses something of a quandary, since it referred to Carncors as the king's "familiar clerk and treasurer", this on 5 September 1528. [232] The problem here, is that - as seen below - the *Register of the Privy Seal* recorded his appointment to the office of:

> "thesaurer generall to our soverane lord...."

on 29 May 1537, the date also favoured in J. Dowden's *Bishops* [233] Can such a difference be attributed to an error in the placing of the relevant charter in the records of the *Great Seal*? or does this entry point to Carncors transfer to a higher, or similar position within the administrative machinery of the Kingdom? In attempting to answer this riddle, the next few entries under the Great

Seal provide additional material still, for on 16 March 1528/9 for example, the clerks of the *Great Seal* had him appear in Edinburgh witnessing a charter as the Abbot of Holyrood, on 3 February 1528/9 however, he had seemingly acted as both the Abbot of Holyrood and as the Royal Treasurer, and it was in this guise that he was said to have appeared on a further four occasions, in June and July of 1537. In light of this apparent confusion, the *Handbook of British Chronology* may be used to provide an explanation of the above combination of references, dates and titles. Thus it may be assumed that Carncors was appointed Treasurer on 19 July 1528 and vacated the office by 8 February 1529; thereafter he regained the office of Treasurer by 29 May 1537, but vacated it again by 8 February 1538. [234] This aside, that Carncors was of great service to the king is doubtless evident from his somewhat rapid advancement. To determine the extent of his activities, the rewards they brought, and the nature of his relationship with his monarch, however, requires a more careful deliberation. In a letter dated 20 October 1531 for example, James V, in writing to Pope Clement VII, referred to Carncors as his:

> "familiar councillor Robert, Abbot of Holyrood",

and asked the Pope to grant Carncors exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, both "for the peace of Holyrood" - since he was at odds with James Beaton, the Archbishop of St. Andrews over just this topic - "and in order that the abbot [would] be more free to attend in council." That Carncors was indeed a familiar face in governmental circles therefore may be taken for granted, since he not only merited the attention of parliament, but also references in the records of the Lords of Council which attest to his actual presence at court. [235]

Later, when the king sought to have Carncors appointed to the Bishopric of Ross - on the death of the previous incumbent, James Hay - [236] he recommended him to Pope Paul III - in a letter dated 15 December 1538 - not for any spiritual qualities which he may have possessed, but for his being a:

> "sound man, with an excellent record in the business of the realm". [237]

That the proposed promotion was to involve something more than the mere award of a spiritual title, may be seen in the king's related demands; that the abbot receive:

> "a life pension of five hundred merks scots from the teinds of the parish churches of Levingston, and of the lands of Brochtoun, which all belong to Holyrood.... free of all burden...."

and that the fruits of Holyrood be reserved to him until he had "the Bulls of Ross in his hands." [238] Of the king's determination to secure this appointment for his aid there can be little doubt; witness to his resolve seen not only in a letter to the Cardinal of Capri - seeking his aid in promoting the abbot's case at Rome - (239) but in the actual admission of Carncors to the temporalities of the See less than a year later, on 23 June 1539. [240] Even yet however, James sought additional rewards for his "familiar councillor Robert". Writing to Paul III - on 9 March 1540/1 - he reminded the Pope of the death of Donald Dunnone, [241] Abbot of the Premonstratensian house of Fearn, and of the need for the restoration of this foundation. The solution in the king's eyes was the appointment of Carncors to the position of commendator over the house in question; his wish duly granted on 21 October 1541. [242] Of pluralism and irregularity therefore there can be little doubt, the questions which must be answered now, however, are as follows: what were the nature of the tasks which Carncors performed for James, which saw the king so ready to reward him? how much status would they have accorded to Carncors in the lay world? and, perhaps most importantly of all, how much time would they have left him to perform tasks of a purely spiritual nature? Here, an early indication of his considerable financial responsibilities may be seen in "ane lettre" dated 24 January 1535/6 which made:

> "Robert, Abbot of Halyrudhous, M. James Foulis of Colintoun, clerk of register, and Nychol Carncors, burgess of Edinburgh, collectouris and inbringaris of the taxt and contributioun laitlie grantit apoun the prelatis and kirkmen of the realme be the papis halynes."

Carncors and his associates therefore, were empowered to give "acquittances and dischargis" and "to charge and compell the saidis prelatis and kirkmen for inbringing of the said taxt, and generalie all and sundry uthir things to do." [243] In February of the same year, Carncors appeared yet again in the role of a royal "accountant"; on this occasion he acted in the company of "James Coilvile of Eist Wemys Knycth" - the king's "comptrollar" (240) to supervise the collection of taxes being used to finance the building projects of their royal master. [244] That Carncors was efficient in these duties, may be seen not only in his continuing to function as one of the king's auditors, [245] but more

specifically in his appointment on 29 May 1537 to the position of "thesaurar generall" to the king; his remit:

> "the inbringing of all maner of his - the king's - casualiteis baith of spiritualite or temporalite.... with power to mak and have under him sic officiaris as clerk and substitutis ane or ma, for quhilks he sall ansuer...." [246]

In summary therefore, it is feasible to suggest that Carncors would have spent little if any of his time engaged in the service of the Church, his onerous state duties precluding any prolonged diversions of a religious persuasion. In addition, it is probably fair to say that he was a close advisor to the king, and as such would have been a familiar, powerful figure in the royal entourage.

Still the question remains however, as to his actual character. Was he actually a religious whose education saw him pressed into royal service as no more than a tool in James V's affairs? Or was Carncors's character such that the king recognised in him an eager court follower - such a figure as was so bitterly criticised by Lindsay - whose ambition, if nurtured, could be harnessed to provide the crown with an extremely efficient officer? Here, arguably, some light may be shed on Abbot Robert's nature in an entry under the *Privy Seal*, dated 25 April 1536, which opens by relating how:

> "Patrick Hepburne of Wauchton, Knycht, [was convicted] of certane crymes committit apon James Sinclare, bruder to the lard of Rosling, and his complicis being with him,...."

and of how Patrick's possessions were forfeited to the crown as a result; the object of the present document however was to lift this prohibition so that "the said Patrik, his airis and assignais, [could] intromett and frelie dispone thairupone." Significantly, the king added that he was:

> "Chargeing alsua ane venerable fader in God, Robert, Abbot of Halirudhous, his servandis and all uthiris oure officiaris that thai and ilk ane of thame decist and ceis fra all intrometting with the said Patrikis gudis or escheit sua that the said Patrike, his airis and assignais, may frelie intromett and dispone apone the samym as said is."

It would appear, therefore, that James V's choice of Carncors first as an auditor, then as "thesaurar generall", and indeed his appointment to the committee of articles in parliament in 1535 was founded upon his financial expertise, if not on his acquisitive nature, since in the above example it might be suggested, that the abbot had been profiting directly from the misfortune of Patrick Hepburn. [247] Finally, it is perhaps worth noting that in Carncors's resignation of the Abbey of Fearn - to his nephew James Carncors - in 1545 - the year of his death - he retained a grasp on the revenues and the right of regress. [248]

In the Augustinian house of Inchaffray - Insula Missarum - the examples of Commendators Alexander Stewart of Pitcairn and Gavin Dunbar, serve to provide additional evidence of a monastic house being used to supplement the income of already wealthy, influential churchmen. In the case of Alexander Stewart, the importance of possessing influential benefactors was again much in evidence for he was the illegitimate son of Alexander, Duke of Albany, and brother of the Regent Albany. As early as 1513 moreover Stewart was being referred to as the "familiar" of James V, this in a letter from the crown recommending his appointment to the position of Commendator of Inchaffray. [249] Although promotion to this office followed quickly - on 13 November 1514 - [250] Stewart's career was perhaps more marked by his involvement over the years, in a variety of squabbles in his quest for promotion to various benefices, which included for example, Torphichen Preceptory, [251] the Priory of Whithorn, [252] and the Commendatorship of Scone. [253] In the event, the claim to Torphichen succeeded, albeit temporarily, for he failed to keep it; thereafter however, Stewart appeared on several occasions as the Prior of Whithorn in the business of the Lords of Council and ultimately he was successful in his pursuit of Scone.

Moving back in time, however, perhaps his earliest office was as the Dean of Dunbar collegiate church, [254] a position which *Fasti* claims he resigned on his appointment as the Dean of Brechin in 1512, but which he appears to have held as late as 13 February 1515/6, for he appeared before the Lords of Council on that date as the Dean of Dunbar, Postulate of Inchaffray[255] On 13 November 1514 - as seen above - he secured the Commendatorship of Inchaffray, this was followed in turn by his acquisition of the Commendatorship of Scone on 5 November 1518; on both occasions he apparently maintained his hold on the office of Dean of Brechin.

It is further interesting to note that despite his being nominated to the Commendator's position at Scone, in the affairs of the court he could be found appearing as the "Abbot" of Scone - through scribal carelessness - on a number of occasions from around 1519 to 1528. [256] Thereafter, Stewart waited for some eleven years before his next step up the hierarchical ladder of Church office was marked by Papal provision to the Bishopric of Moray on 13 September 1529. [257] Significantly, even on achieving this office, although he might appear merely as the Bishop of

Moray, Stewart would still seem to have retained control over the Deanery of Brechin, the Commendatorship of Inchaffray and that of Scone [258] in gratitude of which his royal patron, James V thanked his agent in Rome the Cardinal of Ancona, in a letter dated 10 January 1529/30. [259]

In the figure of Gavin Dunbar - nephew of the Bishop of Aberdeen, also named Gavin Dunbar - perhaps an even more ambitious individual may be recognised. Evidence of his favoured position at court may be seen as early as a letter to Pope Leo X, dated 12 December 1518, in which Albany referred both to Dunbar's service to the crown as teacher to the king - James V - and his - Albany's - desire to see this service rewarded through Dunbar's additional appointment - he was then dean of Moray - to the Commendatorship of Whithorn Priory. [260] That the subsequent negotiations on his behalf[261] between Scotland and Rome were of a successful nature, is evident both from an entry under the *Privy Seal* - dated 22 November 1524 - which referred to Dunbar both as the Prior of Whithorn and Postulate of Glasgow - a man embued with considerable authority within the Church - [262] and from a letter - dated 15 January 1524/5 - in which the king thanked Pope Clement III for appointing his "preceptor", to the Archbishopric of Glasgow itself, with the:

> "privileges of exemption for himself and his church from the legatine and primatial authority of St. Andrews." [263]

In turning to the question of why Dunbar should be thus rewarded, it emerged that as early as 12 December 1523 for example, Dunbar could be seen to have been identified by the compilers of the records of the *Great Seal* as a prominent member of the court, this in his capacity as the Archbishop of Glasgow. Significantly, it should be noted that in the following year, in a series of fifteen charters which show Dunbar similarly occupied, he appeared as the elect of Glasgow. [264] It would seem therefore, that the clerks of the *Great Seal* saw little amiss in having Dunbar appear as the Archbishop of Glasgow before they saw fit to acknowledge his status as the "choice" of the chapter of Glasgow. Promotion within the ecclesiastical ranks therefore, may be said in this case to equate with efficient service to the crown. Thus Dunbar's rise within the Church was matched by his appointment to the position of Royal Chancellor on 8 July 1528. [265] His competence in this role, in turn, was doubtless responsible for his holding office as Regent in the absence of the king in the period 1536/7. [266]

Here, the Archbishop of Glasgow could be seen employed in a variety of tasks, the focus of which lay outwith the confines of the Scottish kingdom itself; negotiating for example with Continental powers to secure the safety of Scottish citizens abroad, [267] the prestige accrued from acting in the king's name [268] recognised in a papal communiqué to the Scottish crown - of 19

January 1536/7 - which accorded precedence to the archbishop in terms of the award to James V of the "Blessed Sword and Cap". [269]

A direct correlation, therefore, may be said to exist between Dunbar's services to the crown - as opposed to the Church - and his ecclesiastical rewards, such as his subsequent Commendatorship of Inchaffray; James V writing to both Pope Paul III and the Cardinalate to secure this promotion. [270] Additional evidence - if such were needed - of Dunbar's significance at court is provided in the fact that his career survived the demise of his master James V. Thus he continued in both his role simply as the Archbishop of Glasgow [271], and in his joint capacity as Archbishop of Glasgow and Chancellor of the realm, in the reign of James' successor, Mary. [272]

In summing up therefore, the numerous offices and activities of Dunbar suggest that he would have been able to spend but little time in the pursuit of matters spiritual. In addition, it should be remembered that the clerks of the *Great Seal* showed little hesitation in assigning him to a variety of locations which bore little relevance to the centres of his ecclesiastic responsibilities. In all of these areas, as with so many of the examples already examined, they would seem to have been correct in general terms. In the more reliable records of the *Lords of Council* and those of the *Privy Council*, it emerges that Dunbar had established his position as an influential member of the royal entourage as early as 17 January 1496/7, that he maintained this prestigious position over a long career up to the middle of the early 1550's, and that where his whereabouts are known, they relate in the main to the towns of Stirling and Edinburgh, with additional isolated appearances in Aberdeen, Elgin and Perth. [273] It is difficult therefore, to see how he could have been viewed by his contemporaries as anything other than a powerful, governmental official rewarded with ecclesiastical office.

In shifting the emphasis to the Augustinian Priory of St. Andrews, the first character chosen for analysis is that of John Hepburn. Here again, the subject in question was seen to be in a position of being able to appear under more than one guise, and - like Dunbar above - of being capable of maintaining his position at court in a career which spanned two reigns; those of James III and James IV. Therefore, although Hepburn appeared on numerous occasions as the Prior of St. Andrews, and although he was later able to add to this the prestigious title of Vicar General of St. Andrews, it was on those occasions, arguably, on which he appeared in the dual role of Prior of St. Andrews, Keeper of the Privy Seal, that the true nature of his activities became apparent. His efficiency as a high ranking civil servant may be judged for example in the actions of a grateful James IV presenting him with the custody of the castle ("castri") of Falkland, along with the woods and park pertaining to it, for a period of five years, with every fief, commodity and profit held in accordance with it. [274] Again, it is highly relevant to note that the clerks of the *Great Seal* tended to

place Hepburn at some remove from St. Andrews itself, and in this they were supported by the work of those responsible for compiling the records of the *Lords of Council.* [275] The charge of absenteeism on account of state duties therefore, was one against which this servant of the Church could mount but little defence.

Staying with the same foundation, it is proposed to turn now to the figure of Gavin Dunbar, uncle of the Archbishop of Glasgow. It has been suggested that as early as 1487, he was occupied in the office of archdeacon of Aberdeen; [276] further information from a somewhat later date may be gleaned from the *Register of the Privy Seal*, where Dunbar appeared on 15 February 1500/1, as the deacon of Moray - an office which it would seem he had held since at least 13 March 1486/7 - [277] "possessour.... of the channanry and prebend Crechmond within the Cathedrall kirk of Abirdene...." [278] That he was also the Clerk of the Register, appeared in the later record - on the 10 February 1503/4 - of his promotion to the office of archdeacon of St. Andrews; [279] an office which he seems to have held in tandem with those of dean of Moray and Clerk of the Rolls, Register and Council. [280]

Additional, more prestigious offices still however awaited this pluralist, for on 2 July 1518, Dunbar was awarded the temporalities of the Bishopric of Aberdeen! [281] That Dunbar's rise within the Church however, owed more to his skills as a courtier than a cleric, may be assumed - for example - in a series of royal letters covering the years 1508/9. Here it emerges that he was employed by King James IV as his "ambassador", in the royal court of France, where it would seem he was on reasonably familiar terms with both Louis XII and his Queen, Anne. [282] Furthermore, even within the Scottish realm, none of the ecclesiastical titles under which he appeared would seem to have greatly influenced his place of residence, since it would seem that the clerks of the *Great Seal* placed him as a rule in the royal court of Edinburgh. [283]

It is perhaps true to say that an equally familiar face within the royal circle would have been that of Patrick Hepburn - the nephew of John Hepburn above - appointed coadjutor to the Priory of St. Andrews on 16 June 1524, he appeared to have also held the office of parson of Whitsome, this before he assumed control of the Priory in 1525. [284] Here it might be noted, that during his career the records of the *Great Seal* suggest that Hepburn reached a wide variety of Scotland's towns and villages in his travels. Although these locations are highly suspect, it becomes clear when the evidence relating to the activities of the Lords of Council is examined, that this individual was indeed an important figure in governmental circles. [285] It is equally relevant to note that Hepburn did not confine himself merely to one office; during the years 1525 and 1526 for example, he appeared as both the Prior of St. Andrews and as the King's Secretary, whilst in 1528 he was appointed to remain continually on the Court of Session. [286] Royal favour did not end here

however, for James V thereafter repeatedly petitioned Pope Paul III to promote the Prior to the two offices of Bishop of Moray and Commendator of Scone. [287] Hepburn in due course did indeed receive Papal provision to both Moray and Scone, on 14 June 1538, - albeit that he had to relinquish his hold on St. Andrews - [288] his admission to both offices following on 24 November 1538. [289] Thereafter, in the period up to, and indeed beyond the Reformation, he held the two offices of Bishop of Moray, Commendator of Scone. [290]

Before moving on from the town of St. Andrews, a brief reference to the office of archbishop must be made. Here the figure of Alexander Stewart provides what is perhaps one of the more extreme example covered thus far, of an individual whose known whereabouts bear little relation to his ultimately exalted position within the Church. In the opening years of the sixteenth century - 1502/3 - , Stewart may be identified as the archdeacon of St. Andrews, [291] but rapid promotion followed thereafter, and on 10 May 1504 he secured the prized see of St. Andrews. [292] In addition, this same individual may be seen to have carried the titles of Royal Chancellor, [293] Commendator of Dunfermline Abbey - as of 29 January 1508 - [294] and Coldingham Priory, and Legate of the Apostolic See. [295]

Turning once more to the Benedictine Order, the Abbey of Dunfermline provides additional examples of individuals who saw fit to hold more than one office at a time. James Hepburn for instance, like many of the examples covered so far, benefited enormously from the backing of powerful patrons, in this instance both the Governor Albany and the widowed Queen Margaret applied pressure on Pope Leo X to approve Hepburn's promotion to the Abbey of Dunfermline; [296] it is further noteworthy, that at this stage in his career - 1513/14 - Hepburn already held both the parsonage of Parton and Dalry in the dioceses of Glasgow and Whithorn respectively. [297] This progression up the ladder of promotion, may be observed in the records of the *Great Seal* where Hepburn appeared initially as the postulate of Dunfermline [298], then as the Receiver of the king's Casualities [299] thereafter as the king's Treasurer. [300] Further charters still, saw him added to the witness lists to the crown's affairs as both the postulate of Moray, and as the postulate of Moray and parson of Parton, two mutually exclusive offices; [301] finally - following his admission to the temporalities of Moray on 26 August 1516 - [302] he appeared in the business of the court as the Bishop of Moray. [303] Significantly, in all of the above entries in the *Great Seal*, the clerks responsible for its compilation saw nothing amiss in attributing his activities in the main to Edinburgh; on only two occasions was he placed outwith this location, and on these occasions - equally significantly - the scribes employed chose to have him appear in Stirling and Linlithgow respectively. That they were accurate in so far as they assigned Hepburn a prominent position in society's highest circle,

may be seen by reference to the business of the Lords of Council, in which this bishop/commendator was so obviously a part. [304]

Next in line, Andrew Forman, who, in maintaining the link between the Bishopric of Moray and the Abbey of Dunfermline, provided yet another example of how an already prestigious office within the Church could be made even more attractive by the addition of further lucrative appointments. The foundations of Forman's astonishing career, may be said to lie in the services which he rendered to first the Earl of Angus, thence the crown; initially - presumably - as a clerk, since he was so termed - "clerk of St. Andrews diocese" - when the Papacy granted him "the parsonage of the Church of Forest" in 1489. [305] Whilst employed on the king's affairs in Rome c.1490, he received the additional title of "prothonotary apostolic"; upon his return, he continued to represent the crown's interest, acting as an ambassador - for example - in James IV, dealings with the English crown. [306] Here, additional light may be thrown upon his favoured status and additional offices at this time, in an entry under the *Privy Seal*, dated 24 May 1498; it recorded a:

> "letter of Licence to the kingis counsalour and prothonotary the Priour of Pettinweme, for his gude service done to our soveran lord in lauboring of tender lufe and frendschip, peax and amitie, betuix our soveran lord and the King of Ingland...."

it also permitted Forman, his kinsmen and friends, to travel within England and to receive any benefices or pensions which the king of England might be willing to offer as a reward for his services. [307] In due course, as a result of this boon, Forman was indeed rewarded for his services, through the grant of the "rectory of Cottenham in Yorkshire" on 1 May 1501. [308] Here it is perhaps possible to further suggest, that an entry dated 27 February 1500/1 in the *Register of the Privy Seal* detailing a:

> "precept of Admission made to Jane Forman, Prioress of Eklis, to the temporalite of al landis, rentis and possessionis of the samyn...."

was another example of Henry of England's appreciation of Andrew's activities. [309]

On 8 October of the same year, he appeared in the company of "Robert [Blackadder] Archbishop of Glasgow", and "Patrick [Hepburn] Earl of Bothwell, Lord Hailes..." in the embassy sent to negotiate the marriage of James IV to Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VIII; [310] by this time it should be noted, he had already assumed the additional title of Postulate of the Cathedral

Church of Moray, [311] provision to the see following on 26 November 1501, in the aftermath of his successful mission. [312] Forman's accumulation of ecclesiastic offices at this point might be termed impressive enough, but his ambition was by no means satisfied. Consider for example, that he would seem to have retained his previous possessions despite promotion to Moray; this fact emerging in a letter of "Protection and Respite" issued to Forman on 25 July 1509 which related to:

> "him, his cathedrale kirk, the dene, chepture and channonis of the samyn, the Priory of Pettynweme and convent thairof, and all and sindry the kirkis, landis, possessiouns...." [313]

Consider also that in the same year - on 26 December 1509 - he gained admission to the temporalities of the Abbey of Dryburgh, [314] two years later - on 18 July 1511 - control of Kelso Abbey, [315] and just under two years after this - on 15 July 1513 - his association with the French crown reaped dividends in the form of his promotion to the Archbishopric of Bourges. [316] Again, the archbishop was careful to consolidate his grip on earlier acquisitions; on this occasion he ensured his retention not only of the religious houses of Dryburgh and Kelso, but also of the see of Moray.[317] The following year saw what was - in light of his recent prizes - perhaps the most astonishing award in his career up to this stage, for on 13 November 1514, Forman was granted the Archbishopric of St. Andrews. On this occasion it should be noted, that although he relinquished his hold on the Archbishopric of Bourges, Pope Leo X not only allowed him to retain control of his other offices - including again the Bishopric of Moray - he also recompensed him somewhat by appointing him Commendator of Dunfermline and Arbroath. Although Forman was subsequently to resign his hold on "Arbroath.... Moray and Dryburgh, as well as Kilwinning and other benefices obtained by his friends, with some annual pensions, retaining only the Archbishopric with Dunfermline....", the pain of such a significant reverse was softened by the fact that Albany asked the Pope to grant him a cardinalate and "confirm" his authority as a "legatus a Latere", [318] an office which the Papacy had hoped would:

> "be salutary in granting spiritual graces and clearing consciences...." [319]

a connection here - perhaps - to an earlier request of James IV for "a confessional for the cleansing of his conscience" ? [320]

At this point, several questions arise in relation to the activities of Forman in the above period. What services did he render to so endear himself in the eyes of the leading lay and

ecclesiastic powers of the day? Granted, his labours as an ambassador for the Scottish crown - as touched on above - had doubtless marked him out as a known figure in the royal courts of England and France, but what exactly had won him - for instance - the Archbishopric of Bourges? What enabled him to so secure the favour of his own king that he could accumulate so many of the leading offices of the Church in Scotland? Even allowing for the sensitive nature of cross - Border negotiations with the English crown, and the part he played in securing a bride for James, still it is difficult to reconcile the extent of his pluralism; similarly, the apparent willingness of the Papacy to allow him to thus consolidate and expand his powerbase within the Church, at what would seem to be every available opportunity. What could explain this favoured treatment by Rome? Here again perhaps, as with so many of the examples covered thus far, it might be suggested that to find answers to these questions, it is more profitable to turn once more to matters outwith a strictly spiritual remit.

Thus engaged in the service of the crown, it emerges that Forman was perhaps the most industrious, and influential ambassador which Scotland possessed in the period in question. On 22 October 1510 for example, James IV wrote to the Marquis of Mantua indicating that he had entrusted the complex task of negotiating a peace settlement between Louis XII, "Julius II, and the Venetians" to Forman. [321] Similarly, a flurry of correspondence from the court of James IV - dated 5 February 1510/11 - saw the king not only repeat the above statement to the Marquis[322] but recommend his ambassador to the Pope, [323] the Duke of Savoy, [324] and to Maximilian, the Emperor Elect. [325] Significantly, in one letter to the Pope, James IV praised Forman's experience "in conducting long and arduous negotiations with princes...." [326]; this statement going some way to explaining the precedence - arguably - accorded to this bishop - commendator over his fellow negotiator, no less a figure than the Duke of Albany. [327] Equally noteworthy, was the additional confidence which the king placed in Forman, for he was also entrusting him with the task of salvaging his desire for a crusade against the "infidel", when peace had been re - established between the warring European factions. [328] Thereafter, a series of four further letters - also dating from February - to both the King of Hungary and the Cardinals of Rome, bear additional witness to the resolve of James IV and the key role assigned to Forman in achieving his aims. [329] That this trust was well placed may be seen in the letter which Louis XII sent to Forman soon after, ensuring him that he would do all that he could to both end the present troubles and aid the fight "against the infidels". [330] In the following year - 1511 - Julius II for his part, was describing Forman as both the ambassador of James IV and of himself, [331] according him the authority to act in his name in the then current negotiations, [332] and informing his royal master of his gratitude for the part this episcopal commendator was playing in attempting to secure peace with Louis XII. [333] A mere twelve

days after the above communiqué - on 18 January 1511/12 - Louis XII expressed a similar degree of appreciation of Forman's efforts in the cause of peace, the bishop therefore seemingly an honoured guest in both the Papal and the French courts; [334] evidence of this again emerging in a letter dated 31 January 1511/12, in which James IV expressed his warm support for the Papal suggestion that Forman be created a Cardinal! [335]

The following month, the Bishop of Moray would seem to have been in London, still engaged in the international political scene, on this occasion with the English and French crowns[336], the extent of his travels at this time however, is perhaps best appreciated by his master's repeated claim, that his "orator" the "Bishop of Moray" had "crossed the cold Alpine heights" to try to "achieve his purpose", not merely once apparently, but "time and again". [337] Towards the end of March 1512, Forman had returned to Scotland for what was to be a brief visit, for on 25 March 1513, James IV wrote to Julius II informing him that he had once again sent Forman "to Rome to work for peace in Christendom"; he also took the opportunity to remind the Pope of his earlier promise of a Cardinalate for his envoy. [338]

In returning therefore to the questions raised above, as to how Forman could have accumulated so many honours within the Church at one and the same time, the answer undoubtedly lies in the high profile which he maintained in the leading courts of Europe. That his actions were not always viewed in a favourable light may be seen for example in Henry VIII's wish to have him arrested before he could reach Rome in his diplomatic mission of 1513, [339] but it is probably fair to say - in view of the above evidence - that he was as a rule a welcome, familiar figure in the highest social and ecclesiastical circles, so much so, that when Louis XII - in one of the letters which he sent to the Chapter of Bourges to secure Forman's appointment to the Archbishopric - spoke of him as "his very dear and great friend", his tone was sincere as opposed to merely diplomatic.[340] In summing up his career therefore, it would appear that there can have been little opportunity at any stage for him to have exercised anything other than a fraction of his undoubtedly prodigious energies, in any of his numerous ecclesiastical offices, even when he was in Scotland; he warranted numerous mentions in the affairs of parliament, and the charters given under the *Great Seal* referring - for example - to the period from 24 May 1503 to 28 July 1506, suggest that Forman possessed a particular fondness for the royal court in Edinburgh. That he would indeed have been a familiar face in the entourage of the king may be further assumed from his numerous appearances in the late fifteenth century as a Lord of Council. [341]

In the figure of Donald Campbell, Abbot of the Cistercian house of Coupar Angus, another individual appears who held the joint responsibility of ministering to a religious community whilst he served the state in his capacity of Keeper of the Privy Seal; this in the period leading up to - and

indeed beyond - the Reformation, his importance in governmental circles seen in the numerous references to him in the activities of the Scottish parliament. [342] As with the other religious examined above however, the clerks of the *Great Seal* saw little amiss in always placing the abbot at some remove from the house in question. In a total of 61 charters examined covering the period from 29 June 1554 to 16 December 1562, 53 refer to the town of Edinburgh, 4 to that of Stirling, 2 to Inverness, 1 to Holyroodhouse and 1 to Paris. Evidence that the scribes compiling this record were not wholly wrong in thus portraying the abbot as touring the countryside in the royal entourage, may in turn be provided by examining the more reliable records kept for the business of the *Privy Council*, from the last day in June 1545 to 28 August 1535. [343]

At first glance however, it would seem that Campbell's career, whilst not wholly in keeping with the ideal image of an abbot's lifestyle, was perhaps praiseworthy in the sense that he seemingly did not fall prey to the temptations of pluralism to the same extent as some of his contemporaries. On closer examination, however, it emerges that simple misfortune, rather than any personal restraint, may perhaps be a more realistic interpretation of events. Thus, although powerful supporters - in the form initially of the Governor Albany, thereafter James V himself - were to secure his initial promotion to Coupar Angus in 1526, [344] subsequent efforts to promote Campbell to still greater heights were to meet with little success. Fruitless attempts were made for example in 1548 to secure the see of Glasgow for the abbot, [345] thereafter, in 1547 and 1549, although the Governor - Chatelherault - obtained the temporalities of the see of Dunkeld for Campbell, the abbot was stopped from assuming the title itself, by the long pressed claims of Robert Crichton. [346]

Both the Queen and the Governor thereafter tried to enlist the support of the French crown - on 22 April 1550 - to promote the Crown's right of nomination - with regards to prelacies - and force through Campbell's case. [347] In the final outcome however, it was Crichton, not Campbell, who secured the prize. [348] Undaunted, the crown then tried to secure the see of Brechin to compensate the abbot for his loss, but again he failed to secure Papal approval of the proposed plan. Here, it might be suggested that on this occasion the stumbling block lay in the form of Campbell seeking to abandon the Cistercian habit, yet retain possession of Coupar Angus; however, in light of other examples where such requests were granted with ease - as for example with regards to James Beaton and Patrick Panter - it is perhaps more feasible to think that the papacy made use of these factors to revenge itself on the crown - for Campbell was obviously a favoured royal servant, appointed Senator of the College of Justice in 1541, and to the Committee of Articles in 1542 - , for the king's earlier opposition to Crichton's papally approved promotion to Dunkeld. [349]

A contemporary of Campbell, Robert Reid, Abbot of Kinloss, serves to maintain the image of a religious whose energies would seem to have been directed more to the benefit of the state

than the monks of his house. In the early 1530's for example, Reid was involved in the peace negotiations taking place between the English and Scottish crowns. [350] That he carried out his duties in a satisfactory manner, may be assumed from his being sent - in 1535 - to France to help secure a suitable bride for the king; [351] numerous royal communiqués thereafter bear witness to the fact that the abbot was industriously employed in this task throughout the period 1535/6, [352] and that he so operated in conjunction with some of the highest authorities in the land. [353] Significantly, whilst these negotiations were in progress, James V had written to his "orators" in France, promising them that their actions on his behalf would not go unrewarded, [354] and for Reid's services in this respect - and indeed for other services rendered - this was undoubtedly true. As early as 1532 for example, James V had granted Reid considerable powers when imparting free burghal status to "the toun of Seytoun of Kinlos, in the barony of the same, in the neighbourhood of Elgin and Forres"; Reid - as Abbot of Kinloss - was empowered for example, to determine both the appointment of the officials therein and the nature of their authority, this in recognition of "his good services and for many other things". [355]

Arguably, as a direct consequence of the abbot's involvement in the negotiations to secure a French match for James in 1536, the grateful monarch gifted him:

> "the warde of all landis and annuellis baith propirte and tennardrie with mylnis and fischingis thairof.... quhilkis pertenit to umquhill William Dunbrek of that ilk.... now throw his deces.... in our soverane lordis handis.... and als the gift of the marriage of Thomas Dunbrek, sone and are of the said umquhil William, and, failzeing of him be deces unmariit, the marriage of ony uthir are or airis male or female...." [356]

Royal gratitude did not end here, however, for on 5 April 1541, James V wrote to the Pope and the Cardinalate, pressing - successfully - , for Reid's elevation to the See of Orkney. [357] Here, two points are worthy of note; firstly, that the king recommended Reid on the strength of his long standing service to the crown - in the affairs of state at the highest level - at both home and abroad, rather than for any display of spiritual merit or piety; secondly that the king asked that Reid be allowed to retain the benefices which he held at the time of this request. [358] Significantly therefore, this one individual appeared under a variety of titles; for example either solely as the Abbot of Kinloss, [359] or as the Bishop of Orkney, [360] as both simultaneously, [361] or indeed - following the additional grant of Beauly Priory in 1530 - [362] as the Bishop of Orkney and Prior of Beauly. [363] Such evidence of pluralism was by no means confined to his later career however, since in the late

1520's, Reid could lay claim to the three vicarages of "Grandtully, Bruntkirk and Kirkcaldy," [364] the titles of subdean and official of Moray, and the Abbacy of Kinloss [365] In terms of his lay standing, he could be seen to be trusted with considerable political power both at home as the President of the College of Justice [366] and as a Lord of Council [367] and abroad as a foreign diplomat; it is little wonder therefore that Reid's name appeared in the affairs of the Scottish parliament before and after the Reformation. [368]

Similarly impressive, though perhaps less successful, examples of Cistercian enterprise may equally be seen in the careers of Abbots Andrew Dury of Melrose and William Colville of Culross. In terms of the former, for example, during the vacancy of the Bishopric of Galloway - following the death of Henry Wemys - Dury received the temporalities of both the see and the annexed house of Tongland. Thereafter, although on promotion from Melrose he gained the dual responsibility of the see of Galloway and the collegiate Chapel Royal in Stirling, his activities as a member of the Privy Council precluded any real contact with these spiritual centres. That he was held in high esteem by the Scottish crown may be seen in the involvement of James V and the governor Albany in his appointment to Melrose, in James V's excusing his failing to attend the Cistercian General Chapter, in the king's part in his promotion to Whithorn, and in the royal demand that he receive "a perpetual pension of one thousand merks" from the fruits of Melrose, "with the use of the country place of Mauchline" and its associated landholding when he finally relinquished his hold on the Abbey of Melrose. [369]

Equally, although his contemporary Colville was charged with the keeping of Culross Abbey, he too was a member of the Privy Council, and in addition bore the title of "Comptrollar to our Soverane Lady", Queen Mary. Just as with Dury above therefore, and so many of the examples covered thus far, the title an individual bore could be seen to have little relevance to his activities or whereabouts. Colville for example was in regular attendance at the meetings of the Privy Council during the period 5 June 1545 to 18 August 1553, and it is fair to say that at other times he would have been more likely to have been found in the court than in the monastery of Culross. [370]

That such careerism and pluralism was not confined merely to the larger Orders within Scotland may be seen from two examples drawn from the Premonstratensian houses of Dryburgh and Fearn respectively. Dryburgh for instance provides the figure of James Ogilvy, who appeared initially to hold the parsonage of Spynie and the prebend of Methlick, [371] this at a time when he was appearing as a witness to the business of the *Great Seal* as the Master of Requests. [372] That his ambition did not end here, however, is evident from the fact that he gained control of the Abbey of Dryburgh by way of compensation, for having agreed to drop his claim to the bishopric of Aberdeen, thus clearing the way for the appointment of Alexander Gordon, cousin to the Earl of

Huntly. [373] In the business of the *Great Seal* therefore, Ogilvy could appear - for example - as the Master of Requests, [374] as the Master of Requests and parson of Kinkell, [375] as the Commendator[376] or Abbot of Dryburgh [377]; all offices which he would seem to have been credited with at one and the same time. [378] That he was allowed to behave in such a fashion may perhaps best be explained by his presence in the foremost ranks of Scottish officialdom, and in the diplomatic activities which he undertook both in the years immediately prior to Flodden and in the turmoil thereafter.

In 1512 and 1513 for example, Ogilvy was involved in the somewhat hazardous task of relaying messages from the Scottish court to Louis XII, thence returning to his royal master with the French King's replies. [379] His continued involvement with the French crown in the aftermath of Flodden, may also be seen in his acting as a link between the widowed Queen Margaret and Louis XII, the latter assuring the former of his continued support. [380] Thus engaged in diplomatic duties, the *Register of the Privy Seal* for example recorded - on 19 March 1515/16:

> "the gyft of the temporalite of the bishopric of Breichin.... for his supportation and furnysing of expens.... [whilst he was] passing in the realme of Ingland in the kingis ambassiatry...." [381]

It would seem safe to assume therefore, that such an individual as Ogilvy would spend little if any time engaged in caring for the brethren of Dryburgh, and indeed, in some 21 charters - covering the period 1514 to 1517 - recorded under the *Great Seal*, 20 place him in Edinburgh, 1 in Stirling. [382] As to Ogilvy's activities overseas, dramatic evidence may be produced to show that on one occasion, the vessel he was travelling on was hit by canon fire from an English warship, the fortunate Ogilvy managing to reach the safety of Denmark. Thereafter, again whilst on a mission for the French crown - he was captured and held prisoner for a period of two and a half months, whilst peace negotiations were carried out between Louis of France and the King of Aragon. [383]

The principles of reward and compensation for an industrious and somewhat dangerous career in the service of his country therefore, are perhaps the most accurate means of explaining his high office within the Church, for when the details of his career are considered, there was little time for him to have paid heed to the care of the souls which were - in theory at least - his responsibility.

In turning to the much smaller house of Fearn for its part in the present study, this foundation should be seen as but a small part of the estate of Andrew Stewart (1st.), an individual who although he missed gaining possession of both the see of Aberdeen and the Commendatorship of Cambuskenneth Abbey [384] was just as familiar a face at court as his

contemporary James Ogilvy; appearing with him on numerous occasions in his capacity as the Bishop of Caithness, a man who could also lay claim to the title of Royal Treasurer, [385] and to that of Commendator of Kelso and - of course - Fearn. [386]

Far from undermining the earlier image created therefore, the additional examples examined merely serve to strengthen the picture of the leading churchmen of the period appearing more in the role of powerful civil servants, ambassadors than as spiritual role models for either their ecclesiastical or lay charges to emulate. At this point however, it is perhaps appropriate to place the criticism of contemporary authors as examined above, in the context, for example, of the Rules which governed the foundations which have featured thus far. Similarly, it would doubtless prove useful to the reader to have some means of relating what duties pertained to what office, so that an approximate evaluation could be made as to the degree or nature of the guilt accrued through the examples of pluralism identified above. With these points in mind the reader is reminded that the office of Keeper of the Privy Seal for example, was an extremely prestigious position to hold within the realm, for:

> "The Privy Seal alone was necessary to the authentication of various classes of crown letters or grants, such as gifts of pension, of feudal casualties, of escheats and other moveable property or rights, tacks of crown lands, letters of protection commissions to minor offices of court or state, presentation to benefices and many others...." [387]

Even more prestigious still however, was the office of Keeper of the Great Seal, which operated in tandem with the above, for in such matters as those relating - for example - to:

> "investitures in crown lands, remissions, legitimations,..... the attachment of the Great Seal was required, and the Privy Seal was applied to a precept which was merely a step in the process of procuring the Great Seal...." [388]

Thus in turn, the importance of the offices of Royal Chancellor and Royal Secretary become apparent. The latter for example was responsible for supervising the work of the chancery, and for wielding the king's "Signet"; the seal apparently most commonly "used to authenticate summonses before the Council issued in response to petitions". The former for his part carried the joint responsibility of overseeing the activities of the royal parliaments and councils, and - more importantly still perhaps - of retaining possession of the Great Seal. [389]

In turning now to the field of financial affairs, the office of Royal Comptroller and that of Treasurer, were of a similarly prestigious nature; the former responsible for the financial outlay involved in maintaining the day to day expenses of the royal household from such sources as the income from crown lands, and the great customs, the latter in affairs outwith the royal domestic activities, such as meeting the cost of royal building developments or the financing of diplomatic missions, the income derived here for example from such areas as fines and - again for example - James V taxes for the defence of the realm, and the establishment of the College of Justice, [390] all witnessed in chapter 6 below.

In turning to the question of the spiritual demands placed upon the heads of the religious houses of the day, it is proposed to begin with the Rule of St. Benedict. Herein, a plethora of advice is given as to the ideal model for such a role. In chapter two of the Rule for example - appropriately entitled *What kind of man the abbot should be* - the reader is told:

"Let the abbot realise that the shepherd will have to answer for any lack of profit which the Father of the family may discover in his sheep.... Above all let him not have greater solicitude for fleeting, earthly, and perishable things, and so overlook or undervalue the salvation of the souls committed to him; but let him always remember that he has undertaken the government of souls and will have to give an account of them. And if he be tempted to complain of lack of means, let him remember the words: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his approval, and all these things shall be yours without the asking". [391]

In terms of the means of his selection, the Rule was equally clear:

> "Let this rule always be observed, that he be made abbot who is chosen unanimously in the fear of God by the whole community, or even by a minority, however small, if its counsel be more wholesome. Let him who is to be appointed be chosen for the merit of his life and his enlightened wisdom, even though he be last in order of the community. If however they choose someone unfit for the position and if this comes to the knowledge of the local bishop and neighbouring abbots or christians, let them foil this conspiracy of the wicked and set a worthy steward over God's house." [392]

A similar vein of thought may be said in turn to permeate the equally influential Rule of St. Augustine, in that the reader was told that it was the duty of the brethren to "obey" their "superior as a father", whilst the reader was informed that in turn it was "primarily up to the superior to see that all" of the Rule was, "put into practice and that all infringements" were "not carelessly overlooked." For it was his, "duty to point out abuses and to correct them." Furthermore, the rule continued, he "should himself observe the norms of the community and so lead others to respect them too.... because of his responsibility to God he shall realise that he is the very least of the brethren."

The emphasis throughout again therefore is that the head of the community should be a resident model of the spiritual ideal, a man inextricably involved in the daily life of the community within his charge, literally a "father figure" to its members. He should be an individual who, although he was the recognised head of his house, had achieved this position through piety and grace as opposed to driving ambition and greed for power, someone who in effect displayed the quality of humility and a genuine desire to follow the example of Christ. Thus would he have satisfied the author of *The Thre Prestis Of Peblis How Thai Tald Thar Talis*, and later Sir David Lindsay, by exhibiting those essential qualities which they believed were absent in the religious of their day. [393]

Keeping the points raised above in mind, relating to the responsibilities inherent in the lay and ecclesiastic positions examined in the preceding paragraphs - it is proposed to close this chapter with a brief account of some of the other offices within the Church, held in circumstances which tend to reflect somewhat badly on the men who possessed them. Consider for example the office of archdeacon; here the duties involved required the holder to maintain a watchful eye on the parish clergy within a diocese, to ensure acceptable standards were being maintained. A responsible position indeed, and one which would have involved considerable involvement with and knowledge of, the workings of the see in question, regardless of the aid provided by the deans of Christianity beneath him. [394] How then could Patrick Panter for example have carried out his duties as the archdeacon of Moray at a time when he was in attendance at the court of his royal master as his Secretary? Equally questionable perhaps the position of Alexander Myln who appeared as the parson of the Church of Lundeif at the same time as he apparently functioned as the dean of Angus. [395]

In terms of abbatial office, consider the example of George Crichton, as Abbot of Holyrood and Keeper of the Privy Seal, or George Hepburn, who would seem to have enjoyed the equally mutually exclusive offices of Provost of Lincluden - a position which implied his residing at Lincluden to supervise the discipline of the members of the college - and Abbot of Arbroath! The spiritual credibility of these men is further brought in to question by highlights taken from the career of James Beaton, - uncle of the infamous David - a man who appeared as the Abbot of

Dunfermline, and as the Royal Treasurer at one and the same time, who mixed abbatial responsibilities with those of another office which he was privileged to hold, that of vicar general of Dunkeld. In the latter office, he was in effect supposed to be carrying out the administrative duties of the see in place of the then Bishop, George Brown. [396] That the clash between lay and ecclesiastic office could continue regardless of achieving exalted levels within the Church, is again evidenced in this same individuals career, and in that of Gavin Dunbar; both appearing at times under the combined offices of Archbishop of Glasgow and Royal Chancellor. It should be remembered that such individuals were no strangers to the world of finance, Robert Carncors for instance whilst Abbot of Holyrood, could be seen to have been acting in conjunction with the king's Comptroller James Colville, effectively performing the tasks of a comptroller himself. Finally, that the subjects examined above were indeed seen as being part and parcel of the highest lay circles, may be seen not only in the evidence examined above, but in a brief glance at the records of the Scottish parliaments of the period in question.

As early as the reign of James I for example, Scottish parliamentary records show the Abbots of Balmerino and Inchcolm operating as royal auditors and tax collectors in 1424 and 1432 respectively, [397] whilst in the reign of James II, abbots drawn from the communities of Arbroath, Cambuskenneth, Coupar Angus, Culross, Deer, Dunfermline, Holyrood, Kinloss, Lindores, Melrose, Paisley and Scone were all seen as being of sufficient importance to warrant inclusion in the business of parliament. [398] In the reign of James III, a similar picture emerges, for abbots drawn from Arbroath, Balmerino, Cambuskenneth, Coupar Angus, Crossraguel, Culross, Deer, Dryburgh, Dundrennan, Dunfermline, Holyrood, Inchcolm, Inchaffray, Kelso, Kilwinning, Kinloss, Lindores, Melrose, Newbattle, Paisley, and Scone, were included along with priors from the regular houses of Coldingham, Inchmahome, Lesmahagow, May, Restenneth, St. Andrews and Whithorn in the affairs of parliament. [399] In moving on to the reign of James IV, abbots and commendators drawn from the houses of Arbroath, Balmerino, Cambuskenneth, Coupar Angus, Culross, Dryburgh, Dunfermline, Holyrood, Inchaffray, Inchcolm, Kelso, Kilwinning, Lindores, Melrose, Newbattle, Paisley and Scone were seen as important enough to warrant mention in the affairs of parliament, as in indeed were the priors - and others - charged with the keeping of the communities of Coldingham, Pittenweem, Pluscarden, Restenneth and St. Andrews. [400]

In terms of the reign of James V, the frequent reference to the heads of the above houses in the affairs of parliament continued unabated; thus abbots and commendators of the monasteries of Arbroath, Balmerino, Cambuskenneth, Coupar Angus, Crossraguel, Dryburgh, Dundrennan, Dunfermline, Glenluce, Holyrood, Inchchaffray, Jedburgh, Kelso, Kilwinning, Kinloss, Lindores, Melrose, Newbattle, Paisley and Scone, were once more seen to have played a key role in the life

of the nation, as indeed did the leading figures associated with the communities of Coldingham, Pittenweem, Pluscarden and St. Andrews. [401]

Finally, in the reign of James V's successor, Mary, the involvement of such men in the affairs of parliament could be seen to extend up to and indeed beyond the Reformation. Thus the abbots and commandators of such houses as Arbroath, Balmerino, Cambuskenneth, Coupar Angus, Crossraguel, Deer, Dryburgh, Dundrennan, Dunfermline, Fearn, Glenluce, Holyrood, Inchaffray, Inchcolm, Jedburgh, Kilwinning, Kinloss, Lindores, Melrose, Newbattle, Paisley and Saulseat, may be seen to have featured in affairs of state in the period in question, alongside the dignitaries of such communities as Coldingham, Inchmahome, Pittenweem, Pluscarden and St. Andrews. [402] In light of the evidence accumulated thus far therefore, it is little wonder that the subjects of this thesis were often the targets of the keen wit of contemporary observers of society.

1.) J. Small: (ed.): *William Dunbar*, Vol. 2, 206-7, l. 1-2.
For his position at court see, xxxii of the introduction to this edition.

2.) T. D. Robb: (ed.): *The Thre Prestis Of Peblis, How Thai Tald Thar Talis.*
In the introduction to this edition, Robb suggests that the author may have been one John Reid, secretary to no less than three monarchs; James II, III and IV. For details, see xvii, xviii and xix of the introduction. In support of this claim it should be said that a John Reid -also known as John Stobo- does appear in *R. M. S.* 1424/1513 as the familiar servant and secretary of James III -on 9 January 1477/8- and indeed as the parson of "Kirkcriste" on several occasions in 1488. see: *R. M. S.* 1424/1513, Nos. 1341; 1810, 2033, 2037.
For the dating of the work to the reign of James III see ix, xiii, xiv of the introduction.

3.) As above; 26, l. 408-412. Note in particular the reference to the "North window" ; on 27 the editor explains that the North was symbolically linked with the Devil, by association therefore, any bishop who secured appointment in this fashion could be seen more as his servant than that of the Church. This view may be seen to have been held from at least the sixth century onwards, for in the world view of Gregory the Great, among the subjects which he associated with the north were those of the "flesh" , "sin" , "nothingness" and the "devil" . See: C. Straw: *Gregory the Great: Perfection In Imperfection* (London, 1975) , 54. Hereafter C. Straw: *Gregory The Great.*

4.) J. Small: (ed.): *William Dunbar*, Vol. 2, 206-7.

5.) As above; 209, l. 21-5.

6.) The date provided by Professor Roderick Lyall in *Lindsay*, see the introduction, xv.
R. M. S. 1513-1546, 896 describes him as the king's servant and herald, whilst *R. S. S.* Vol. 2, 1529/1549 describes him as "knight, Lyoun King of Arms" . Professor Lyall -as above xviii and xix- describes him as "Snowdon Herald" when referring to his diplomatic career after 1529; hitherto he was described as the king's "Usher" . see above xvi. Lindsay would therefore have been in an ideal position to observe both the workings and-perhaps more importantly- the personnel of the court.

7.) D. Hamer: (ed.): *Lindsay*, Vol. 1, 48, l. 316; 319-20.

8.) As above; l. 326-7.

9.) R. Lyall: (ed.): *Lindsay*, Introduction, xvi.

10.) D. Hamer: (ed.): *Lindsay*, Vol. 1, 85, l. 987-1010.

11.) R. Lyall: (ed.): *Lindsay*, Introduction, vii.

12.) As above; 103, l. 2842-9; l. 2855-6; l. 2860-2.

13.) As above; 103, l. 2864-7; 103-4, l. 2868-73.

D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 42-5.
Regarding the obvious flaws in the entries of the Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, for the example of entries occurring in and Stirling on the same day, see for example, *R. M. S.* 1424/1513, Nos. 2163-4. For the example relating to impossibly long journeys within a short period of time, e. g. Dingwall and Edinburgh, see for example, *R. M. S.* 1424/1513, Nos. 2181/2.

T. M. Chalmers: *The King's Council, Patronage and the Governance of Scotland, 1460/1513* (Aberdeen University, 1982 P.H.D.). 19, 80-4, 201-4.

14.) *R. M. S.* 1424/1513, No. 1034.

Acts: Civil Causes, Vol. 2, 1496-1501, cxxxiv, 40, 41, 42, 44, 46, 50, 51, 59, 71 (Stirling) , 72, 81 (Edinburgh) 82, 83, 85, 90, 92, 153, 154, 156, 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 190 (Stirling) , 192, 193, 195, 201, 202, 205, 206, 210, 215, 216, 217, 219, 221-4, 227, 229, 231, 232, 236, 240, 241, 243, 245, 247, 248, 251 (as a Lord of Exchequer) , 252, 253, 254, 341 (Provides a list of the Lords of Council Jan. 1499/Dec.1500, the abbot amongst them) , 346, 347, 349, 351, 356, 358, 359, 360, 362, 364, 367-76, 378-83, 386, 387, 390-2, 394, 395, 397, 398, 400, 401, 403, 407, 415, 416, 418, 420, 421, 425, 427, 428, 430-3, 436-41, 443, 445-448, 450, 476, 479, 483-7, 490, 491 and 492 as a Parliamentary Commissary, 493.

15.) *R. M. S.* As above, (Test. 50) abbot; Nos. 2112, 2409, 2442; 2443, 2444, 2445.
(Test 34) Royal Treasurer; Nos. 2111, 2113-5, 2117-43, 2145-61, 2163-77, 2179-210, 2212, 2214-7, 2221.

E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy (eds.) : *Handbook Of British Chronology, 3rd Edition,* in, "The Royal Historical Society Guides And Handbooks", No.2 (London, 1985), 188 for the dates relating to his hold on the office of Treasurer. Hereafter E.B. Fryde, D.E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy (eds.) *Handbook Of British Chronology.*

For reference to the involvement of these two abbots in parliamentary matters, see:
A. P. S. Vol. 2, 87, 89, 93, 98, 108, 142, 145-6, 153, 166-7, 175, 199, 212, 216-7, 223, 229, 231, 239, 247, 249, 258.

16.) "" , 1446 provides the dates 1507-1513.
R. S. S. Vol. 1, 1488-1529, 821 states 1506/1512. see for example, Nos. 1365, 2186.

R. M. S. 1424-1513, No. 3121. see also No. 3765, reference to him as the Secretary of James IV, Master of the Hospital of the Blessed Virgin Mary near Montrose, and *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, Nos. 113; 118.
That Panter had not long been Secretary may be assumed -for example- from the correspondence of James IV, where a letter dated 22 November 1506 refers to his recent appointment as such. *Letters: James IV*, 42-3. See 40 for the possibility of an earlier appearance still, as Secretary, on 4 October 1506.

Colin M. MacDonald: "The Struggle, Of George Dundas And His Rivals Patrick Panter, James Cortesius And Alexander Stuart For The Preceptory Of Torphichen" in, *S. H. R* , Vol. 14, 1917, 27. Hereafter C.M. MacDonald: "The Struggle".

R. M. S. 1424/1513, (Test. 88) parson of Tannadice, Royal Secretary; Nos. 3293, 3354, 3376, 3382, 3354, 3376, 3382, 3399, 3404, 3408, 3428, 3433, 3444, 3449, 3471, 3520, 3529, 3532, 3534, 3544, 3545, 3546, 3547, 3554, 3558, 3559, 3560, 3561, 3562; 3565-82, 3584-3603, 3605, 3606, 3610, 3612, 3613, 3615-20, 3623, 3624, 3632, 3634, 3635, 3638, 3643, 3646-49, 3651-59, 3661-3752, 3755-59, 3761-5, 3774-7, 3783-6, 3793, 3872.

As Above, (Test. 105) parson of Fetteresso and Royal Secretary; Nos. 3430, 3440, 3454, 3455, 3466, 3480, 3482, 3488, 3495-3505 3563, 3564, 3604, 3607, 3608, 3611, 3614, 3621, 3622, 3625-3627, 3633, 3636, 3639-42, 3644, 3650, 3653, 3660.

archdeacon of Moray: D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti* 241.
R. M. S. 1424/1513, (Test 106) archdeacon of Moray, Royal Secretary; Nos. 3366, 3427, 3518, 3531, 3542, 3550-3, 3556, 3557.

As above, (Test 112) Royal Secretary; 3453, 3629-31, 3754, 3766-70, 3772, 3779-81, 3788-92, 3795-8, 3800-03, 3806-19, 3823-71, 3873-80, 3882, 3883.

See, *Letters: James IV*, 301, for the king's recommendation of Panter to the Abbey of Cambuskenneth. This agrees with the dating given by R. Nicholson: *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, (Edinburgh, 1978), 561. Hereafter R. Nicholson: *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* and in turn his source, R. L. Mackie: *King James IV Of Scotland. A Brief Survey Of His Life And Times*, 157-8 (Edinburgh, 1958).
For the extremely early reference to Panter as the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, see, *R. M. S.* 1424/1513, No. 3446.

G. Donaldson: *Scottish Kings*, (London, 1977), 144. Hereafter, G.Donaldson: *Scottish Kings*.

R. M. S. 1513/1546, (Test 30) Abbot of Cambuskenneth, Royal Secretary; Nos. 22, 133, 139.

As above, (Test 9) parson of Tannadice; No. 2.

(Test 12) Royal Secretary; No. 5.

17.) *R. S. S.* , Vol. 1, 1488/1529. No. 2435, "Master of the Hospital of the Church of Torrence."

18.) D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 112. This following the repeated attempts of James IV to secure this position for his secretary; see: *Letters: James IV*, 62-3, 153-4.

19.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, See for example No. 138.

20.) C. M. MacDonald: "The Struggle", in, *S. H. R*, Vol. 14, (1917).

The Exchequer Rolls Of Scotland, Vol. 13, 366, 371.

21.) He was born on 10 April 1510 see: *Letters: James IV*, 243-4.
G. Donaldson: *Scottish Kings*, (London, 1977), 147.

22.) *Letters: James V*, 12-13.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 1, (2) No. 3119.
23.) *Letters: James V*, 17.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 2, (1) No. 90.

24.) *Letters: James V*, 23.

25.) As above, 37-8.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 2, (2) No. 2800.
26.) *R. S. S.* 1488/1529, Nos. 1771, 1772.

27.) *Letters: James V*, 32.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 2, (1) No. 2485.
28.) *Letters: James IV*, 157, 314.

Letters: James V, 15, 58-9.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 1, (2) No. 3487, 2, (2) No. 4081.

29.) *Letters: James V*, 58-9.

30.) 1st. letter: *Letters: James V*, 63.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 2, (2) No. 4698.
2nd. letter: *Letters: James V*, 70-1.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 2, (2) No. 4696.
3rd. letter: *Letters: James V*, 90.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 3, (2) No. 2321.
Earlier evidence of Panter absenting himself from his ecclesiastical duties, whilst archdeacon of Moray, may be seen in *Letters: James IV*, 265-6 for example, where the king referred to him as his "Procurator in Rome" ; this in 1512.

31.) *Acts: Public Affairs*, 1501-1554, lxii, lxiv-lxv, 1, 6, 7, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24.
Involvement in competition over Torphichen; lxv, 33, 35, 36, 37, 64, 65.
Further attendance at court; 41, 51, 56 (Warded) , 73, 78.

E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy (eds.) : *Handbook of British Chronology*, 193, states Panter became Royal Secretary on 22 November 1506, and that he died 18 November 1519.

32.) *R. M. S.* 1424/1513, No. 2608.

33.) As above, No. 3151.
For the dating of his period of office as the rural dean of Angus, see, D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 123, which suggests that he held this post from 1505/1514. For his appointment under Bishop Brown, see, J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 81
Thus when the overlap in dates with his other titles at this time are considered, Myln was clearly guilty of pluralism even at this early stage in his career.

34.) *R. M. S.* 1424/1513, Nos. 2955, 3098, 3482.

35.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546. Nos. 113, 138.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti* provides the dating of his hold on the office of Official of Dunkeld; 1513 to 1518/19. See: 125.

36.) This following Albany's letter to Pope Leo X -on 28 October 1516- recommending that the Abbey of Cambuskenneth be granted for life "to Master Alexander Mylne, official of Dunkeld. . . ." and his provision to the abbey on the 8 August 1519. see: *Letters: James V*, 32.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 2, (1) No. 2485.
D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 125.

37.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, see for example No. 233.

38.) As Above, Nos. 354, 484, 492, 605, 607, 615, 627, 631, 635, 650, 660, 661, 663, 718, 1268, 1380, 1386, 1399, 1402, 1411, 1523, 1632, 1643, 1646, 1659, 1709, 1758, 1761, 1764, 1787, 1804, 1844, 1851, 1862.

39.) "" , Nos. 2232, 2233.

40.) "" , Nos. 2262.

41.) See for example H. M. Paton: *Accounts Of The Masters Of Works For Building And Repairing Royal Palaces And Castles*, (Edinburgh, 1957-), Vol. 1, 1529-1615, 55, 114, 195, 196, 197, 234, 310.

42.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 2, 1529/1542, Nos. 3096, 3097.
R. M. S. 1513/1546, No. 2611, as coadjutor and administrator of the Priory of St. Andrews.

A. P. S. Vol. 2, 291-2, 295-6, 300, 304, 321, 334-7, 339-401, 352-4, 383-4, 404.

43.) For the identity of Myln's companions; Gavin Douglas and Robert Cockburn, see, J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 83, 224.
See also the relevant letter of protection relating to Myln's activities in *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488/1529, No. 2681, letter dated 12 January 1515.

For the material relating to Albany's instructions, see: *Letters: James V* , 42, 43, 44-5.

M. Wood: *Flodden Papers, Diplomatic Correspondence Between The Courts Of France And Scotland 1507-1517*, in, *S.H.S.* (Edinburgh, 1933), 123, 131, 136.
Note that it is possible to challenge the importance which the present work attaches to events in the aftermath of Flodden. No less a figure than Professor Gordon Donaldson for example stated that:
"After Flodden there was no panic in Scotland, and little hesitation or discord. . . . There was after all, nothing novel about a heavy defeat at the hands of the English, and Flodden was neither the first nor the last in a long series....It would have been surprising if Flodden had been thought of as either an irretrievable disaster or as a reason for changing Scottish policy."

G. Donaldson: *Scottish Kings*, (London, 1977), 148-9.

In contrast however, James Balfour Paul in an essay entitled "The Matrimonial Adventures Of James V" , described the aftermath thus: "Scotland lay stunned and all but paralysed by the blow. . . ."
see: *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.* , N. S. Vol. 5, (1905), 91.

44.) *R. M. S.* 1424/1513, (Test. 54) Nos. 2564, 2572-4, 2576, 2580, 2582, 2586-8, 2590, 2591, 2593, 2594, 2605, 2606, 2608-13, 2618-21, 2623; 2625, 2628-30, 2634, 2637, 2640, 2642, 2649, 2684, 2713, 2716, 2721, 2723, 2739, 2743, 2756, 2769-71, 2772, 2775-8, 2781-3, 2789, 2790, 2792-5, 2797, 2799, 2800, 2803, 2890, 2892, 2940, 3274, 3542, 3550-3, 3556, 3557, 3680, 3688, 3856.
Note the editor questions the dating of entry number 3556
R. M. S. 1513/1546, (Test. 20) Nos. 9, 18, 22, 271, 272, 274, 275, 276, 280, 281, 283, 285-91, 294.

45.) As above, (Test. 27) Nos. 22, 271; 19, 26, 27, 29, 32, 34, 41, 43, 45, 46, 49, 51, 54, 67, 73, 75, 86, 92, 97, 98, 100, 101, 102, 104, 105, 107, 108, 110, 112-14, 117, 133, 139, (Note the editor questions the placing of charter number 139. Such an early date for Crichton's first appearance as Keeper of the Privy Seal however, is open to question; both the "Index Officiorum" , of *R. M. S.* 1513/1546 1056 -which provides the dates 1515/28- and J. Dowden: *Bishops* 87, -which supports the above- cast strong doubt on the accuracy of this entry.)
148, 153, 166, 170, 181, 187, 191, 192, 195, 196, 203, 204, 206, 208, 211, 219, 232, 235, 243, 244, 258, 259, 262, 265, 276, 298, 300, 303, 326, 329, 330, 337, 351, 354, 359.

46.) For his first appearance as the Bishop of Dunkeld, as above, (Test. 70) No. 389.

Letters: James IV, 231-2. This reference covers his suggested promotion to the Priory of St. Mary's Isle.
Letters: James V , 12-13.
Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 1, (2) No. 3119.
47.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 224.

Letters: James V , 117.

48.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 87.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 99.

A. P. S. Vol. 2, 305.

49.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 87.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 99.

50.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546. (Test. 70) Nos. 389, 412, 433, 448, 484, 494; 496; 497, 501, 502, 507, 508, 519, 589, 650, 661, 723, 737, 818, 972, 1152, 1158, 1195, 1208, 1268, 1380, 1500, 1501, 1503, 1523, 1526, 1549, 1555, 1556, 1557, 1581, 1599, 1621; 1632, 1643, 1646, 1659, 1670, 1671, 1672, 1676, 1694, 1709, 1758, 1761, 1764, 1787, 1804, 1844, 1851, 1862, 2294, 2348, 2393, 2394, 2428, 2436, 2455, 2469, 2474, 2559, 2589, 2599, 2616, 2645, 2680, 2709, 2718, 2723, 2748, 2785, 2800, 2806, 2810, 2821, 2827, 2828.

51.) As above, (Test. 72) Nos. 391, 601, 605, 606, 607, 615, 627, 631, 635, 660, 663, 718.

52.) "" , No. 45.

53.) "" , (Test. No. 2) Nos. 2865, 2871, 2901, 2902, 2946, 2957, 2973.

54.) D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 99.

55.) *Acts: Public Affairs*, 1501-1554, 1, 20, 21, 23, 31, 32, 68, 73, 82, 105, 108, 142, 171, 204, 205, 212, 256, 261, 269, 277, 290, 292, 294, 315, 321, 325, 327, 349, 368, 426, 535-6.

A. P. S, Vol. 2, 199, 211, 216-7, 223, 228-9, 231, 239-40, 247, 249, 260-2, 272-3, 285, 288, 292, 294, 296-7, 299, 300, 305, 308-9, 318, 332, 340-1, 343, 374, 392.

56.) *R. M. S.* 1424/1513, (Test. 35) Nos. 2111-5, 2117-43, 2145-61, 2163-9, 2171, 2172, 2174, 2176, 2177, 2179-84, 2186, 2189, 2191-3, 2195, 2564, 2572-4, 2576, 2580, 2582, 2588, 2590, 2591, 2593, 2594, 2605, 2606, 2608-13, 2618-21, 2623, 2625, 2626, 2628-30, 2634, 2637, 2640, 2642, 2649, 2781, 2783, 2790, 2792, 2793.

A. P. S. Vol. 2, 231, 237.

57.) *Acts: Civil Causes*, Vol. 2, 1496-1501, 47, 138, 146, 184, 192.

E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy (eds.) : *Handbook of British Chronology*, 187.

58.) D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 364 suggests 1499/1505.

R. S. S. Vol. 1, 1488/1529, 819 lends support to this idea since it places him as such before 6 February 1504/05.

59.) In *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488/1529, 150, Note no. 1, the editor suggests that the original reference to the parsonage of "Halich" may be taken as a reference to present day "Prestonkirk" .

60.) As above, No. 1020.

61.) D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 365.

Liber St. Thome De Arbrothoc, (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1948), Vol. 2, 349, No. 438.

62.) *R. M. S.* 1424/1513, (Test. 70) Nos. 2773, 2870, 2914, 2938, 2940, 2943, 2945, 2955, 2961, 2978, 2979, 2981, 2985, 2990, 2992, 2993, 2999.

63.) As above, (Test. 91) No. 2889,
Here however, note that 1146 of the "Index Officiorum" of this volume provides the dating of this combination of titles as 1509/10.
3084, 3237, 3285, 3298, 3322, 3332, 3333, 3335, 3365, 3373, 3374, 3378, 3383, 3386, 3387, 3390-8, 3401, 3403, 3406, 3409-26, 3429, 3430, 3435-45, 3448, 3450, 3451, 3452, 3454, 3456-66, 3478, 3480, 3483-3501.

E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy (eds.) : *Handbook of British Chronology*, 188.

64.) See for example, *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488/1529, No. 1389.

Here an entry-dated to 1506 by the editor-records:

> "A Lettre of Respitt and Protectioun maid to George, Abbot of Abirbrothok, his familiaris, tennendis. . . . fra his passing furth of this realm to the court of Rome and uthir partis bezand sey in his erandis he has thare ado, quhil his gane cummyn and xl dayis eftir his hame cummyn."

That the abbot's motives on this occasion at least however were of a spiritual nature, may be assumed from a letter sent by James IV on 4 October 1506 to the Doge and Senate of Venice seeking letters of protection for the abbot who intended to undertake a pilgrimage to Rome. *Letters: James IV*, 40.

65.) *R. M. S.* 1424/1513, No. 3052.

66.) *Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII*, 1, (1) Nos. 502, 503.

Letters: James IV, 173; the king repeating his request again for example on 1 August 1510. As above, 175.

67.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488/1529, No. 2250.

68.) *R. M. S.* 1424/1513, Nos. 3784, 3786.

69.) *Letters: James IV*, 180.

A. P. S. Vol. 2, 239, 247, 262, 266.

70.) D. Hamer (ed.): *Lindsay*, Vol. 1, 132, l. 50-5.

71.) As above, l. 56-63.

72.) "" , l. 65-7.

73.) "" , l. 69-70; 73-5.

74.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, (Test. 83) Nos. 723, 737, 742, 743, 765, 806, 818, 848, 854, 855, 871, 882, 929, 939, 972, 1009, 1092, 1104, 1110, 1152, 1158, 1195, 1208, 1309, 1319, 1374, 1414, 1417, 1425, 1439, 1443, 1447, 1449, 1454, 1459, 1466, 1473, 1475, 1480, 1493, 1496, 1500, 1501, 1503, 1526, 1549, 1555, 1556, 1557, 1581, 1599, 1604, 1621, 1670, 1671, 1676, 1694.

75.) "" , Nos. 1351, 1358-60.

76.) "" , Nos. 1916, 1931, 1961, 2037.

77.) "" , Nos. 2741, 2905.

78.) "" , Nos. 1930, 2170, 2330, 2662, 2741, 2788.

79.) "" , Nos. 3014, 3028, 3033, 3035, 3045, 3053, 3066, 3140, 3142, 3186, 3199, 3221, 3231, 3254, 3258, 3271.

80.) "" , No. 2905.

81.) "" , As above.

82.) D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 162.

Letters: James V , 86.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 3, (2) No. 1850.

83.) *Letters: James V* , 95-6.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 3, (2) No. 2989.
84.) 1st. letter; *Letters: James V* , 96.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 3, (2) No. 2989.
2nd. letter; *Letters: James V* , 96.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 3, (2) No. 2990.

3rd. letter; *Letters: James V*, 96.

Cal. of Let. and Pap, For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 3, (2) No. 3674.

85.) *Letters James: V*, 97. (31 December 1523).

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 3, (2) No. 3657.
Here recommended as the sole, reliable authority on matters relating to the Scottish realm at this time.

86.) *Letters: James V*, 100.

87.) *Letters: James V*, 105.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 4, (1) No. 666.

88.) *Letters: James V*, 123.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 14, (1) No. 1463.

89.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488/1529. No. 4019.

90.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 2, 1529/1543. No. 94.

91.) D. Hamer (ed.): *Lindsay*, Vol. 1, 133, l. 89-95, *The Tragedie Of The Late Cardinal Beaton.*

92.) *Letters: James V*, 255. See also:

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 7, Nos. 205-10.

93.) G. Donaldson: *Scotland: James V - James VII*, (Edinburgh, 1965), 19-20. Hereafter G. Donaldson: *Scotland: James V - James VII*.

94.) See reference to Reid's activities below in chapter 1.

95.) M. H. B. Sanderson: *Cardinal*, 63.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 11, No. 400.

96.) *Letters: James V*, 255, James V to Francis I;
256, James V to the Cardinal of Sens, Chancellor of France; the Admiral of France; the Grand Master of France; and the Secretary of Francis I.

97.) G. Donaldson: *Scotland: James V - James VII*, 49.

98.) For a brief analysis of the somewhat unsavoury, mercenary circumstances surrounding James V search for a bride, see as above 48.
For a more intense examination of the complex factors at work in determining who the king should marry, the reader is recommended to look at the article by James Balfour Paul, in *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.* N. S. Vol. 5, (1905), 90-104, aptly entitled:
"The Matrimonial Adventures Of James V". Here it emerges that the king's name was linked to an astonishing array of prospective brides, drawn from the leading European dynasties of the day.

99.) *Letters: James V*, 236, 255.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 6, No. 190.

100.) *Letters: James V*, 237.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 6, No. 191.

101.) *Letters: James V*, 254-255.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 7, No. 278.

102.) *Letters: James V* , 427, 440.

103.) *Letters: James V* , 349.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 13, (2) No. 102.
104.) *Letters: James V* , 350.

105.) *Letters: James V* , 351.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 13, (2) No. 417.
106.) D. Hamer (ed.): *Lindsay*, Vol. 1, 132, l. 69-70, *The Tragedie Of The Late Cardinal Beaton.*

107.) D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 298.

108.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 42.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 298.

109.) M. H. B. Sanderson: *Cardinal*, 57.

110.) *Letters: James V* , 352.

111.) As above, 352, 358-9.

112.) "" , 352.

113.) "" , 352-3.

114.) "" , 358.

115.) "" , 360.

Cal. of Let and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII , 13, (2) No. 1109.

116.) For example; *Letters: James V* , 360-2.

117.) D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 298.

118.) J. Dowden, *Bishops*, 41-2; On 42, Dowden gives his title as "Presbyter cardinal of St. Stephen on the Caelian."

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 298.

119.) D. Hamer (ed.): *Lindsay*, Vol. 1, 132, l. 73-75, *The Tragedie Of The Late Cardinal Beaton.*

120.) *Letters: James V* , 366-7; 377.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 14, (2) , No. 31.

121.) *Letters: James V* , 405.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 15, No. 933.

Letters: James V , 421-2.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 16, No. 619

122.) *Letters: James V* , 384.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 14, (2) No. 668.
Letters: James V , 386.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 15, No. 5.

123.) *Letters: James V*, 406.

Cal. of Letters and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 15, No. 934.

Letters: James V, 422.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 16, No. 620.

Letters: James V, 422.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 16, No. 621.

124.) See for example, *R. M. S.* 1513/1546. No. 2905.

125.) *Acts: Public Affairs*, 1501/1554, 200, 207, 213, 221, 464, 542.

Reg. Pr. Council: Vol. 1, 1545/1569, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23.

R. S. S., Vol. 2, 1529/1542; No. 1492.

For parliamentary references to David Beaton see:
A. P. S. Vol. 2, 288-9, 291-2, 294, 299, 312, 321, 332, 334-5, 339, 341, 349, 355, 366-8, 385, 394, 404-5, 424-5, 427, 429, 430, 432, 434, 438-40, 442-3, 445-6, 448, 455-6, 459-62, 467, 470-2, 474-80.

126.) *R. M. S.* 1424/1513, Nos. 2170, 2178, 2194, 2198, 2000-6, 2208-67, 2269-91, 2293-2306, 2308-17, 2319-26, 2328, 2330-33, 2335-47, 2350-74, 2376-8, 2381, 2382, 2385, 2401, 2442-5, 2454.

127.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, Nos. 482, 1017, 2232, 2741, 3029, 3065.

R. M. S. 1546/1580, Nos. 761, 762, 1869.

R. S. S. Vol. 2, 1529/1542, Nos. 1388, 1602.

128.) *R. M. S.* Nos. 1513/1546, No. 1950.

129.) As Above, Nos. 2138, 2264, 2731.

See also D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 308.

R. S. S. Vol. 2, 1529/1542, Nos. 3483, 4789.

130.) *R. M. S.* 1546/1580, Nos. 1546-1580, Nos. 2827.

131.) As Above, Nos. 727, 737, 758, 829, 866, 868, 869, 878, 883-5, 900, 938, 976, 993. (Edinburgh).
715, 777. (Linlithgow).
813, 818. (Perth).
705. (Inverness).
708. (Banff).

132.) For the overlap in dates between the *Register of the Great Seal* and the business of the Lords of Council see:
R. M. S. 1424/1513, Nos. 2352-4, and *Acts: Civil Causes*; Vol. 2 1496/1501, 71-2.

For Dury's activities as a Lord of Council see:
Acts: Civil Causes, Vol. 2 1496/1501, 41, 46, 50, 59, 66, 69, 71, 72, 75, 78, 81, 83, 85, 89, 210, 212-5, 219, 222, 227, 229, 232, 233, 236, 240, 241, 247, 287-90, 294-6, 298, 299, 301, 303-5, 307, 310, 314, 316-20, 332-6, 339, 341, 376, 378-80, 383, 386, 387, 390-2, 403, 410-6.

Acts: Public Affairs 1501/1554; 319, 445, 448, 565, 566.

Reg. Pr. Council: Vol. 1, 1545/1569, 2, 3, 5, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 23, 26, 31, 33, 38, 39, 44, 47, 48, 55, 57, 59, 60, 65, 67, 68, 71, 73, 77, 79, 81, 84, 86, 94, 96, 97, 100, 104, 107, 116, 117, 119, 125, 139, 140, 141, 143.

For reference to the parliaments of the mid sixteenth century, see for example: *A. P. S. Vol. 2*, 409-10, 414, 425, 427, 443, 445-6, 464, 467-9, 471, 474, 479-80, 503, 507, 594-5, 597-8, 603.

133) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488/1529, Nos. 136, 145.

Acts: Civil Causes, Vol. 2 1496/1501, 98, reference to a "James Betone" as a chantor of Caithness, 3 February 1497/8.

134.) D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 66.

135.) As Above, 345.

136.) *R. M. S.* 1424/1513, (Test. 59) No. 2773.

E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy (eds.) : *Handbook of British Chronology*, 188 states that James Beaton became Royal Treasurer on 10 February 1505.

137.) As Above, Nos. 2784, 2786-8, 2806, 2814, 2815, 2818, 2821-5, 2836, 2838, 2839, 2843, 2844, 2846, 2847, 2851-5,
Note the editor expresses some doubt as to the dating of numbers 2786 and 2787.
2857, 2858, 2860-2, 2864, 2865, 2870, 2873-5, 2877-88, 2891, 2893, 2895,
Note the editor questions the dating of number 2865.
2896, 2819-29, 2906-21, 2923, 2924, 2926-8, 2930-5, 2938-43, 2945, 2946,
Note the editor questions the dating of numbers 2911 and 2913.
2948-57, 2959-3016, 3018-39, 3041-54, 3056-83, 3085-3152, 3154-75, 3177,
Note the editor questions the dating of numbers 2966, 3082,
3102. 3178, 3180-94, 3196-3201, 3203, 3205-23,
Note the editor questions the dating of number 3196.
3225-36, 3238, 3239, 3242-59, 3261,
Note the editor has reservations over the dating of numbers 3219, 3228, 3229 and 3257.
3271, 3281, 3283, 3291, 3301.

138.) D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 98-99.

139.) *Letters: James V* , 97, 98, 99, 123.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti* 132, says, "Postulated by the chapter at some stage" .

For the date of his provision see, J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 338.

140.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488/1529, No. 1707.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 132.

141.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488/1529, Nos. 1711, 1765.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 336.

142.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 338-9.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 149.

Letters: James IV, 124; 136-7.

143.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 340.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 149.

R. S. S. Vol. 1, 1488/1529. No. 1841.

144.) *R. M. S.* 1424-1513, No. 3153.
An earlier reference dated 29 January 1506/7 is discounted by the editor. see No. 3040.

145.) As above, Nos. 3240, 3267; For his whereabouts during this period see for example: Nos. 3242-59, 3261.

146.) "" , Nos. 3347; 3351; 3353; 3359, 3361; 3369, 3377, 3379-81, 3388; 3389; 3405; 3455.
Note the editor questions the dating of the last charter.

147.) "Postulatus" , this term referring to someone chosen by a chapter to be placed over them, despite their ineligibility for the position in question; for example if the person so chosen were the "bishop of another see" .
R. E. Latham: *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List From British And Irish Sources With Supplement*, (Oxford, 1989) 362.

148.) *R. M. S.* 1424/1513, Nos. 3260; 3259, 3261.

149.) As above, Nos. 3300, 3301, 3302.

150.) "" , (Test. 98) Nos. 3260, 3300, 3302, 3311-21, 3323-9, 3339-45, 3350, 3357, 3358, 3385.

151.) "" , (Test. 101) Nos. 3446; 3680, 3688, 3766, 3856, 3872.

152.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, (Test. 1) Nos. 2, 5, 9, 18, 19, 26, 27, 29, 32, 34, 41, 43, 45, 46, 49, 51, 54, 67, 73, 75, 86, 92, 97, 98, 100, 102, 104, 105, 107, 108, 110, 112, 113, 114, 117, 133, 139, 148, 153, 166, 170, 181.

153.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488/1529 No. 2725.

154.) *Letters: James V* , 49.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 2, (2) No. 3630.
155.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488/1529. No. 2975.

156.) See for example, *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488/1529, No. 2932.

157.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, (Test. 1) Nos. 187, 191, 192, 195, 196, 203, 204, 206, 208, 211, 219, 232, 233.

158.) As above, (Test. 58) Nos. 288, 326, 330, 358, 400, 433, 448, 479, 484, 486, 488, 489, 490, 494, 496, 497, 501, 502, 507, 508, 519.

159.) *Letters: James V* , 85-5.

160.) D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 298.

161.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 340.

162.) D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 298.

163.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, (Test. 1) No. 233.

164.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 340.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 149.

165.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, Nos. 235, 243, 244, 265, 298, 300, 303, 329, 337, 354, 359.

166.) As above, Nos. 972; 1707; see also: Nos. 182, 184, 187, 197, 199-206.

167.) "" , No. 1618.

168.) "" , No. 1640.

169.) See for example, *A. P. S. Vol. 2*, 247, 249, 260, 262, 266, 274-5, 281, 284-5, 291, 299, 308, 332, 334, 339, 355, 368, 376.

D. Hamer (ed.): *Lindsay*, Vol. 1, 72, l. 549, *The Testament Of The Papyngo*.

170.) See for example:
Acts: Public Affairs, 1501/1554; lxiv, 1 , 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 14, 15, 17-27, 31, 37, 39, 41-3, 51, 61, 64, 67, 68, 78, 92, 94, 105, 117, 119, 120, 142, 150, 151, 154, 191, 195, 197, 198, 204-5, 207, 212, 213, 219, 221, 222, 232, 263, 284-5, 292, 294, 315, 325, 327, 344, 348, 349, 360, 368, 370, 397, 403, 464, 542.

171.) For the reference to his election, see *R. M. S.* 1424/1513,
(Test. 96) No. 3274.

For overlap in dates see, *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, No. 233, dated 2 May 1523, and 1053 of the "Index Officiorum" of the same volume. The confusion seems to have arisen from the fact that although Beaton was translated to the See of St. Andrews on 10 October 1522, this promotion did not formally take place until 5 June 1523. See, J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 340-1.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 149.

172.) *R. M. S.* 1424/1513. (Test. 40) Nos. 2178, 2211, 2213, 2218-20, 2222-67, 2269-91, 2293-2317, 2319-26, 2328-47, 2350-74, 2378, 2381, 2382, 2401, 2454.

Acts: Civil Causes, Vol. 2, 1496/1501, see for example xcviii, cxxviii, cxxxi, cxxxii, cxxxv, 34, 35, 39, 81, 284.

E. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy (eds.) : *Handbook of British Chronology*, 188 states that George Shaw became the Royal Treasurer on 29 June 1494.

173.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488/1529, No. 356.

174.) *R. M. S.* 1424/1513, (Test. 81) Nos. 2775, 3680, 3688.

R. M. S. 1513/1546, (Test. 21) Nos. 9, 19, 54, 75, 92, 97, 98, 101, 102, 104, 105, 107, 108, 110, 112, 114, 117, 153, 191, 192, 203, 204, 206, 271, 272, 274-6, 280, 281, 283, 285-91, 294.

A. P. S. Vol. 2, 239, 281, 288, 292, 294, 296-7.

175.) *Letters: James V* , 113.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 4, (1) No. 1008.
J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 169.

176.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488/1529, No. 3352.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 169.

177.) *Letters: James V* , 113.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII 4, (1) No. 1008.

178.) *Acts: Public Affairs*, 1501/1554, 1, 3, 7, 17-18, 211, 220.
179.) See James V, letter dated 11 January 1524/25. *Letters: James V* , 113.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII 4, (1) No. 1008.

180.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488/1529, note No. 2 505.

181.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, (Test. 12) Nos. 2957; 2974, 2975; 3033; 3035.

E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy (eds.) : *Handbook of British Chronology*, 188.

182.) As above, (Test. 20) Nos. 2985; 2991; 3014; 3028, 3045; 3140, 3142, 3186, 3199; 3221; 3254, 3267; 3271.

R. M. S. 1546-1580 (Test. 20) No. 305.

183.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, (Test. 22) No. 2991.

184.) As Above, (Test. 23) No. 3053.

185.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 3, 1542/1548, No. 601.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 43, 88-91.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 100.

186.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, (Test. 23) Nos. 3066, 3231, 3258, 3297.

187.) As above, (Test. 23) Nos. 3231, 3258; (Test. 27) No. 3247

188.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 3, 1542/1548, No. 1696.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 298.

189.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 43.
The suggestion here is that he assumed the office of Archbishop some time before 23 June 1549, since on that day the office of Bishop of Dunkeld, hitherto vacant, was filled by Donald Campbell, Abbot of Coupar.

See also: *R. S. S.* Vol. 4, 1548/1556, No. 310.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 100, 298.

190.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 43.

191.) *R. M. S.* 1546/1580, (Test. 27) Nos. 45; 52, 56; 75; 94; 104; 108; 153, 156; 161; 173; 200, 216; 230; 268, 276, 280; 365.
192.) D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 100.

193.) *R. M. S.* 1546/1580, (Test. 23) Nos. 52, 56, 94, 108, 161, 200, 216, 268, 276, 280.

194.) As above, (Test. 27) Nos. 45, 75, 104, 173, 365; 153; 156; 230.

195.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, (Test. 27) No. 3247.

R. M. S. 1546/1580, (Test. 27) Nos. 45, 75, 104, 153, 156, 173, 230, 365, 384, 414, 497, 527, 571, 578, 601, 635, 638, 643, 662, 680, 695, 705, 708, 715, 726, 727, 757, 758, 777, 813, 818, 829, 866, 868, 869, 878, 900, 938, 976, 993.

196.) *R. M. S.* 1546/1580, (Test. 35) Nos. 445, 455, 508, 883, 941, 956, 962, 971, 978, 989, 990, 997, 999, 1002, 1005, 1006, 1009, 1034, 1078, 1095, 1097, 1110, 1119, 1125, 1135, 1136, 1137, 1142, 1154, 1170, 1172, 1187, 1188, 1204, 1221, 1225, 1258, 1261, 1269, 1272, 1280, 1281, 1282, 1289, 1305, 1315, 1334, 1341, 1350, 1356, 1358, 1371, 1372, 1377-1382, 1384-1389.

197.) See for example, *R. M. S.* 1546/1580, No. 305.

198.) As above, No. 877.

199.) "" , No. 1277.

200.) "" , No. 877.

201.) "" , No. 1277.
Hamilton received Paisley in commendam until he reached the age of 22; in 1533 when he finally resigned Paisley, he nevertheless made sure that he continued to hold its fruits for life.

202.) "" , No. 683

203.) See for example; J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 43-4.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 99, 298.

204.) *Reg. Pr. Council:* Vol. 1, 1545/1569, 2, 5, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 30, 31. (As Abbot of Paisley) 83, 84, 85, 86, 93, 94, 96, 98, 100, 104, 107, 111, 114, 116, 119, 125, 141, 143, 147. (As Archbishop of St. Andrews.)
For further evidence of his importance at the royal court see for example: As above, 33, 35, 38, 39, 43, 44, 47, 48, 52, 55, 57, 58, 60, 67, 68, 69, 71, 73, 77, 79, 81. (As the postulate/elect of Dunkeld, -nos. 33 and 38- thereafter as the Bishop of Dunkeld, c.1546-47.)

Acts: Public Affairs, 1501/1554, 448, 535, 536, 538-9, 544, 548, 550, 552, 554, 555, 578, 586. (As Abbot of Paisley.)

560, 564, 570, 573, 574, 583, 584, 608. (In connection with the Bishopric of Dunkeld.)

598-9, 600, 601, 603-4, 614, 615, 617, 618, 622, 626, 629. (As Archbishop of St. Andrews.)

It should be noted that as in the examples analysed in the text, there was little relationship between the ecclesiastical office which Hamilton held and his whereabouts.

For parliamentary references to John Hamilton, see for example:
A. P. S. Vol. 2, 424-5, 427, 429-30, 434, 438-40, 443, 445-6, 448-9, 454-7, 459, 464-7, 469, 480, 489, 507, 514.

205.) *R. M. S.* 1424/1513, Nos. 516, (Test. 109) 292; 31, 142.

E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy (eds.) : *Handbook of British Chronology*, 187.

206.) *R. M. S.* 1424/1513, (Test. 109) Nos. 292, 297, 298, 301-5, 316, 317, 321-8, 331-4, 336-9, 341-3, 348, 349, 353, 355-7, 359, 364-80, 382-4, 386-91, 397, 399-403, 405, 406, 417-9, 425, 426, 429, 436-8, 441, 443-5, 460, 461, 463, 483, 500, 516, 517, 532.

207.) For parliamentary references, see: *A. P. S.* Vol. 2, 46, 65, 69.

R. M. S. 1424/1513, No. 677.

208.) Here, it is again stressed that the reliability of the clerks of the *Register of the Great Seal*, -with regards to the dating of documents and the witness lists they attached to them-cannot be accepted at face value. As stated in the text of Chapter 1 however, the information they provide is nevertheless highly useful for the present study in that it shows -amongst other factors- not only the offices held by the individuals who form the basis of this thesis, but also the relative frequency with which it would be taken for granted they would have been in attendance at the royal court; further -as a rule- these entries in the above record may be said to suggest the most commonly accepted places where this court would have met. The tables in Appendix A and Appendix B of the present work therefore -compiled from the *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*- are included as a rough guide line for the reader to follow, in that they may be said to demonstrate a generally widespread pattern of non residence and plurality amongst many of the leading religious of the day.

209.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1. 1488/1529, Nos. 137, 249.

210.) As above, Nos. 278, 285.

211.) "" , Nos. 417, 982.

212.) See chapter 9 below.

213.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 302.

214.) *Letters: James IV*, 123.

215.) As above, 124, 125, 126.

216.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1 1488/1529, No. 1889.

217.) *Letters: James IV*, 164.

218.) J. Dowden: *Bishops* , 37.

219.) As above, 372.

R. M. S. 1513/1546, No. 145.

220.) *R. M. S.* 1424/1513, (Test. 102) Nos. 2775, 2940, 3771, 3446, 3680, 3688, 3766, 3856, 3883.

For parliamentary references, see for example: *A. P. S. Vol. 2*, 205-6, 260-1.

221.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1 1488/1529, No. 2736.

222.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 372.

223.) *R. M. S.* 1424/1513, (Test. 197) Nos. 744, 747.

A suggestion borne out by *A. P. S. Vol. 2*, 74 and E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy (eds.) : *Handbook of British Chronology*, 187.

224.) As above, (Test. 12) Nos. 759, 772, 776, 780-4; 868; 906.

225.) "" , (Test. 97) Nos. 1241, 1246, 1248, 1249, 1408, 1410, 1513, 1517, 1522, 1525, 1528-32, 1541, 1544, 1551, 1552, 1558, 1560.

226.) *R. M. S.* 1514/1546, (Test. 64) No. 358.

R. S. S. Vol. 1. 1488/1529, No. 3485.

227.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, (Test. 64) Nos. 358, 378, 389, 391, 400, 408, 412, 433, 448, 479, 486, 488-90, 494, 496, 497, 502, 507, 508, 519, 589, 606.

228.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1. 1488/1529, No. 3368.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 368.

229.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1 1488/1529, No. 3839.

Regarding the further activities of this individual, J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 168 states:
"On the 28 November 1524, [and again in March following] the Earl of Angus wrote to Cardinal Wolsley to solicit the pope to grant his brother [William, prior of Coldingham, afterwards abbot of Holyrood] the bishopric of Moray and the abbacy of Melrose. . . ."
This entry would seem to suggest that William Douglas was in possession of the Priory of Coldingham before the exchange referred to in the *Register of the Privy Seal* above.

230.) D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 112.

231.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, No. 1577.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 225.

232) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, No. 649.

233.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 2, 1529/1542, No. 264.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 225.

234.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, Nos. 765; (Test. 84) 742, 743; 1670, 1672, 1676, 1694.

E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy (eds.) : *Handbook of British Chronology*, 188

235.) *Letters: James V* , 203.

A. P. S. Vol. 2, 336-9.

Acts; *Public Affairs* 1501-1554, 290, 315, 336, 368, 426, 464-5.

236.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 225.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 270.

237.) *Letters: James V* , 356.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 225.

238.) *Letters: James V* , 356.

239.) As above.

240.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 2, 1529/1542, No. 3058.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 225-6.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 270.

241.) See for example, *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, "Index Nominum" , 822.

242.) *Letters: James V* , 420-1.

R. S. S. Vol. 2, 1529/1542, No. 4267.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 226.

243.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 2, 1529/1542, No. 1923.

244.) As above, No. 1935.

245.) "" , No. 2147.

246.) "" , No. 2264.

247.) "" , No. 2019.

248.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 226.

249.) *Letters: James V* , 3

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII , 1, (1) No. 2549.

250.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 169.

A. P. S. Vol. 2, 283, 388.

251.) *Letters: James V* , 23, 37-8.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 2, (2) No. 2800.
Acts: Public Affairs, 1501/1554, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 56, 64, 65.

252.) *Letters: James V* , 41, 49, 50, 64, 65, 80, 84.

See also for example; *Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII*, 2, (2) No. 4641; 2, (2) No. 4643; 2, (2) No. 4644; 2, (2) No. 4695.

253.) *Letters: James V* , 65, 71, 138-9.

See also for example; *Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII*, 2, (2) No. 4695.

254.) For his involvement with Whithorn see for example:
Acts: Public Affairs, 1502/1554, 76, 103-4, 110, 127, 136, 138-40.
For information regarding his hold on the office of dean of Dunbar, see:
R. S. S. Vol. 1, 1488/1529, No. 2146, shows him acting as such on 3 November 1510; 815 of the same volume, "Index of Offices" , provides the dates of office 1510/1512.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 354, suggests 1504/1510.

255.) D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 354.

Acts: Public Affairs, 1501/1554, 64

256.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 169.

Acts, As Above, 150-1, 200, 211, 256, 269, 277.

257.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 170.

R. S. S. Vol. 2, 1529/1542, No. 1409, marks the confirmation of Alexander Stewart as Bishop of Moray on 23 September. J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 170-1, suggests this gap in time may be explained by the "delay of his consecration" .

258.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 170.

See also, *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, Nos. 111, 406, 727, 1213.

259.) *Acts: Public Affairs*, 1501/1554, 330-1, 373, 461.

Letters: James V , 164.

260.) *Letters: James V* , 66.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 2, (2) No. 4645.
261.) *Letters: James V* , 66.

As above, 73-4.
" , 80

" , 84.

See also:
Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 2, (2) No. 4646.
As above, 2, (2) No. 4647.
" , 3, (1) No. 949.

262.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488/1529, No. 3322.
Empowered Dunbar to make appointments within the "kirk and diocy of Glasgow. . . ." ; the Keeper of the Privy Seal and Chancellor moreover were to recognise such presentations as though they had been made by the king and "subscrivit" by "him and his moder" .

263.) *Letters: James V* , 113-14.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 4, (1) No. 1012.
J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 344; records his provision to the see on8 July 1524, his receiving the archbishop's pall on 29 July 1524.

R. S. S. Vol. 1, 1488/1529, No. 3298, dated 27 September 1524, marks his admission to the temporalities of the See.
The date of his consecration is again given in J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 344 as the 5 February 1524/25.
Note, both J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 344, and D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 149, suggest he was elected to Glasgow as early as 1523.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, says on 15 August 1523; this based on an entry in *Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII*, 3, (2) No. 3241.

264.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, (Test. 59) No. 244 (Test. 56) Nos. 271, 272, 274-6, 280, 281, 283, 285-91, 294.

265.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 345.

See also for example, *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, (Test. 80) No. 601.

266.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, Nos. 1630-1633, 1636, 1650, 1652-1654, 1659, 1661, 1665, 1762.

267.) *Letters: James V* , 326-7.

268.) As above, 330.

269.) " , 328.

270.) " , 344-5.

271.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, (Test. 1) Nos. 2865, 2973, 2985, 2991, 3014, 3028, 3033, 3035, 3045, 3053, 3066, 3140, 3142, 3186, 3199, 3221, 3231, 3254, 3258, 3267, 3271, 3297.

272.) As above, (Test. 10) Nos. 2871, 2901, 2902, 2946, 2957.

273.) For the references relating to his activities in the business of the Lords of Council and the Privy Council, see: *Acts: Civil Causes*, Vol. 2, 1496/1501, 51, 54, 55, 58, 59, 80 (Edinburgh) , 93, 95-9, 102 (Elgin) , 103, 105, 107, 109, 114 (Aberdeen) , 115, 116, 119, 120, 121, 123, 124, 125, 127, 129, 131, 145, 146, 148, 152, 153, 154, 156, 159, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168, 170, 171, 174, 176, 178, 179, 183, 185, 186, 190 (Stirling) , 192, 193, 195, 197, 201, 202, 204, 205, 206, 212, 214-7, 220-4, 227, 229, 231-3, 236, 240, 241, 243-5, 247-9, 251, 254, 256, 257, 260-3, 265, 266, 267, 268, 270, 271, 275, 276, 279, 282, 295, 296, 298, 301-4, 306, 310, 314, 315, 317-9, 321, 326, 337, 341-3, 345-6, 358-64, 367-76, 378-83, 386, 387, 390-2, 394, 395, 397, 398, 400, 401, 403, 407, 414-5 (Stirling) , 416 (Edinburgh) , 424-5 (Edinburgh) , 428, 430-3, 436-41, 443, 445-8, 450, 452, 454, 455, 457, 458 (Edinburgh) , 459, 460, 462, 464, 469, 476 (Edinburgh) , 478, 479, 481-7, 490-3, 495, 497, 499-501.

Acts: Public Affairs, 1501/1554, for example, 132, 150-1 (Stirling) , 154, 205, 217, 222, 232, 234-5, 256, 277, 290, 294 (Edinburgh) , 315, 327, 344 (Perth) , 373-4 (Edinburgh) , 379, 395, 397, 417, 423-4, 425-6, 443, 450 (Edinburgh?) , 455, 457, 459, 466, 536, 541.

Reg. Pr. Council, Vol. 1, 1545/1569, 31 (Edinburgh) , 33 (Edinburgh) , 79, 139-40 (Stirling) , 141 (Perth) , 143 (Edinburgh) .

In terms of the *Register of the Great Seal*, as stated above, although no reliance can be placed on the locations allocated to this individual, the entries are still interesting to note, as they too suggest that regardless of which religious office he appeared under, this individual was nearly always outwith the confines of his spiritual influence. For the relevant entries in the *Register of the Great Seal* see: *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, (Test. Nos. 1, 10, 56, 59, 80) and Appendix B.

274.) See for example: *A. P. S. Vol. 2*, 171, 175, 180, 184, 270, 272-3.

R. M. S. 1424/1513, No. 1732.

275.) The locations in Appendix B have been taken from the witness lists provided for the charters listed in the *Register of the Great Seal* see: *R. M. S.* 1424/1513, (Test. Nos. 3, 51, 68) and Chapter 1 of the present work.

For a more accurate picture of his activities see for example the period from 19 September 1513 to 9 December 1522 in: *Acts: Public Affairs*, 1501/1554, 1 (Stirling) , 4 (Perth) , 6 (Perth) , 18 (Edinburgh) , 20-1 (Dunfermline) , 23 (Edinburgh) , 30 (St. Andrews?) , 31 (Edinburgh?) , 32 (Edinburgh) , 37, 44, 66, 68 (Edinburgh) , 73, 76 (Edinburgh) , 105, 119, 126, 146, 155.
All of the above entries supporting the idea suggested by the *Register of the Great Seal* that John Hepburn was an active servant of the royal court.

276.) D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 20.

277.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 137.

A. P. S. Vol. 2, 272, 274-5, 277.

278.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488/1529, No. 633.

279.) *A. P. S.* Vol. 2, 259, 266, 274-5, 277.

R. S. S. Vol. 1 1488/1529 No. 1019.

280.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 137.

R. M. S. 1513/1546, for example, No. 2.

Letters: James IV, 115-116.

281.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488/1529, No. 3018.

282.) *Letters James: IV* , 114-5, 115-6, 120, 133, 133-5

283.) For the suggested whereabouts of Gavin Dunbar in terms of the Register of the Great Seal, see: *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, (Test. Nos. 8, 43, 112) and Appendix B.

For further evidence of the many services which he rendered to the crown see for example:
Acts: Public Affairs, 1501/1554, 1, 7, 12, 17, 41, 42, 143, 146, 191, 200, 202, 212, 222, 234-5, 255, 277, 290, 292, 294, 304, 309, 310, 315, 321, 325, 349, 361, 368.

284.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 171; see note number 2.

285.) For the variety of locations suggested by the Register of the Great Seal, see Appendix B and *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, (Test. 62) .

For additional evidence of this individual's high profile career at the royal court see for example:
Acts: Public Affairs, 1501/1554, 292, 349, 361, 368, 448, 484-5, 489, 557-8, 566, 569, 629.

Reg. Pr. Council, Vol. 1, 1545/1569, 43 (St. Andrews) , 44 (St. Andrews) , 55 (St. Andrews) , 57 (St. Andrews) , 58 (St. Andrews) , 60, 65, 71 (Edinburgh) , 83 (Edinburgh) , 119 (Stirling) , 141 (Perth) , 143 (Edinburgh) .

286.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, Nos. 329, 351, 359.

E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy (eds.) : *Handbook of British Chronology*, 193.

A. P. S. Vol. 2, 300, 313, 334, 394, 397, 401.

287.) *Letters: James V* , 342-3, 345.

288.) As above, 348.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 172.

289.) J. Dowden *Bishops*, 172.

Note; *R. S. S.* Vol. 2, 1529/1542, No. 2493, gives the date of the provision to the temporalities of Moray and Scone as the 28 March, 1538.

290.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, See for example Nos. 1164, 1348, 1983, 2648.

291.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 37.

J. Herkless and R. K. Hannay: *The Archbishops of St. Andrews* , (Edinburgh, 1907), Vol. 1, 222.

292.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 37.

293.) For the locations attributed to this individual by the clerks of the Great Seal see the table below and *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, (Test. 86, 100, 113) and Appendix B.

294.) J. Dowden: As above.

295.) See for example, *R. M. S.* 1424/1513, No. 3812.

R. M. S. 1546/1580, No. 1742.

296.) *Letters: James V* , 3, 6, 12-13.

297.) As above, 6 See for example, as parson of Dalry, *R. M. S.* 1424/1513, No. 3603, 3605.
1144 of the "Index Officiorum" of this volume provides the dates for his office as 1510/11.

298.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, No. 9, 2 April 1514.

299.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, Nos. 26, 27, (20 June 1515) . 29, 32, (19 and 27 July 1515).

300.) As above, Nos. 34, 41, 43, 46, 49, 51, all relating to 1515.
J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 167, note no. 2, dates his hold on this office from the 25 June 1515 to the 25 January 1516.

E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy (eds.) : *Handbook of British Chronology*, 188.

301.) "" , Nos. 67, 71, 86.

Numbers 67 and 86 record his being chosen for the Bishopric of Moray, whilst number 71 contains a reference to his position as the parson of Partoun.

302.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488/1529, No. 2803.

303.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, (period 1516-1520) Nos. 100, 113, 133, 139, 170, 187, 196.

304.) As above, No. 9, at Stirling; 2 April, 1514.
No. 187, at Linlithgow, 26 November, 1519.
Acts: Public Affairs, 1501-1554, 18, 20, 21, 23, 32, 37, 41, 68, 114-5, 119, 122, 124, 127, 130, 140-1.

305.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 165.

306.) As above; the statement is made that in "1496" he was involved in negotiations with "Perkin Warbreck at the Border."

307.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488/1529, No. 206.

308.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 166.

309.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488/1529, No. 645.

310.) *R. M. S.* 1424/1513, No. 2602.

311.) As above.

312.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 38.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 216.

313.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488/1529, No. 1915.
Thus for example, in the period 1503/6, he appeared on a number of occasions as the Bishop of Moray, Commendator of "Pettynweme" and "Cottenham" ; significantly, the clerks of the Great Seal saw fit to always place him in Edinburgh. See: *R. M. S.* 1424/1513, Nos. 2721, 2772, 2773, 2775, 2914, 2938, 2940, 2945, 2961, 2979, 2981.

314.) As above, No. 1975.
Thus he could appear in the *Register of the Great Seal* as the Bishop of Moray, Commendator of "Pettynweme, Cottenham" and Dryburgh. See for example; *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, No. 389.

315.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 166.

316.) As above, 39, note number 1.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 216.

317.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 166.

318.) Appointed Archbishop of St. Andrews on 13 November 1514. See: J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 39

Letters: James V , 16.

Appointed Commendator of Dunfermline on the same day; also received a pension from the income of Brouges. See as above.

Granted the power of a legate a Latere on the 11 December 1514.
See: J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 39.

Letters: James V , 16.

With reference to the loss of Arbroath and "pensions" , in addition to the above mentioned source from Brouges, see for example the note on 14 of *Letters: James V* ; here it emerges that when James Stewart was given the Abbey of Arbroath in commendam, on 20 November 1514, Forman received "a pension of 750 ducats and the fruits of the annexed church of Abernethy. . . ." in compensation. Presumably they formed part of the package of privileges which he resigned some time prior to Albany's letter to Leo X, dated 10 May 1516.

See: *Letters: James V*, 30.

For evidence of his having retained a hold on Dunfermline, see for example, *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, No. 389.

319.) *Letters: James V*, 16.

320.) *Letters: James IV*, 227; James IV to Julius II, dated 16 February 1511/12.

321.) As above, 181-2.

322.) "", 191.

323.) "", 189-90.

324.) "", 191.

325.) "", 192.

326.) "", 190.

327.) "", 191-2.

328.) "".

329.) "", 192-4.

330.) "", 194-5.

331.) "", 213.

332.) "", 215.

333.) "", 220.

334.) "", 222-3.

335.) "", 224.

336.) "", 225-6.

337.) "", 236, 279.

338.) "", Note no. 1 at the foot of 241, states that he was back in Scotland "on or before" the 28 March 1512. For the letter from James IV to Julius II see 295.

Note no. 1 at the foot of 295, states that Forman left Scotland on the 31 March 1512.

339.) "", 302-4.

340.) "", 306-313.

341.) *A. P. S.* Vol. 2, 239, 247, 260, 262, 265, 272-3, 395, 401.

See references to his location in note number 313 above, and:
Acts: Civil Causes, 1496/1501, 1, 28, 30, 32, 35-40, 43, 61, 63, 66, 81-3, 85, 87-9, 92, 93, 95-100, 102, 103, 105, 107, 109, 110, 112, 127, 174, 176, 178, 179, 183, 185, 186, 190, 192, 193, 195-7, 201, 210, 212-7, 219, 222, 229, 232, 236, 240, 243, 245, 247, 251, 252, 254, 260-2, 266, 270-2, 275, 284, 285, 287, 290-2, 294, 296, 298, 301-7, 310, 313, 315-19, 321, 324, 326, 328, 368, 447, 476, 478, 490.

342.) *A. P. S.* Vol. 2, 302, 404-5, 410, 414, 430, 442-3, 455, 460, 462, 467-9, 471, 479, 503, 525, 595, 597-8, 603.

343.) *R. M. S.* 1546/1580, (Test. 39) Nos. 941, 956, 962, 971, 978, 990, 997, 999, 1002, 1005, 1006, 1009, 1034, 1078, 1119, 1125, 1135, 1136, 1142, 1187, 1188, 1204, 1221, 1225, 1258, 1261, 1269, 1280, 1281, 1289, 1305, 1315, 1334, 1341, 1350, 1356, 1358, 1371, 1372, 1376-82, 1384-9 (Edinburgh).

989, 1154, 1170, 1172. (Stirling),
1095, 1097. (Inverness),
1110. (Aberdeen),
1137. (Holyroodhouse),
1272. (Paris).

Reg. Pr. Council, Vol. 1, 1545/1569, 9, 22, 23 (Stirling) ,
26 (Stirling) , 30 (Ardrossan) , 31 (Edinburgh) ,
33 (Edinburgh) , 35 (Edinburgh) , 38 (Edinburgh) , 39
(Edinburgh) , 44 (St. Andrews) , 47 (St. Andrews) , 48 (St. Andrews) , 52 (St. Andrews) , 55 (St. Andrews) , 57 (St. Andrews) , 59 (Edinburgh) , 60 (Edinburgh) , 65, 67 (Glasgow) , 68 (Stirling) , 71 (Edinburgh) , 73 (Edinburgh) , 79, 85 (Edinburgh) , 86 (Edinburgh) , 93 (Edinburgh) , 94 (Edinburgh) , 96 (Edinburgh) , 97 (Edinburgh) , 98 (Edinburgh) ,
100 (Edinburgh) , 107 (Edinburgh) , 139 (Stirling) ,
140 (Stirling) , 141 (Perth) , 143 (Edinburgh) .

344.) *Letters: James V* , 119-20.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 91.

345.) D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 149.

346.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 4, 1548/1556, No. 310.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 90-1.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 100.

347.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 91-2.

J. P. Lawson and C. J. Lyon (eds.): *Robert Keith: The History Of The Affairs Of Church And State From The Beginning Of The Reformation. . . . To 1568*, (Edinburgh, 1884-50), Vol. 1, 440-8.
348.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 92.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 100.

349.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 190-1.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 41.

350.) *Letters: James V* , 271-2

Acts: Public Affairs 1501-1554, 416.

351.) *Letters: James V* , 298.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 9, No. 78.

352.) *Letters: James V* , 303-7, 314.

353.) For example; James Stewart, Earl of Moray, Lieutenant General, Abbot of Arbroath, William Stewart, Bishop of Aberdeen and John, Lord Erskine, and Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin. See also for example, *R. S. S.* Vol. 2, 1529/1542, Nos. 1740 and 1745, recording letters of protection granted to William Stewart, which extend to cover Reid whilst he was abroad on the king's business.

354.) *Letters: James V* , 303.

355.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 2, 1529/1542, No. 1259.

R. M. S. 1513/1546, No. 1172.
For additional evidence of Reid's services to the crown, and for the variety of locations at which he appeared, see:
Acts: Public Affairs, 1501/1554, 407, 426, 488, 504, 536, 584, 600, 603-4. Covering the period 14 February 1530/1 to 7 July 1550.

Reg. Pr. Council, Vol. 1, 1545/1569, covering the period

5 June 1545 to 16 May 1553, 1, 2 (Glasgow) , 3 (Glasgow) , 4, 5 (Stirling) , 9, 10 (Linlithgow) , 12 (Linlithgow) , 13, 14, 23 (Edinburgh) , 26 (Stirling) , 30 (18 June 1546, Ardrossan and 26 June 1546 Edinburgh) , 31 (Edinburgh) , 33 (Edinburgh) , 35 (Edinburgh) , 38 (Edinburgh) , 39 (Edinburgh) , 59 (Edinburgh) , 60 (Edinburgh) , 65, 67 (Glasgow) , 68 (Stirling) , 71 (Edinburgh) , 83 (Edinburgh) , 104 (Edinburgh) , 107 (Edinburgh) , 114 (Edinburgh) , 116 (Linlithgow) , 119 (Stirling) , 125 (Linlithgow) , 139 (Stirling) , 140 (Stirling) .

356.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 2, 1529-1542, No. 2099.

357.) *Letters: James V* , 423.

358.) As above, 423.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 254.

359.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, Nos. 1140, 1142, 1172, 1830, 1877, 1923, 2063, 2096, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2328, 2853, 2868, 2869, 2883, 2885.

360.) As above, Nos. 2513, 2716, 2885, 2957, 3005, 3102, 3130, 3131, 3145.

361.) *R. M. S.* 1546/1580, Nos. 27, 746.

362.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 266.

363.) *R. M. S.* 1546/1580, No. 2021.

364.) *Letters: James V* , 195, for Grandtully.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 266, lists the above three vicarages and defines "Bruntkirk" as "Drumdelgie in Strathbogie, now annexed partly to Glass, partly to Cairnie" .

365.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 266.

D. E. R. Watt: *Fasti*, 232, 244.
Both these works draw the reader's attention to the fact that it would appear that Reid was admitted to the Cistercian Order on 11 July 1529, that is , after he secured Kinloss. Dowden states he was named in 1526 by the then Abbot Thomas Chrystall, as his successor, and that he received papal approval of his promotion to the house on 4 July 1528.

366.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 266.
Acts: Public Affairs, 1501/1554, charts Reid's progress in terms of lay influence, see 349, 368, 374, 583, 596-7.

367.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, No. 2262.

368.) In addition to the references to his diplomatic activities in England and France given in the text above, see for example: *R. M. S.* 1546/1580, No. 1206. Here the Queen ratified a peace settlement made by Reid (acting with others) with Holyeth Tiabber, the councillor of Anne of Oldenburgh and Delmenhorst, in the town of "Embda" . (Embden).

For parliamentary references, see:
A. P. S. Vol. 2, 336-9, 352-3, 366-7, 404-5, 410, 504-6, 511, 513-4, 518-9, 540, 594-5, 597-8, 600-3.

369.) For the information relating to Andrew Dury, see:
R. M. S. 1513/1546, References to Dury as Abbot of Melrose, Nos. 482, 508, 1369, 2081, 2195, 2232, 2233, 2394, 2567.
As Bishop of Galloway, No. 3065.
As Bishop of Galloway, and of the royal collegiate chapel of Stirling, Nos. 2985, 3029.
Included in the witness lists of the business of the Great Seal in the above capacity, (Test. 15) Nos. 2985, 2991, 3033, 3035, 3045.

R. M. S. 1546/1580, reference to Dury as the Abbot of Melrose, No. 1079.
As the Bishop of Galloway, No. 1804.
Included in the witness lists of the business of the Great Seal, (Test. 15) 365, 384, 414, 497, 601.

Reg. Pr. Council, Vol. 1, 1545/1569, 1, 2 (Glasgow) ,
3 (Glasgow) , 4, 15 (Linlithgow) , 17 (Linlithgow) ,
18 (Linlithgow) , 19 (Linlithgow) , 20 (Edinburgh) , 21,
23 (Edinburgh, Stirling) , 26 (Stirling) ,
30 (Edinburgh) , 31 (Edinburgh) , 33 (Edinburgh) , 35 (Edinburgh) ,
38 (Edinburgh) , 44 (St. Andrews) , 48 (St. Andrews) ,
55 (St. Andrews) , 57 (Edinburgh) , 58 (Edinburgh) , 60 (Edinburgh) ,
65, 77 (Edinburgh) , 79, 83 (Edinburgh) , 100 (Edinburgh) ,
104 (Edinburgh) , 107 (Edinburgh) .

R. S. S. Vol. 2, 1529/1542, No. 4028.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 373.

Letters: James V , 110-1, 127, 238, 368-9, 425-6.

A. P. S. Vol. 2, 404-5.

370.) For information relating to William Colville, see:
Reg. Pr. Council, Vol. 1, 1545/1569, as above and 10 (Linlithgow) ,
47 (St. Andrews) , 52 (St. Andrews) , 59 (Edinburgh) ,
69 (Edinburgh) , 73 (Edinburgh) , 76 (Edinburgh) , 81,
111, (Edinburgh) , 114 (Edinburgh) , 116 (Linlithgow) ,
120 (Stirling) , 125 (Linlithgow) , 139 (Stirling) , 140 (Stirling) ,
141 (Perth) , 143 (Edinburgh) , 152 (Edinburgh) .

E. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy (eds.) : *Handbook of British Chronology*, 191.

371.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488/1529, No. 2137, 2619.

372.) See for example, *R. M. S.* 1513/1546. Nos. 9, 26, 27, 29, 32, 34.

373) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 135-6.

J. P. Lawson and C. J. Lyon (eds.*): Robert Keith: The History Of The Affairs Of Church And State From The Beginning Of The Reformation. . . . To 1569*, (Edinburgh, 1844-50) Vol. 1, 209.

A. P. S. Vol. 2, 392.

374.) *R. M. S.* 1513-1546, No. 9.

375.) As above, No. 18.

376.) "" , No. 113.

377.) "" , No. 95.

378.) See for example, *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488/1529, No. 2796, dated 13 August 1516. It records the grant of the temporalities of Dryburgh to Ogilvy as not only commendator of the house in question but also as the parson of Kinkell.

379.) *Acts: Public Affairs*, 1501/1554, 93, 105, 108, 124, 290, 292, 368, 426.

Letters: James IV, 253, 264, 293.

380.) *Letters: James V* , 1, 2, 9.

381.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488/1529, No. 2727.

382.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, As the Master of Requests:
Nos. 9 (Stirling) , 26, 27, 29, 32, 34, 41, 43, 45, 46, 49, 51, . 67, 73, 86, 100, 133, 139. (Edinburgh).

As the Master of Requests, parson of Kinkell: No. 18. (Edinburgh).

As the Master of Requests, Commendator of Dryburgh: Nos. 113, 170. (Edinburgh).
Note here, that in the same volume of the *Register of the Great Seal*, Ogilvy was also referred to as the Abbot of Dryburgh. See, No. 95.

383.) *Letters: James IV*, 264.

Letters: James V , 9-10.

384.) *Letters: James V* , 4, 6, 13-14.

385.) *R. M. S.* 1513-1546, See for example:
Nos. 9. (Stirling),
Edinburgh) 26, 27, 29, 32, 34, 41, 43, 45, 46, 49, 51, 73.
For his acting as Royal Treasurer, see as above Nos. 2, 5, 18.

386.) *R. M. S.* 1513/1546, No. 281.

For a concise summary of this individual's career, see: J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 247.

387.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488/1529, Preface, vii.

R. Nicholson: *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 22, 180.

T. M. Chalmers: *The King's Council, Patronage, And The Governance Of Scotland*, 1460/1513. (Aberdeen University P.H.D., 1982), 32.

388.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488/1529, As Above.

T. M. Chalmers: As Above, 32-3, 43.

389.) R. Nicholson: *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 22.

T. M. Chalmers: As Above, 31, 56, 58-60.

390.) R. Nicholson: *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 313.

W. C. Dickinson and A. A. M. Duncan*: Scotland From The Earliest Times To 1603.* (Oxford, 1977), 218. Hereafter: W. C. Dickinson and A. A. M. Duncan: *Scotland From The Earliest Times To 1603.*

T. M. Chalmers: As Above, 109.

391.) J. McCann: *The Rule Of St. Benedict*, (London, 1960), Ch. 2, 17, 23. Hereafter, J. McCann: *The Rule Of St. Benedict.*

392.) As Above, Ch. 64, *The Appointment Of The Abbot* , 145.

393.) T. J. Van Bauel and R. Cannin: *The Rule Of St. Augustine*, (London, 1984), paragraphs 1-3, 23; 101-3, 105-7. Hereafter, T. J. Van Bauel and R. Cannin: *The Rule Of St. Augustine.*

That such ideals were still highly relevant in a Scottish context within the period c.1450 to 1560 may be seen in the edition of the rule of St. Augustine produced by Abbot Robert Richardson of Cambuskenneth. See, G.G. Coulton (ed.): *Commentary On The Rule Of St. Augustine By Robert Richardinus*, in, *S.H.S.* (Edinburgh, 1935). Furthermore, that all followers of the rule of St. Augustine might have been aware of the strictures which it contained, the reader's attention is drawn to the Latin/English translation of the rule by Richard Whiteford (1525) , printed in a clear text with explanatory notes. the translator advised "all disciples of this rule to bear (his work) always one of these books with them" , this being possible, he continued, for they could "be had for so small a price" ! For Whiteford edition of the Rule of St. Augustine, see: Glasgow University Library, the Hunterian Collection, (London, 1525) Bv. 3. 10.

G. H. Gerrits: "Inter Timorem Et Spem: A Study Of The Theological Thought Of Gerard Zerbolt Of Zutphen (1367-1398)" , in, H. A. Oberman (ed.): *Studies In Medieval And Reformation Thought* , Vol. 37 (Leiden, 1986),111, 142, 155, 196.

394.) J. Kirk: *The Second Book Of Discipline*, (Edinburgh, 1980), 218.

J. Dowden: *The Medieval Church In Scotland, Its Constitution, Organisation And Law*, (Glasgow, 1910), 60-1, 74, 106, 213-4, 220-1. Hereafter, J. Dowden: *The Medieval Church In Scotland*.

395.) This assumes that Myln was the rural dean of Angus; the office of rural dean differing from that of a cathedral, in that the former supervised the religious within a designated region, -aiding as stated above the bishop and archdean- whilst the latter's responsibilities were directed towards the members of his chapter.
See for example, P. J. Hamilton-Grierson: "The Protocol Book Of Herbert Anderson, Notary In Dumfries" (1541/1550) , in , *Trans. Dum. and Galloway* , Vol. 2, (1913/14), 191.

J. Dowden: *The Medieval Church In Scotland* , 221-2.

396.) M. Dillworth: "The Augustinian Chapter Of St. Andrews" , in , *I. R.* , Vol. 25, (1974), 20.

397.) For references to the reign of James I, see for example: *A. P. S.* Vol. 2, 5, 20.

398.) For references to the reign of James II, see for example: *A. P. S.* Vol. 2,

Arbroath, 58.

Cambuskenneth, 55-8.

Coupar Angus, 60.

Culross, 58.

Deer, 47, 49.

Dunfermline, 36, 46, 48, 58, 65, 74.

Holyrood, 46-8, 57, 74.

Kinloss, 49.

Lindores, 46, 77.

Melrose, 46, 65, 69.

Paisley, 46, 56.

Scone, 77.

399.) For references to the reign of James III, see for example: *A. P. S.* Vol. 2,
Arbroath, 83-4, 93, 98, 102-3, 106, 113-5, 120, 122, 136-7, 142, 146, 167, 175, 180, 184.

Balmerino, 167.

Cambuskenneth, 87, 89, 93, 98, 108, 142, 145-6, 153, 166-7, 175.

Coupar Angus, 136, 142.

Crossraguel, 115, 120, 133-4, 136, 142, 166-7, 169.

Culross, 93, 130, 136, 142, 153, 175.

Deer, 98.

Dryburgh, 84, 87, 102, 113, 123, 169.

Dundrennan, 120, 175.

Dunfermline, 87-9, 105, 113-4, 116, 146, 153, 166-9, 184, 195.

Holyrood, 83, 87-93, 97-8, 100-2, 105, 190.

Inchaffray, 87, 89, 93, 120, 142.

Inchcolm, 108, 115-6, 120, 124, 142.

Kelso, 84, 91, 93, 113-4, 116-7, 120, 124, 133-4, 136, 142, 166-7, 175, 180, 184.

Kilwinning, 115-6, 120, 122, 136, 167.

Kinloss, 98.

Lindores, 87-9, 92, 98, 120-1, 133, 146, 166.

Melrose, 87, 93, 98, 101-2, 108, 113, 115-6, 120, 122, 124, 167, 191.

Newbattle, 85, 87, 92-3, 98, 100-1, 108, 113-4, 119-20, 124, 136, 142, 146, 166-7, 169, 184.

Paisley, 91, 93, 98, 102, 114-5, 120, 124, 133, 136, 142, 145-6, 166-7, 180.

Scone, 92-3, 98, 102, 120, 146.

Coldingham, 90, 102.

Inchmahome, 134.

Lesmahagow, 469.

May, 102.

Restenneth, 87, 93, 98, 102.

St. Andrews, 84-5, 87-9, 91-2, 98, 108, 113, 120, 122, 146, 167, 169, 171, 175, 180, 184.

Whithorn, 98.

400.) For references to the reign of James IV, see for example: *A. P. S.* Vol. 2,

Arbroath, 239, 247, 262, 266.

Balmerino, 200, 239, 247.

Cambuskenneth, 199, 212, 216-7, 223, 229, 231, 239, 247, 249, 258, 205-6, 260-1.

Coupar Angus, 199, 223, 239.

Culross, 223-4, 228.

Dryburgh, 200, 247.

Dunfermline, 211, 223, 239, 247, 249, 260, 262, 266, 274-5.

Holyrood, 199, 207, 211, 216-7, 223, 228-9, 231, 239-40, 247, 249, 260-2, 272-3.

Inchaffray, 199.

Inchcolm, 199.

Kelso, 199, 212, 216, 223, 229, 231, 237, 249.

Kilwinning, 200, 212, 239.

Lindores, 199, 212, 216-7, 239.

Melrose, 199, 229, 239, 247.

Newbattle, 199, 212, 216, 229, 239.

Paisley, 199-200, 212, 229, 239.

Scone, 231, 237.

Coldingham, 213, 215, 220, 229, 231, 262.

Pittenweem, 272-3.

Pluscarden, 200.

Restenneth, 200.

St. Andrews, 200, 211, 215-6, 223, 229, 231, 240, 247-8, 259, 262, 266, 270, 272-3.

401.) For references to the reign of James V, see for example: *A. P. S.* Vol. 2,
Arbroath, 288-9, 292, 294, 312, 321, 332, 334-5, 339, 341, 349, 404-5.

Balmerino, 292, 300-1, 355.

Cambuskenneth, 291-2, 295-6, 300, 304, 321, 334-7, 339-41, 352-3, 354-6, 367-8, 383-4, 389-92, 396, 404.

Coupar Angus, 302, 335, 339, 355, 368, 404-5.

Crossraguel, 308, 321, 335, 339.

Dryburgh, 314, 318, 321, 332, 392.

Dundrennan, 301-2, 310, 312, 318.

Dunfermline, 281, 308, 332, 334, 339, 355, 366, 368, 376, 405.

Glenluce, 292, 296, 299.

Holyrood, 285, 288, 292, 294, 296-7, 299-300, 305, 308-9, 318, 332, 336-41, 343, 374, 392, 401.

Inchaffray, 283, 388.

Jedburgh, 281, 285, 318, 321.

Kelso, 285, 296, 308-9, 321, 332.

Kilwinning, 321, 335, 355, 404-5.

Kinloss, 292, 335-41, 343, 352-3, 355-6, 366-68, 404-5.

Lindores, 281, 285, 288, 292, 335, 339, 355, 368, 404-5.

Melrose, 318, 321, 332, 334, 339, 355, 368, 404-5.

Newbattle, 285, 288, 300, 308, 312, 321, 336, 339, 353, 355, 404.

Paisley, 281, 288, 292, 294, 296-7, 339, 355.

Scone, 285, 289, 295, 321.

Coldingham, 304, 355.

Pittenweem, 321, 332, 335, 355, 368.

Pluscarden, 355.

St. Andrews, 281, 288, 300, 307, 309, 313, 321-2, 324, 332, 334, 339, 392, 394, 397-8, 401.

402.) For references to the reign of Mary, see for example:
A. P. S. Vol. 2,

Arbroath, 525, 545-7.

Balmerino, 546, 603.

Cambuskenneth, 594.

Coupar Angus, 410, 414, 430, 442-3, 455, 460, 462, 467-9, 471, 479, 503, 525, 595, 597-8, 603.

Crossraguel, 409-11, 468-9, 471, 479, 594, 598, 603.

Deer, 503, 525, 603.

Dryburgh, 410, 427, 455, 460, 462, 467, 471, 474, 476, 525, 594-5, 603.

Dundrennan, 410, 443, 455, 460, 462, 525, 594-5.

Dunfermline, 409-10, 414, 425, 427, 443, 445-6, 464, 467-9, 471, 474, 479-80, 503, 507, 546-7, 594-5, 597-8, 603.

Fearn, 525, 548.

Glenluce, 427-8, 467-9, 471, 479, 546-7, 594, 603.

Holyrood, 466, 468, 471, 479, 503, 525, 547, 552-3, 603.

Inchaffray, 503, 525.

Inchcolm, 525, 546, 548, 603.

Jedburgh, 445-6, 465, 471, 503, 525, 546-7.

Kilwinning, 427, 443-6, 468, 471, 503, 506-7, 525, 548, 606.

Kinloss, 503, 546, 548.

Lindores, 410-11, 427, 443, 445-6, 455, 467-8, 525, 594-5, 603.

Melrose, 468, 479, 546-7, 594, 603.

Newbattle, 410, 427-8, 443, 445-6, 448, 455, 468-9, 471, 479, 503, 525, 536, 606.

Paisley, 424-5, 427, 429-30, 434, 438-40, 443, 445-6, 448-9, 454-7, 459, 464-7, 469, 480, 489, 525, 594-5, 597.

Saulseat, 481.

Coldingham, 503, 525, 603.

Inchmahome, 525.

Pittenweem, 410-11, 443, 445-6, 475, 525, 606.

Pluscarden, 410-11, 427-8, 443, 503, 594, 603.

St. Andrews, 503-7, 511, 513-4, 518-9, 525, 606.

Chapter Two

Castellated architecture: the prestigious expression of personal pride and power.

"Sic ane Fortres wes neuer found in fyfe, Beleuand thare durst no man me inuaid"

[D. Hamer: *Lindsay*, Vol. 1, 137, l. 234 - 5, *The Tragedie Of The Late Cardinal Beaton.*]

Introduction

In the opening chapter, a considerable number of criticisms were levelled at some of the leading churchmen of the period in question. Through the examination of their activities that followed, it would appear that many were indeed occupying their time in currying favour at court, in the hope of securing preferment in the form of appointment to positions of high authority within the Church, and the State. Their activities therefore in the main were at some remove from the ideal image of an abbot as a resident spiritual example to the members of his house, or a bishop/commendator who spread his time between caring for the souls of regular brethren committed to his charge, and as the concerned shepherd of his diocese. Indeed, as shown above, it is a simple matter to identify numerous individuals who, through the use of the commendator's position, could be seen equally to ignore both sets of responsibilities. At this point however, it is important to remember the social standing of many of the writers whose views appeared in chapter 1, for they would have enjoyed access to the high social circles in which the abbatial and commendatory subjects who form the subject of this thesis were so obviously at home; they could therefore directly observe the behaviour of the men whom they thus criticised. It follows from this that the most receptive, informed audience to which these men could appeal therefore, would, equally, be men who recognised the abbots and commendators - and their associated lifestyles - to which these authors referred, and who could therefore accurately evaluate the truth of the accusations being levelled.

The vitally important question which arises now therefore, is how could the much wider audience - that which had no contact with the royal court, or the upper echelons of society - determine the accuracy of the portraits which so emerged? How could the average man know that a particular abbot or commendator spent his time in the pursuit of the king's affairs, as opposed to ensuring the smooth running of his house, and thereby the maintenance of the prayers said therein, which were perceived as being of benefit to society as a whole ? How could he determine the

nature of the episcopal lifestyle enjoyed by so many commendatory heads of religious houses, when perhaps he saw such a figure only on rare public state occasions, or at a major religious festival?

In this and the following chapter therefore, the emphasis will be placed on ways which the criticisms relating to these individuals lifestyles - as seen in chapter 1 - might have been perceived as being accurate, in the eyes of those wholly excluded from the exalted circles in which these privileged individuals mixed. With this objective in mind, it is proposed to open this chapter with an examination of the "homes" of society's elite, both in terms of those belonging to the laity, and those of ecclesiastics, to see what these structures would have told the onlooker about the lifestyle, and social standing of their occupants. Here, it is important to bear in mind several points whilst reading this chapter.

With regards to the inclusion of material which lies outwith the chronological remit of the present thesis, the intention is twofold. Firstly, - as with so many of the other issues examined in this work - to show that such criticism as was levelled at the abbots and commendators of the period in question, over their possession of fortified buildings, was one which could have been equally applied in a much earlier age of the Church's existence, secondly to provide the reader with as clear a picture as possible of the long established social standing of the men who owned or occupied such seats of power.

In addition it is important to keep in mind that whilst a castle may well have been constructed in a period before that under examination, it is entirely possible that it would have continued in use up to and indeed beyond c.1450 to 1560. Therefore, in dealing with the changing demands which were placed upon these structures over the years, it is possible to demonstrate that the religious who form the subject of this thesis were trusted with what were in the various ages, some of the leading styles of fortification in the realm; hence the inclusion of what, in the opinion of the present writer at any rate, were buildings which served as landmarks in the development of castellated architecture.

Such a study therefore will examine buildings which had no connection with the subjects of this thesis, as they serve as a means whereby the true importance of ecclesiastically controlled structures may be more readily appreciated. In employing such an approach, there is an undoubted need to refer in detail to different forms of construction, and their inherent functions, so that the reader can form a mental picture of each of the examples analysed. References will also be made to the domestic provisions of these structures for they show that as well as possessing military authority, these abbots and commendators were also living a high profile life of ease. Hence the

references to, and comparisons between, such structures as Craignethan castle and the Bishop's palace at Spynie; both possess large gun - ports and other formidable defensive features, but equally in both it is clear that the chief occupant lived a life of conspicuous comfort. In short, the castles held by the religious who form the focus of the present work were indistinguishable from those of their lay counterparts. At this point, it should be further noted that in most instances the architectural analysis of buildings - such as the castles of Achadun, Dunbar, Tantallon and St. Andrews - will precede any link with the regular Orders of the day. In this way it is hoped that one of the key issues in this chapter - the appearance of the men who form the basis of this thesis as castellans no different from any other - will be better appreciated, for if readers of the present work are thus unable to initially separate one type of castle/castellan from the other through such detail alone, then they might better appreciate how the holders were seen by the society of the period c.1450 to 1560.

Finally, with regard to the inclusion of material relating to members of the episcopate, it is important for the reader to recall three of the points raised in the introduction to this thesis. Firstly, that the actions of a man occupied in the episcopate are a valid means of judging his character before he achieved such an office, - that is for instance whilst he was merely a prior, or an abbot - secondly, that many of these men were still heads of monastic houses regardless of their status as bishops, and thirdly, that the lifestyle of bishops who had no links with the regular Orders or the secular colleges nevertheless served as a role model for ambitious individuals - arguably the majority - as they progressed up the ecclesiastical ladder from the regular Orders and secular colleges of the day. In terms of the first point therefore, - again as stated in the introduction to this work - to claim for example that because an abbot was promoted to the episcopate his character changed at a stroke would be far - fetched, for such a man was selected by the crown for his long proven ability to cope with the demands of state inherent in all such promotions. Note too, that it was by no means uncommon for those of abbatial or commendatory rank to hold state office in the same way as a member of the episcopate, to accompany him - for example - in ambassadorial duties to foreign courts. Thus, those of the rank of say prior or abbot could be seen as prelates, or at the very least as attempting to share in the prestige accorded to their "princely" colleagues the bishops; to see them as models - as stated above - to aspire to in terms of service to the crown, and thereby the associated high profile rewards in the lay society. Arguably, one of the most direct ways in which such a man could proclaim his powerful position in both Church and state to the world at large, was through the possession of that long recognised symbol of authority, the castle.

Before embarking on an examination of the issues raised above therefore, it is important to provide a framework from which references can be made between the appearance of such a building, and the style in which it was constructed. Perhaps the earliest example with which to begin, would be the aptly named "ringwork"; a circular banked enclosure surrounded by a ditch.

Early examples of this form of construction may be seen as far apart as Cubbie Roo's castle on Wyre, Orkney, - where it is possible to suggest that the original stronghold had just such a layout - or in the earthworks which surround the much later fifteenth century towerhouse of Crookston, Glasgow. [1] In terms of defensive strength however, the advantage of the "motte" - capable of independent action, alone, or as the dominant part of a larger complex equipped with a "bailey" and its associated domestic/service quarters - had long been appreciated, [2] and as such tended to be more favoured. [3] In turning to examine individual examples therefore, this essay will concentrate on the latter, more numerous forms of earthwork castles, since - arguably - in the main they provide greater material remains with which to form a picture of their early appearance and function, and thereby - with a little imagination - the lifestyle of their owners.

At the Peel of Lumphanan, Aberdeenshire, the centre piece of the site consists of a large mound some one - hundred and twenty feet by one hundred and fifty feet across, rising to a height of some thirty - feet above the first of two protective ditches. On the summit, it is perhaps possible to say that a large - possibly eleventh century - stone built hall once stood within a stone curtain wall some three feet thick. The two ditches themselves are also worthy of note, the first fifty - five feet across, contained within a stout earthen bank, the second - although smaller - so designed to complement the first; the whole sophisticated complex - mound, hall, curtain wall and ditches - completed by the addition of a drawbridge and sluice gates to drain or flood the ditches as the need arose. [4] Although it is possible to point to a high degree of military awareness therefore, the remains are such that any statement concerning the lifestyle of its commander would be mere conjecture. In a similar vein, excavations on the naturally well defended promontory site of the motte of Keir Knowe of Drum, Stirlingshire, reveal a relatively formidable series of military structures, its summit once crowned by a sizeable wooden tower protected by a strong wooden stockade, which in turn was further strengthened by a stone wall and defensive ditches; again however, little if anything can be said regarding the provision of domestic comfort for the castellan. That such wooden buildings as were once used could be more than spartan military structures however, can be seen in the description of the wooden keep - built c.1117 - of one "Arnold of Ardres". Here, the chronicler provides an account of a sophisticated building constructed on three levels, each linked by a series of stairs and corridors. On the ground level, "cellars", "granaries", on

the second a kitchen, - spanning two floors - and the main residential apartments which included "the great chamber of the lord and his lady", whilst on the third, "small rooms" - for Arnold's offspring - were arranged on either side of the tower in relation to the sex of the occupant; all of this in addition to a chapel for the lord and his "familia". [5] Although Arnold was the eldest son to the powerful Count of Guines, and therefore drawn from the highest ranks of the French aristocracy[6], a suitably appropriate link between this French example and the Scottish situation, may be seen in the early home of the Baliol family, that is in the "castle of Gui de Bailleul" the remains of which may seemingly still be seen near the village of Abbeville.

This structure in turn would seem to have relied equally on wooden defensive structures, - up until its demolition in 1420 - and serves to provide a link with the Scottish realm, in that close parallels are said to have existed between it and the one time residence of John Balliol, in the [pre - Balliol] form of construction, of the early castle of Buittle, Kirkcudbright. Further similarities still, may be seen in the wooden construction of the other Balliol strongholds of Helicourt, and Hornoy; both again considered adequate enough to fulfil their functions as both stronghold and residence, until their demolition in the fifteenth century. In terms of this essay therefore, it is possible to visualise in the remains of - for instance - such earthworks as the Motte of Urr, - another Balliol home - and the motte and bailey of Abington, [7] not just the stark military installations they appear today, but the comfortable homes of the aristocracy, planned with the same care as the well appointed home of Arnold of Ardres. Having established - as stated above in the introduction - a basic idea of the type of structures involved in this early period, the task now is to provide a wider picture of the social status of those who occupied such structures in Scotland. Such a problem may be quickly solved when it is considered that on ascending the throne in 1124, David I proved willing to grant sizeable fiefs to encourage Anglo - French immigration; Robert de Brus for example received Annan, Hugh de Moreville the honour of Lauderdale, extensive lands in the Tweed valley at St. Boswell's, Merton and Dryburgh in addition to lands in Galloway, and Walter Fitz Allan, was granted Renfrew, Paisley, Pollock, and other territory in Renfrewshire, along with Innerwick in East Lothian. [8] As these individuals were to provide both the mainstay of the army and the ranks from which the crown would choose its officials, so the castles which they built could be seen as personal, material statements of their power, privilege within the realm; thus from a time much earlier than the period under examination in this thesis, - c.1450 to 1560 - the populace at large could readily equate ownership or occupancy of such structures with a position of great authority within governmental and military circles, and thereby a place within society's elite.

In beginning this survey of the buildings in question it is proposed to start with the castle of Skelbo, in Sutherland. Here, it might be suggested that the present remains date to a period no earlier than the fourteenth century; these remains however are thought to replace an earlier structure of the twelfth century, and it is entirely feasible to suggest that this building would have been of the timber motte and bailey style as described in detail above. In this instance, the site chosen stands high on the south bank of Loch Fleet, Sutherland, thus commanding a clear field of vision of any landward or seaward traffic in the district, whilst providing the occupant of the castle with a suitably safe haven for any of his own craft. In terms of the actual site itself, although subsequent developments have made any observations on the appearance of the original castle a matter of conjecture, it is possible to suggest that the natural defensive properties of the site - coupled to the strength of the castle walls and towers - would in turn have been complemented by the construction of ditches and ramparts. That it was seen as a suitably important stronghold in its day, may be assumed from the fact that it was at Skelbo - on Sunday 1 October 1290 - that the English ambassadors - Henry of Rye and Thomas of Braytoft - chose to meet with their Scottish counterparts; this prior to receiving the news that Margaret of Norway had died in Orkney around 26 September. There can be little doubt therefore, that the castle of Skelbo would have served to impress the authority of its owner within the minds of all who passed it.

The question at this point therefore, is to whom did such a symbol of power belong? Here, the answer is provided in the grant by Hugo Freskyn of Moray in 1211, of a considerable parcel of lands - amongst which was the lands of Skelbo - to an ecclesiastic, Master Gilbert, Archdeacon of Moray; in seeking the identity of the builder of the above fortress therefore, it is necessary to turn to the ranks of the Church for an answer. This individual it would seem, had begun his career as a monk of Melrose, before progressing to the rank of Abbot of Glenluce, archdeacon of Moray thereafter becoming Bishop of Caithness in 1222, following the untimely demise of his predecessor Bishop Adam, an individual who had served as Abbot of Melrose from 1207 until his promotion to the see of Caithness on 5 August 1213. That Gilbert was no meek cleric thrust into such a position of undoubted power reluctantly, and with little hope of thus holding his own, emerges from a number of factors. It would seem for example, that he was related to his noble benefactor Hugo, and thereby to Andrew, the Bishop of Moray, Hugo's son - appointed to the See in 1222 - further, that the effigy within the present day Dornoch Cathedral, - a reconstruction of Gilbert's own foundation - commemorates his brother Sir Richard de Moravia. In view of this, it should come as little surprise to discover that in addition to his castle at Skelbo, Sutherland, he also possessed at least four other strongholds, Varrich castle, Sutherland, Dornoch castle, Sutherland, Scrabster

castle, Caithness - where he died on 1 April 1245 - and the mighty castle of Kildrummy, Aberdeenshire. Thus the statement that Gilbert "protected his tenants through the power of the sword, like a southern baron" can be taken as an accurate description of both his actions, and the way in which this ex - Cistercian must have appeared to the populace of his diocese. [9]

Here several points are made in relation to certain traditional aspects surrounding the religious houses of the day, which are essential to an understanding of the regular Orders in the period c.1450 to 1560, and which will thus be examined in greater detail in later chapters. Firstly, that social connections were of the utmost importance in securing promotion, secondly, that these social connections could be recognised by all through visual symbols of power such as the castles they possessed, and in the tombs of both themselves and their relatives - in the case of Gilbert, that of his brother Sir Richard - thirdly - as stated in the introduction to this thesis and to the present chapter - most of these men were either past priors, abbots members of collegiate foundations or - as will be demonstrated - present commendators.

In turning to examine the surviving stone built castles of Scotland, the aim will be one therefore, of trying to determine if their appearance would be sufficient to inform the traveller whether they were looking at the home of either a layman or an ecclesiastic. To facilitate a systematic means of dealing with the subject matter in hand, this work will first approach those structures of the western seaboard as a separate section; - since this had long been a region geographically isolated from the influences of mainland Scotland, compared with the direct links which it enjoyed with Ireland and the Northern Isles for example - this completed, it will proceed to analyse examples from mainland Scotland in general. In each area an attempt will be made to identify any relevant, notable characteristics with regards to such features as an example's location, construction, in short, any point which may provide an idea of the nature of the occupier whether layman or ecclesiastic.

In the example of Mingarry castle, Ardnamurchan, a strong case may be made for attributing its construction to military necessity, for - in tandem with Duart on Mull to the south - it helped maintain a careful eye on the traffic using the Sound of Mull, one of the main routes to the Hebrides. It commanded respect from all who ventured along this waterway therefore, [11] its importance seen for example in James IV occupying it in 1493 and 1495 during his attempts to subdue the Isles, a similar importance accorded to the old royal castle of Tarbert during the campaigns of the same period. [12] This claim to military importance on behalf of Mingarry therefore, may be supported by the site of the castle, which whilst not an island, is equally inhospitable, the

structure rising from the rocks on the shore overlooking the Sound of Mull, and separated from the landward side by a deep, wide ditch; the idea a simple - but massive - stone curtain wall.

Defence was carried out from the wall head, where put - log holes testify to the use of a timber bretasche - probably - equipped with machicolations, the attackers task further hampered by the use of a drawbridge to span the ditch in front of the castle. [13] At nearby Tioram castle, [14] the site is again a rocky outcrop, this time on a peninsula extending into Loch Moidart; at high tide an island cut off from the shore. Like its neighbour Mingarry, its form is dictated by the demands of its austere location. In the small rectangular island castle of Innis Chonnel on Loch Awe, Argyll, the original thirteenth century doorway was apparently raised well above ground level, access provided by a drawbridge arrangement, equally, its unyielding surface forced the builder to vary the height of the wall walk in order to exploit the island's natural defensive properties. [15] Similarly, Achadun castle on Lismore, [16] was built largely in terms of its rocky site, in this case the structure forming a large square enclosure, perched as it were on a small hill which falls sharply from the castle walls. Here again the principal entrance - in the south - west wall - was situated above ground level, this simple defence feature further enhanced by the construction of a stone built access platform, into which a deep pit has been cut; a moveable covering, perhaps a timber lifting bridge, spanning the gap.

In all of the above examples covered so far - from Mingarry onwards - it is possible to draw many comparisons between the similarity of the sites chosen, and the approach taken with regards to the defence of the castle itself; all would seem to suggest a twelfth to thirteenth century origin, and a keen consideration of military factors. It is also important to note however, that as with the earlier examples of the motte and bailey castles, these were no mere stark military installations; in Mingarry for instance, in addition to the impressive array of defensive features, it is possible to point also to a spacious hall for the castle's commander, and the provision of a chapel, a feature suggested by a window - fitted with wooden frames - of a style similar to that seen at the chapels of Killean[17] and Dunstaffnage, [18] Argyll. Furthermore, it is important not to place too great an emphasis on the strategic importance of some of these buildings, for in the examples of Tioram and Achadun castles whilst defensive features were undoubtedly useful, it is possible to argue that in these examples an equally important consideration was the occupiers intention to lay claim to positions of similar military importance, as a means of displaying their equally privileged positions in the lay [19], and the ecclesiastic world of the western seaboard, for in the case of Achadun castle, the traveller would see the home not of proud clan chieftains, but of the equally proud Bishops of Argyll. Amongst these men it should be noted could be numbered "Bishop Finlay" - Finlay de Albania, a Dominican friar who assisted James Stewart [the youngest son of the imprisoned Murdoch Stewart,

Duke of Albany] in his sack of Dumbarton on 3 May 1425 David Hamilton - provided to the see on 3 April 1497, he successfully had the Abbey of Saddel added to his bishopric, [1 January 1507/8] made an unsuccessful attempt for the Commendatorship of Glenluce Abbey before securing that of Dryburgh [13 May 1519] - and William Cunningham [provided to the see 7 May 1539] the ex - provost of the Holy Trinity collegiate church in Edinburgh. [20]

That the dour external features of these strongholds were long considered adequate displays of wealth and power, may be seen in the fifteenth century examples of Kismuil castle, Isle of Barra, and Breachacha on Coll, where many of the features noted in - for instance - Mingarry castle are once again repeated. [21] The similar use of a drawbridge arrangement for example in Kisimuil to isolate the tower from the rest of the castle, the increased length of the entrance passage to both strengthen the main doorway and provide access to the wall head. [22] Of equal note, whilst the fifteenth century remodelling of Innis Chonnel saw fit to provide a large hall with a gallery to view the beauty of Loch Awe, it left the castle's grim exterior unchanged. [23] The gaunt remains of Achadun therefore, may be seen as placing men drawn from the ranks of both the regular Orders and from the collegiate foundations of the period in question, on a similar social plane as the region's warlords.

In turning to the Scottish mainland, it is proposed to proceed with an albeit brief examination, of the way in which the design of the castle may be said to have changed in the light of developments in warfare from the late fourteenth century onwards; in particular, with regards to the growing use of the mercenary soldier, and the increasing deployment of firearms and canon, the intention as stated above to show that the castles owned or merely occupied by the religious under examination were every bit the equal of their lay counterparts. In approaching the first of these points, it is fair to say - as a generalisation - that as a lord became increasingly dependent on keeping a paid body of hired fighters to do his bidding - as opposed to the older ideal of relying on trusted members of his household for support - so the somewhat precarious nature of his position was given material form in many castles of the day. In Doune castle in southern Perthshire for instance, in the home built by Murdoch, Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, the idea of the lord's residence as a structure placed at some distance from the entranceway - as at Inverlochy, Kildrummy [built by Gilbert of Moray] and Bothwell for example - was rejected. Here, the main defensive mass of the castle was placed around main gate, the lord's quarters and gatehouse forming an entirely self - contained unit which controlled the heavily defended entranceway, and was capable of independent action should the domestic and service buildings, and garrison accommodation block fall, either to an external assault, or treachery from within.[24] At Tantallon

castle, Lothian - erected around the end of the fourteenth century, and like Doune, Perthshire, once the possession of Murdoch, Duke of Albany -, a similar arrangement appears, in which the massive gate - house tower serves equally well as a spacious home for the castellan. Within this self contained structure, a formidable series of defensive features, - all under the control of the occupier - are complemented by the lord's hall, his quarters, and those of his household; all furnished presumably to a relatively high standard. In the courtyard behind, two large halls, - one above the other - again show the same division of the castle's occupants; the lower serving the needs of the garrison, that above the lord and his personal retainers.

In terms of the defensive nature of the site, the castle's location means that it can only be approached from the western, landward side. Here a wide, deep ditch, protected by a formidable curtain wall and blockhouse to the south - east, served as an initial barrier to any potential aggressor; once past this series of obstacles, the invader was faced with another bank/ditch combination - used to equal effect arguably at Sanquhar Castle, the home of the powerful Crichton family -, both in turn dwarfed by the massive strength of the main wall of Tantallon, which served to isolate the courtyard and domestic buildings behind. It is important to remember at this point, that a series of modifications were carried out in the aftermath of the siege of James V in 1529, which served to give the castle much of its present day appearance. Under the auspices of John Scrimegeour of Myres - Master of Works from 1529 to c.1562 - and George Sempill - Master Mason -, for example, the main entrance was greatly strengthened and a curved finish added to the towers to provide additional defence against canon. Finally, in terms of how this building must once have appeared, MacGibbon and Ross draw the onlookers attention to the "entrance of the castle itself", which they compared favourably with the French castle of "St. Andre", saying that the "archway of Tantallon was similar in style, and must have had a correspondingly grand and imposing effect."

In both Doune and Tantallon, as with the examples provided above, despite the changes observed in the approach to planning such a stronghold to maintain its security, and thereby its undoubted success militarily, - Tantallon for example falling to James V through negotiation rather than bombardment - the same desire for domestic comfort amidst an awe inspiring display of personal prestige, - framed as it was by the spectacular location of Tantallon - [25] remained conspicuous.

In turning now to the development of the castle as an artillery fortification, perhaps the earliest example with which to begin would be Threave castle; erected by Archibald the Grim in the late fourteenth century as a symbol of the Black Douglas's social and military supremacy in the

Lordship of Galloway - indeed within Scotland south of the Forth -, the modifications carried out in the mid - fifteenth century serve to justify the above claim. During this period, a stout artillery wall was erected along with a moat which served to enhance Threave's island setting; on the vulnerable landward sides, three round towers were constructed to strengthen the curtain wall and provide additional covering fire, two buildings on the site - thought to have been a chapel, and small hall or stables - demolished since they hindered the gunners field of fire on the eastern approach. Again it is important to remember that the builder of this castle was a soldier of considerable renown, fighting at - for instance - the battle of Halidon in 1333, and at Poitiers in 1356, this in addition to his social distinction in his role as the Earl of Douglas. Thus his house reflected its position as one of the foremost strongholds in the realm not only in the form of the military features examined above, but also in the great hall, some "forty six feet three inches long and twenty - five feet five inches wide", and in the ample domestic apartments which the castle contained. [26] Moving forward in time to the late fifteenth century, the need for improved coastal and border defences was expressed in parliament in 1481, to prepare the strongholds of Scotland for what James III considered was the imminent threat of invasion from the old enemy south of the Border; amongst the castles specifically mentioned by name, as being of particular importance were those of "Dunbar", "Saint Andrewes" and "Temptallon". [27] Such a list however was a guideline only, and although not directly stated, would doubtless have included such strategic fortresses as Ravenscraig and Blackness for the vital protection which they offered to the realm, for they would have been instrumental in the task of maintaining a surveillance on the Firth of Forth. Here, Ravenscraig may be seen as both another instance in the development of the artillery fortress in Scotland, and as a means of linking the design features and sites chosen for many of the castles examined above. Perched high above Kirkcaldy Bay, its site is very similar to that of Tantallon, in that a direct advance on the castle is only possible from one direction, - the north - the other sides of castle protected by a combination of steep cliffs and the sea below. On the landward approach, - again as at Tantallon - a deep ditch creates in effect a rocky island on which the castle rests, whilst a drawbridge arrangement was doubtless once used to span the gap. Both the main towers of Ravenscraig are given a rounded finish as at the above site, and are of a similarly massive construction; - some fourteen feet thick - these and the curtain wall between directly overlooking the landward approach and ditch, capable of raking their length with gunfire. Although the main defensive mass of the building is thus concentrated "up front", there is physical evidence enough to suggest that the sea - ward approaches to the rear of the castle, - like Tantallon - were adequately protected by a perimeter wall, equipped with openings for guns; the extreme tip of the site for its part still bears the remains

of a tower which once overlooked the Firth of Forth, it too doubtless once provided with the means for using small arms and cannon. [28]

At Blackness castle in Lothian, prior to the work of Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, - 1534/40 - and that of his successor the Parson of Dysart, - 1542 - which dramatically transformed the site, the castle was still arguably one of considerable natural strength, protected as it was by nature on three sides by the sea at high tide, mud flats and marshes at other times, whilst on the only sure landward approach, an aggressor's progress would have been effectively further stalled by the presence of a ditch which isolated the structure from the surrounding land. In returning to the first of the castles mentioned in the parliament of 1481, that of Dunbar, it had to wait some fourteen years before it was to receive the attention demanded in the above brief, but when it came it showed that the lessons learned in the earlier models of - for example - Threave and Ravenscraig were not wholly forgotten, - albeit that the then redesigned site was still seriously compromised by an overlooking spit of land - for in the remodelling of the gatehouse and forework by the master mason Walter Merlioun, there was an ample provision of gun - embrasures to cover the main landward approach. That these were to be more than just a somewhat visual deterrent, may be taken from an entry in the Treasurer's accounts which details the delivery of "iij serpentinis gunnis to Dunbar...." in 1497. [29]

At this point it is perhaps advisable to pause and evaluate the evidence presented thus far. In all of the above sites, from Doune castle to the castle of Dunbar, these structures have emerged as the well appointed homes of the country's leading magnates. The defensive and strategic features examined therefore, whilst of the utmost importance must be seen as being balanced by the equal desire for domestic comfort, and the construction of a symbol which would proudly proclaim the outstanding social prestige, power enjoyed by its occupant. In terms of the main aim of this chapter, - to determine how the majority of the populace could evaluate the status of men who were closely bound to the regular and collegiate houses of the period under study - a number of points may now be added to the above. In the *Register of the Privy Council* for example, for the year 1546, two entries appear which are of particular interest. The first records that:

"forsmakill as our Soverane Lady, with avise consent, and autorite of hir Tutour and Governour, hes nominet George Douglas, sone to Archibald Eirle of Angus, in and to the abbacy and place of Abirbrothok....",

whilst the second refers to an incident which appears to have been glossed over in the business of the Council. Here, the scribe for the Council recorded the appearance of "Maistar Archibald Betoun" before its members, and of how he:

> "exponit and declarit how he was takin be George Duglas Postulat of Aberbrothoc,.... to Tamptalloun...."

Oddly enough however, he made it known that neither money nor goods had been taken from him, no - one it would seem had even:

> "inquirit at him quhethair he had ony money or nocht upoun him...."

Whatever the truth of this strange affair, for the brief references to it would indeed seem to indicate forceful abduction and imprisonment - the point to note is that the aggressor was a man nominated for the position of head of one of the country's leading monastic houses, and that he took his reluctant guest to one of the most formidable castles in the realm, which - it would seem - was then held by him. [30] Similarly, in referring to the strategic importance of the early castle of Blackness, it is equally relevant to remember that this fortress was once placed under the command of Sir William Knollis, a man who held the position of royal treasurer under James III and James IV, and who pursued a successful career as a foreign diplomat, as a shipowner, a merchant, in addition to holding down such other offices as Keeper of Linlithgow Palace, and - most importantly of all in terms of the aim of this chapter - a man who occupied the office of Preceptor of Torphichen from 1466 to his death in the early sixteenth century. [31] In turning to the principal example of Dunbar, a series of entries within the *Register of the Privy Seal* relating to Andrew Forman prove to be equally revealing. In terms of the offices held by Forman individual within the Church, the analysis of his career in the above chapter showed that he was indeed a powerful figure within the spiritual hierarchy, this distinction arising in no small part from his activities - for example - in the diplomatic affairs of the crown. That such activity was well rewarded, was - as stated above - evidenced by a distinguished career within the Church, which saw him hold - among other offices - the position of Commendator of the Abbeys of Dryburgh, Dunfermline, Kelso, the Priory of Pittenweem and the religious house of Cottingham in England. Such evidence however must in turn be balanced by an examination of matters relating to the visual symbols of his authority in purely lay terms, those

which would provide the means whereby society at large could link his activities within the Church with those relating to the state.

On 29 September 1498 for example, an entry in the *Register of the Privy Seal* recorded the grant of "A letter of power" to Forman to act in the king's name in dealing with:

> "al Inglishmen and thare factouris cummand in merchandis with thare schippes or bottis to the portis and havynis of Pettinweme, Andstruthir, Erlisferry, and Carrale, and to give the said Inglishmen saufconductis or pasportis for thare factouris, servandis, marinallis of schippes or merchandis and gudis, for schort time or lang as he thinkis expedient, endurand the trewis standingbetuix the realmys...."

Presumably as a direct result of this promotion, a subsequent entry for 13 October of the same year recorded:

> "Ane Precept maid to Andro Forman, prothonothar, of ane pension zerely of [1, 000] crounis to be pait to him of the kingis cofferis ay and quhil he be promovit to ane bishopric or abbasy...."

A later entry still for 1 February 1498/9 recorded:

> "a charge to the chancellor, prive sele, and secretar, to gif al lettrez fre under thair selis to him, his menkin and frendis, and his servitouris, and to tak nuther gold nor silver thairfor....",

this privilege

> "To endur for al the dais of his life...."

Just as his services to the crown steadily increased his income however, so too the privilege endowed him with the symbols of lay authority. Thus, on 7 September 1503, "A lettre of command was sent to Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, Knight," ordering him to:

"deliver the castell of Dunbar, with the place, manys, corne, catall, utensill and domicill, with gunnys and al uther of gere and artilzery, to a reverend fader in God, Andro, Bishop of Murray, and his factouris....",

this communiqué referring in turn to the indenture dated the same day:

"betuix oure soverane lorde, and Andro, Bishop of Murray.... proportand that his henes has set to him and his assignais the Manys of Dunbar."

It is possible to suggest therefore that a contributory factor in Forman's subsequent promotions, was the need for the keeper of such an important royal stronghold, to be seen to be the social equal of his fellow castellans, regardless of his connection with some of the country's leading monastic houses. Thus on 2 February 1505/6, an entry in the *Register* records the gift of the:

"ward, relief and nonentres of the landis of Lochirmaus, liand within the schirefdom of Berwik, quhilk pertenit to umquhile Alexander Sinclar of Lochirmacus, and now being in the hands of the kingis handis by resoun of ward be his deceis; and of the mariages of James Sinclair, his son and are, quhilk failzand the mariage of the aire or airis, male or female....

to:

"Andrew, Bishop of Moray and John Forman of Dalvane, knight, his brother."

That this commendator was fast becoming a powerful landowner within the circle of Lothian's elite however, is perhaps best seen in a grant under the Privy Seal for 8 September 1507, which secured his hold on:

"... the kingis Manys of Dunbar, that is to say Estbernys, Westbernys, Newtounleys, Oswaldisdene, Ryg and Fluris, and Brumepark, with lochis, lynkis and myllis of the samyn, with thare pertinentis, and als of the keping of his castel of Dunbar, -... the said reverand fader and his assignays enterand of new to the tak and keping of the castel foresaid the first day of September [1508] and thairefter to be haldin.... for al the space and termes of nyntene zeris."

In the event, perhaps the king decided that such a grant was a little on the generous side, for a subsequent communiqué for the same day was to limit the period of the above grant to the period of "nyne zeris"; regardless of the motivation behind this apparent change of mind, it is doubtful if Forman was to remain long upset over this matter, for on 8 March following the king expressed his desire that he should be appointed the "Captain and Keeper of Dernway castle, and Forester of Dernaway Forest". Such a promotion was to be matched by an equal expansion in the duties which he was to render to the crown, for on the same day the king also made him "chamerlane of the said lordschip of Murray, for all the days of his lyve....", giving:

> "hym, his substitutis and factouris full power and speciale mandment to rais and inbring to the kingis use all and syndri the males, fermes, gersummirs, eschetis, proffitis and dewiteis pertening to his propirte within his said lordschip...."

and to render such payments to the king's auditors at the exchequer each year. The same day he received yet another title and series of duties to add to his by now prestigious collection, that of:

> "custummare within the boundis and partis of the north partis of the realme, bezond the watter of the Spey, for all the dais of his lyve...."

Forman - and the "staff" he was empowered to employ to assist him - was thus responsible for ensuring that the king derived the best return possible from this region of his kingdom, from an extremely wide variety of sources such as the taxation of mills, fishing rights, and such goods as hides, skins, wool and cloth. The following year an additional entry further clarified what was expected of him, for among other additional duties he was to: along with others he was to:

> "set al and sindri the kingis landis of his lordschip of Murray,.... to the tenentis inhabitantis thairof or utheris sufficient tenentis,.... to quhat persouns [he thought] expedient for the kingis proffit."

Just as above, a chronological link can be identified which ties these duties to yet additional sources of income, and thereby in turn to the physical symbols of power which accompanied them.

Thus, it could be said that the duties which the king required Forman to perform were subsequently rewarded on 10 May 1509 when he received:

> "all and hale the landis of the Kers.... callit in tymes bigane the Kers of Innes, with the pertinentis, liand within the erledom of Murray and the shirefdome of Elgin...."

This honour was in turn followed on 26 August 1510 by a letter of tack which reaffirmed his earlier acquisition of authority in the south, for it appointed Forman and his brother John Forman as keepers:

> "of all and hale the landis and Manis of Dunbar, that is to say, Estir Barnis, Westir Barnis, Newtoun Leyis, Oswaldis Dene, Rig and Fluris and Brumepark, with Lowis, linkis and myllis of the samyn and thair pertinentis; and als the keping of the castell of Dunbar....",

to take possession of them from 1 September 1510, for a period of ten years, along with the power to:

> "mak subtenentis... in the said tak and in the keping of the said castell, capitanis, constablis, jevalouris... and uther officiaris nedefull...."

Finally, the grant closed by making:

> "the said reverend fader and his broder, bailzeis of the said landis, with power bailze courtis to hald...."

Thereafter, on 11 March 1512/13, presumably that his power in the north of the kingdom should balance his influence in the south, both he and "William Ogilvy of Stratherne" were appointed:

> "keparis of his [James IV's] castell of Dinguall and forestaris of the forestis of Dernway, and als chaumerlanis of his lordschip of Murray, for all the dais and termez of nyne zeris eftir the dait hereof quhilk salbe thair entre;...."

again it should be noted they were to enjoy the power of being able to appoint any "constabillis, gevilouris, wachmen...." to assist them in the execution of their duties. It is also important to note that the same day, Forman was confirmed as the "Customar of the realm". [32] In terms of the castles which he occupied whilst employed in the various roles examined above, little can now be determined as to the provision of comfort for Forman when he was in residence, but in the instance of Darnaway, some estimation may be made both in terms of its previous owners and in the form of the roof of the main hall, a feature with which Forman himself would have been familiar. It should also be remembered that the castle was erected by the Earl of Moray during his time as Regent for the young David II in the first half of the fourteenth century, and that the main hall was the work of the Earl of Douglas, Archibald Douglas around the middle of the fifteenth century. Thus, in the figure of Andrew Forman, the general populace were provided with the example of a man who could lay claim - among his numerous other Church offices - to the religious houses of Dryburgh, Dunfermline and Kelso, along with the Priory of Pittenweem and the religious house of Cottingham in England; this whilst he also held - amongst other similar prizes - the vital military fortress of Dunbar, and the prestigious ex - residence of leading members of the Scottish aristocracy - the home of the mistress of James IV ꝺDarnaway castle.

At this point, the character of Forman may be used to introduce perhaps the most extreme example raised thus far, that of the castle of St. Andrews, for in his long and distinguished career, Forman was able to lay claim to the title of Archbishop of this, Scotland's first archdiocese. In turning to this structure however, it is proposed to move on to examine still further instances of men - commendators - who possessed close links with the regular Orders for the period c.1450 to 1560, but who nevertheless must once have appeared - to those who passed beneath the walls of their residences - as being little different from any other of the nation's magnates. In both the castle of St. Andrews itself, and the walled defences beyond, - in which the cathedral itself played a part - it would have been possible for almost anyone to identify the proud lineage of the "spiritual" patrons responsible for these warlike edifices, for in places they saw fit to leave their coats of arms, from which they could be readily identified. In the remains of the precinct walls of the priory for example, the remodelling of the earlier precinct wall - c. fourteenth century - in the sixteenth century by the Hepburns, John and Patrick, - the former the Prior of St. Andrews, the latter holding this office, before becoming the Bishop of Moray and Commendator of Scone - the emphasis was placed on the creation of "a serious fortification", for although there are numerous image niches on the towers which punctuate the wall towers which once apparently numbered some sixteen in all - there is also an admirable provision for defence in the form of numerous gun - loops to cover the various

angles of approach. In the way of a finishing touch however, the builders saw fit to add the Hepburn coat of arms - note here that Patrick Hepburn when Bishop of Moray and Commendator of Scone also saw fit to add his arms to the formidable Bishop's palace at Spynie. In terms of the castle itself, anyone approaching the main entrance in the latter half of the sixteenth century, would see the culmination of generations of episcopal power represented in the extensive rebuilding programme of John Hamilton, - ex - monk of Kilwinning, Abbot of Paisley - the Archbishop of St. Andrews and Commendator of Paisley Abbey. Here, Hamilton had created a grand facade, a visual symbol of his wealth; his desire to inform the visitor of his equal lay authority clearly established by his rebuilding of the late fourteenth century fore - tower, his opulence and power therefore were equally represented. As a final touch in this process, Hamilton saw fit to emblazon his arms on both the gateway and fore - tower; there could be little doubt in anyone's mind therefore of the authority wielded by Hamilton. [33]

In terms of the interior comforts provided for any of the men who held this fortress, two sources provide a valuable insight; the first refers to the castle's ability to cater for the lords Angus, Lennox and Argyll, their followers and their mounts to the number of "twenty - one score horses...." during the episcopate of James Beaton [1522/49], Commendator of the Abbeys of Arbroath, Dunfermline and Kilwinning, the second, to the value of the booty taken from the castle on the surrender of the Protestant rebels, which was claimed to have been "worth 100, 000 pundis...." [34]

Thus far most of the examples covered have been drawn from the northwest, and from central and southern Scotland. In order to redress this balance this work will now proceed to examine what in its day must have been one of the most impressive castles of the north - east, the "Bishop's Palace" of Spynie. In order that as above a comparison can be made between this structure and what could perhaps be termed its lay equivalent however, a brief examination is also proposed of the remains of Craignethan castle in Lanarkshire.

At Craignethan castle, - built by Sir James Hamilton of Finnart c.1530/40 - the idea of complementing a naturally well defended site with the latest developments in firearms and artillery was taken a stage further. Here, on three sides, a cliff face makes a direct assault impossible, whilst on the westward landward approach a massive rampart - fronted by a deep ditch - blocked the path of any assailant. Of greatest note perhaps, the remarkably well preserved caponier which, in conjunction with the traverse, allowed gunners to rake the ditch with fire should any attempt be made to either scale or undermine the rampart. Finally, on both the parapet of the rampart and that of the tower - house behind, it is possible to argue that fairly large, carriage mounted canon may have been in use. In turning to the domestic comforts provided for the owner, the spacious hall,

kitchen, domestic quarters and chapel [35] demonstrate that this structure, whilst capable of withstanding the aggressive attentions of a middling lord, was never capable - indeed had never been planned to be capable - of surviving a determined siege and heavy artillery bombardment; rather it should be seen as a well appointed mansion house, an expression of the wealth and social aspirations of the Hamilton family in the sixteenth century.

In the case of Spynie, Moray, although it is of an earlier period, parallel features may be noted which serve to create a similar picture of the intentions behind its construction. In approaching this site from the north, perhaps the most immediately striking feature is the great keep, measuring some "sixty - two feet five inches" from north to south and "forty - four feet three inches" from east to west, its brooding mass - measured at seventy feet in height - consisting of six storeys, may in effect be said to dominate the other buildings of the complex. Here however, arguably the most impressive features of this structure are the massive gunloops which cover the southern and eastern approaches to the castle. Fully six feet in width, and some two to three feet in height they stare menacingly out from the ground level of the tower, their defensive strength complemented by their equally impressive twins in the tower to the south - east. When it is considered that the castle once occupied a site largely protected by such natural features as rising ground and the close proximity of Spynie Loch - now drained - the proud boast of the architect of the above features - Bishop David Stewart, 1461/76 - that the powerful Earl of Huntly and all of his clan could do little to discomfit him, was not that far from the truth.

That the resident castellan was not destined to spend his time within a mere grim fortress however, may be assumed from the large hall whose grand fire - place still bears traces of its former splendour, and from the window in the curtain wall which shows that the bishop like all great lords - like the owner of Craignethan above - enjoyed the use of his own personal chapel. At Spynie therefore, the pride exhibited by the builder of Craignethan, was once again repeated by the occupants of this episcopal equivalent; both in effect laying claim to positions of power within the country as a whole. On the south wall of the main keep of Spynie for example, a series of four heraldic panels proclaim the exalted position of the bishops in terms of the lay estate; these depict the royal arms of Scotland - the unicorn chained and crowned, above it the lion rampant, and thistles - the initialled arms of Bishop Patrick Hepburn, the arms of Bishop David Stewart and finally those of his predecessor, Bishop William Tulloch. Episcopal pride apparently once adorned the head of the principal entrance of the complex, for the gateway in the east wall once displayed a coat of arms not wholly dissimilar to those of Bishop John Innes, provided to the see on 12 January 1406/7. [36]

Here it might be argued that the example of Spynie castle is irrelevant since it was an episcopal residence, at this point however the reader is asked to recall one of the points raised in the introduction to this chapter, that such displays of wealth and power acted as a magnet for the ambitious, talented and well connected members of the religious Orders of the day, for they too wished to share in the princely trappings associated with membership of the episcopate. In using the above example of Spynie a clear example of this emerges, for among the members of the episcopate mentioned appeared the figure of Patrick Hepburn, once Prior of St. Andrews, who resigned this office on appointment to the see of Moray yet maintained his links with the regular Orders of the day through his position as Commendator of the Abbey of Scone. Once again therefore, the populace at large could readily make the connection between one of the leading fortresses of the realm and a man long associated with the religious Orders. In all of the above examples therefore, parallels may be drawn between the homes of the leading lay figures of pre - Reformation society and their ecclesiastical counterparts, the individuals who form the focus of this thesis.

In the example of Dunbar castle, the strategic value of the site was greatly enhanced in the aftermath of a meeting of the Council on 20 November 1514. Thereafter the castle was to become the chief stronghold of the Duke of Albany, the earlier flaw of the site overcome during the captaincy of the French ambassador, Antoine d'Acres, Sieur de la Bastie, who, arguably, constructed the blockhouse which effectively dominated the adjacent spur of land, which had earlier so weakened the castle's defensive properties. Thus, in 1523, the English commander Lord Dacre was to describe it as:

> "a thing in maner unprenable.... It standith upon a crag and there is no way to go to it but one which is strongly and substantially made with a new bulwerk and sett with ordinance as can be devised by the Duke of Albany for in the said castell is all the said Dukes trust...."

It is significant therefore to note that despite the long term strategic value of the castle, it had been for years placed in the hands of the commendator, Andrew Forman, thereafter in those of his brother, Robert Forman, Dean of Glasgow, a familiar figure at the royal court who was present at the meeting of the Council in 1514, which determined that de la Bastie should succeed him. [37]

Of equal and relevant interest, the modifications carried out at Blackness by the architect of Craignethan, [Sir James Hamilton of Finnart] during his tenure on the castle from 1534/40, and

during that of his successor, the parson of Dysart in 1542, which transformed this once relatively modest fortification. From a mere 1.5 meters, the south front of the castle was re - inforced to a thickness of some 5.5 meters, its height increased and a massive new tower created; in addition wide mouthed gun - ports were installed, those covering the landward approach capable of accommodating large artillery pieces. Of particular note here, is the design of the hall within the new tower, its main window so designed as to be capable of housing a large canon, [38] capable of harassing any enemy forces seeking to entrench themselves on the high ground to the south. At this point, it is possible to suggest that the artillery fortifications of both the improved Dunbar and the formidable Blackness, would have been more than matched by the firepower of the two early sixteenth century blockhouses, which once covered the landward approach to St. Andrews castle. Placed in the "south - east and south - west corners" of the castle wall to provide covering fire for the landward ditch, - which as in so many examples above effectively reduced the risk of a direct frontal assault - their presence may well help towards explaining why it took the besiegers so long to reduce the Protestant defenders to submission -; that to the south - west indeed, was described by Stewart Cruden as having been "one of the largest of its kind in Scotland, with a diameter of 16.2m [53ft.]". [39]

That this castle was a place of considerable might at this time, may also be seen in the efforts of Cardinal Beaton - the Commendator of Arbroath - to enhance its strength still further. Under the auspices of David, and the castle's commander John Beaton, his nephew - the garrison was increased, military engineers were called in to supervise the strengthening of the castle defences and to advise on the placing of its guns, - to repel what was believed to be an imminent English attack - whilst professional gunners were hired to ensure that once installed the guns would be efficiently operated; in addition, supplies of powder, ammunition and arms were purchased, John Beaton spending £300 on "iron headed spears for guards brought in from Edinburgh, gunpowder brought from Glasgow," and "iron bullets from Dunbar". [40]

Similarly, in examining the remains of many of these castles, numerous other parallels abound. The gunports of Spynie for example, are arguably - in visual terms - the equal of those on display at Craignethan, Crichtoun, the blockhouse of Dunbar and even those of the much later Blackness. [41] Such features as those mentioned above are not merely confined to episcopal palaces; for instance, in viewing the gatehouses of the Abbeys of Dunfermline, Arbroath and Crossraguel, the impression given, though not so warlike as those structures above mentioned, is still one of defensive strength, as opposed to the mere provision of an access point to the monastic buildings beyond. Similarly, at Crossraguel, the abbot's tower may be seen to be equipped with

such features as gunloops to cover the doorway, and a fine fire - place on the third floor, [42] features which suggest that the abbot lived in a style similar to a lay lord on those occasions when he was actually present. In this he was by no means unique in ecclesiastical circles. The character of David Beaton for instance, provides an example of a Commendator of the Abbey of Arbroath who possessed not only the stronghold of St. Andrews, but the episcopal castle of Mirepoix in France; in addition, Beaton could also lay claim to the family home of Balfour tower - near Markinch -, Ethie castle - in Angus -, Monimail tower and of course Melgund castle, the home which he shared with his mistress Marion Ogilvy. In pausing to evaluate the last name in the list, [Melgund] the same desire to proclaim the owners privileged position within society is again evident. Here, the arms of the Cardinal and his lady were placed over the main windows of the west and east walls, a particularly personal touch applied within, in the form of the latter's arms which may still be seen at the foot of the stairway to the upper floors. Within the castle itself, the emphasis was placed on a comfortable lifestyle. From the large hall with its grand fireplace to the adjoining dining room and the bedrooms beyond - equipped with their own fireplaces - the comfort of the Cardinal/commendator and his family and guests was never in any doubt. Such gunloops as are provided therefore, especially when the fairly indefensible site of the castle is considered may be seen more as decorative features, symbols of Beaton's lay power, - as evidenced in real terms in the fortress of St. Andrews - rather than as serious attempts to create a strong, defensible retreat. [43]

Other similar small examples abound, the Abbots of Dunfermline for example possessed Rossend castle, situated above the harbour of Burntisland. It bears the arms of the Abbot, George Dury, and those of his spiritual patron, St. Margaret of Scotland. A similar intention - to possess a symbol of his privileged position within society - was doubtless responsible for William Douglas, Abbot of Holyrood, constructing a stronghold for himself in the Border region between England and Scotland, the royal gift of the captaincy of the castles of "Dyngwell", "Redcastell" and "Uchterhous" to Andrew Stewart, the Bishop of Caithness, Commendator of the Abbeys of Kelso and Fearn, in the north for its part, a further desire by the king - as exhibited in Forman's case above - to illustrate the power of his servants to the populace at large.

At Mauchline castle, the property of the Abbot of Melrose, - most likely all that remains of the prior's house - whilst its numerous decorative features preclude any claim to be a serious defensive structure, it is nevertheless sufficiently similar to a layman's tower house as to be included in this survey. The tower of the Order of the Knights of St. John at Torphichen more worthy still of such a comparison. [44]

In all of these examples therefore, it is possible to say that for many members of society there would have been little to distinguish the home of an abbot, bishop, or prior from that of a member of the laity. Similar ideals were obviously employed by the builders of both; the sites ranging from the scenic, for example Corehouse castle, once the possession of the Abbots of Kelso, to the dramatic and inhospitable, for example castle Varrich, thought to have been used by the Bishops of Caithness among whom could be numbered Robert Stewart, who at one point in the earlier sixteenth century, appeared as the "postulate of Caithness and the Provost of the collegiate church of Dumbarton." Where there was a visual reminder of the owner's status, as at St. Andrews castle and the Bishop's castle at Glasgow, the viewer would have an immediate impression of the status of the occupant whether ecclesiastic or lay. Where there was not, there was little else in the way of structural clues to guide him. [45] Thus it would indeed appear that Lindsay's comment at the beginning of this chapter, was an accurate assessment of not just Cardinal Beaton's fortress in St. Andrews, but as shown above, of the residences of many others who were linked, principally, to the houses of the regular Orders and to the secular colleges. Similarly, in the levels of domestic comfort which it has been suggested these houses possessed, Lindsay was obviously equally accurate in many instances when he linked the:

> "Abbottis, Byschoppis, and Cardinallis...."

together in terms of their high profile lifestyles and their possession of:

> "plesand palyces royallis...." [46]

for, as seen in the first chapter of this thesis, many of the men who possessed the title of commendator chose to appear under that of abbot, furthermore even on attaining the rank of bishop, many of these same individuals sought to maintain their links with their previous office through the use of the commendatory scheme, and add to the number of religious houses they controlled through the same means. Thus, for the majority of the laity, the ill educated masses who had no contact with courtly circles, the terms commendator and abbot were arguably equally interchangeable, for these people - again arguably - the connection would simply have been that these men led not only the majority of the religious houses in the period under examination, but also held many of the leading examples of castellated architecture which dotted the countryside.

Whilst unable to mix socially in any way with these individuals therefore - as for example Lindsay would have done at the royal court - the majority of society's members could still form an image of the daily lifestyle of such men. It was arguably an image at some remove from the ideal one of the religious. At this point however, it is perhaps necessary to pause and consider if other alternative, credible explanations might be proffered, to explain the presence of so many fortresses in the possession of ecclesiastics, explanations which could perhaps mitigate at least some of the damning evidence examined thus far. In dealing with the character of Gilbert of Moray - ex - monk of Melrose, Abbot of Glenluce and archdeacon of Moray - for example, it will be remembered that he succeeded to the Bishopric of Caithness on the demise of his predecessor, Bishop Adam; it is in the events surrounding the latter individual that it is proposed to begin. Appointed Abbot of Melrose in 1207, Adam was to serve in this house for a further seven years before his fateful promotion to the Bishopric of Caithness on 11 May 1214. Of what is known of subsequent events, it would appear that Adam was for some time engaged in a bitter struggle with the populace of his diocese, to ensure their payment of the tithes and other services due to the Church. That the matter was more than one of mere petty squabbling, may be seen in the intervention of Alexander II himself in the affair - in an attempt to reconcile the differences on both sides - and in the events which followed these seemingly successful negotiations.

In both the Chronicle of Melrose, and that of Lanercost - even allowing for the authors shared desire to portray Adam in as favourable a light as possible so that he could be admitted to the ranks of the saints and martyrs, the spiritual elite of the Church as seen in Chapters 10 and 11 below - there is little doubt that in the year 1222, Adam was publicly humiliated before suffering a prolonged and cruel death. From this fact, it is perhaps possible to argue that the bishop's death might have been prevented had his residence been more of a fortress and less of a palace. Both this suggestion, and the terrible revenge exacted by Alexander II on the perpetrators - which would doubtless have further soured relations between the local populace and their bishop - it could be argued, were strong motivating factors in the subsequent castle building activities of Adam's successor, Gilbert of Moray, who in addition to constructing places of considerable strength, moved to the somewhat safer environment of Dornoch, where he enjoyed the additional benefit of strong family support. [47] Here, it might be argued that since this example is drawn from a much earlier age than the period under examination, c.1450 to 1560 it is open to a charge of irrelevance. Such an argument however, may be quickly countered when events falling directly within this timespan may be said to bare a striking resemblance to those examined above. In the case of Abbot William Buncle of Kilwinning, for instance, the use of violence towards an ecclesiastic was again repeated.

His problems arguably began on 15 October 1510, in the royal grant to Andrew Forman of a wide range of powers of appointment within the Church, among which was the:

> "power to impetrate any benefice to be vacant in Scotland for Master James Forman, precentor of Glasgow, as he sees fit and to the best advantage of the said John, and to order execution, without danger of accusation in terms of the statutes of Parliament or other provisions to the contrary...."

The outcome of this privilege? The announcement by James IV in 1512 to both his agent in Rome, the Cardinal of St. Mark, and the Pope, that William, Abbot of Kilwinning, had "promised to resign his benefice...."; the king therefore expressed his desire that the Pope should, "provide Master John Forman, Precentor of Glasgow Cathedral, to the Abbey, and confer the precentorship on his servant, Andrew Cunninghame...." Since there is only the year of the letter provided, it is difficult to say if these instructions were issued before the attack on the abbot, or after, for on 22 March 1512, William found himself at the receiving end of a party of armed retainers under the command of the Earls of Angus and Glencairn. The motivation for their "visit", to compel the abbot to resign the abbey into the hands of John Forman. It would appear, therefore, that the privilege conferred on Andrew Forman, was implemented to gain Kilwinning for John, the problem being that William did not wish to part with it. If the attack happened after the letters, then the promise referred to was presumably extorted by force, if before, the perpetrators might be seen to have acted to compel William to agree to his fate. Either way it would appear that he was ultimately unsuccessful, for Buncle perished at Flodden still recognised as the Abbot of Kilwinning, whilst John Forman appeared in 1523/4, fighting to maintain his title of precentor of Glasgow in the face of a challenge from John Duncan [or Duncanson] who was engaged in pursuing his case at Rome.

Later still, the Abbey of Kilwinning was to provide what was arguably a re - run of these events, for on 7 June 1546, the Lords of Council were engaged in the action raised by the then Abbot Alexander Hamilton "against William Cunninghame of Cunninghameheid, Robert Cunningham of Halkheid, William his heir apparent, James Campbell, heir apparent of Robert Cunninghame of Stevinstoun, Robert and Hew, sons of Glencairn, Thomas Farlie, and William, [Cunningham] Bishop of Argyll" - the past provost of the Holy Trinity collegiate church, Edinburgh-. The charge thus levelled against these individuals was one of having seized the abbot "in the hie gait aboun the kirk of Stewartoun at the Foulschaw.... and havand him on fors contrar his will to the toun and castell of Dunbertane...." thereafter of releaving him of his money and valuables. That the

problem was a widespread one at this time may be proved by reference to the activities of the Privy Council. In the same year - 1546 - its members discussed how "evill disponit personis" were invading abbeys, friaries and convents as well as other religious foundations, to plunder them of their wealth; the guilty parties henceforth to suffer the loss of life, lands and goods. [48]

Evidence that the kidnapping referred to above was by no means an isolated incident moreover, may in turn be seen three years earlier; the perpetrator on this occasion Robert Douglas of Lochleven who had "takin hir grace brother James Stewart.... commendatour of the priorie of Sanctandrois, furth of the said abbay...." and was at that time - 15 June 1543 - causing considerable consternation at the royal court through his refusal to hand him back.

That such violence could be rewarded by appointment to office, may be seen in the earlier action of Andrew Ker of Ferniherst and his dealings with the Abbey of Kelso. On 9 September 1513 he seized possession of the house, and placed his brother [Thomas Ker] in charge of the foundation as abbot. Andrew Stewart [Bishop of Caithness, Commendator of Kelso and Fearn, Treasurer to the king] the incumbent of this house, complained repeatedly to the Lords of Council, and, on 10 October 1516, apparently won his case for on this day the Lords ordered Andrew Ker to remove "the said mastir Thomas Ker and his complicis...." By then however, Abbot Thomas had long been instrumental in helping secure the "bowndis of the middill merchis and bordowris of Scotland forgannis Ingland....", thus, for example, when he later appeared as an agent for the Scottish crown - on 7 March 1525/6 and 6 October 1528 - during peace negotiations with the English, he did so in his ill - gained office of Abbot of Kelso.

In turning to the career of John Roule, it would seem that this Prior of Pittenweem had enjoyed a narrow escape from death, for there are references in the records of the Lords of Council to an incident in this village in the 1530s, in which four of his companions were slain by a body of men led by William Dischington and Thomas Scot. Similarly, no remission was to be allowed in 1524 for the "lard of Keire, Umfra Rollok, and thar complicis, slaaris of the abbot of Sconis servandis, unto the tyme he be satifiit and contentit that remissiounes be gevin tharupoune."

Of equal relevance to the subject under consideration, the treatment meted out to the property of the aged bishop of Dunkeld - George Crichton, the ex - head of Dunfermline, thereafter Holyrood Abbey - for in a case before the Lords of Council on 12 November 1543, it emerged that on "thursday, October 25...." the cathedral had been attacked; the aggressors "forced the steeple...." and "also entered the tower of Cluny and fortified it with artillery and other munitions.... thereaftir thai assegit the.... place and palice of Dunkeld,.... tuk its servandis.... and.... put thame in subjectioun...." This case in turn bears a striking resemblance to the action raised by the

Archbishop of Glasgow, Chancellor of Scotland, Commendator of the Abbeys of Arbroath, Dunfermline and Kilwinning, James Beaton, "against John Mure of Caldwell, who on 20 February 1515/16, took the castle and palace of Glasgow...."; using no little force he attacked "the samyn with artalzery and uthirwais...." thereafter plundering their valuables.

In terms of contemporary events, the Abbey of Glenluce was to become the scene of an equally sorry series of events when Abbot Walter Malyn made - with hindsight - on 12 October 1543, the mistake of allowing Gilbert, 3rd. Earl of Cassillis a "Commission of Baillery" in the Barony of Glenluce to run for a period of five years from Martinmas. In the event it would appear that the Earl sought something more than the power of bailiary, that is the property of the abbey itself. For many years thereafter, the abbey became the focus of a lengthy dispute between the Earls of Cassillis and the Gordons of Lochinvar, - the abbot's kin - the situation further confused in its earlier stages by the physical occupation of the abbey by a third party, Sir Andrew Agnew - the Sheriff of Wigtown -. On his expulsion, - and that of the followers of Cassillis and Gordon of Lochinver - an agreement was reached before the Lords of Council in the September of 1545, to the effect that the chief combatants, James Gordon of Lochinvar and Gilbert, Earl of Cassillis, would leave the abbey temporarily unmolested, a truce of sorts being agreed between abbot and Earl that same year. The affair was by no means over however, and smouldered on, only to flair up in the scramble for Church property in the aftermath of the Reformation, for when the abbey was conferred on Thomas Hay in 1560, his occupancy of the building was blocked by Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, who had earlier secured possession of these rights from the last abbot, James Gordon, - brother of the aforementioned James Gordon of Lochinver - Malyn's named successor on 5 December 1555.

At this point the 4th. Earl of Cassillis entered the scene; providing shelter for the Abbot Thomas Hay and his brethren at the collegiate church of Maybole, he secured not only the abbot's consent that he should take possession of the lands of Glenluce, but also a "Deed of Remission and Discharge", which excused his father and his followers of the considerable damage they had inflicted on the abbey in their dispute with Abbot Walter Malyn. In the event therefore, the Gordon's long held ambitions were finally dashed. That this was no isolated incident may be seen for example in the *Register of the Privy Council*, where, on 2 November 1546, William Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguel appeared before the Lords of Council to state most emphatically that he would neither:

"sett his said abbey nor fruitis and emolumentis to the said Erle of Cassillis, na to the said James Gordoun of Lochinver, thair kin, freindis, nor servandis, bot hold

> the samin still in his awin handis, and uptak the fruitis and emolumentis thairof be himself, his chamberlaneis, and factouris...."

It was agreed therefore - no doubt reluctantly by the aforenamed lay challengers -, that these views should be:

> "insert in the bukis of counsale.... to have the strenth of ane act and decret of the saidis lordis of counsale, with executorialis thairupon, to compell thame to fulfil the samin in all pointis...."

That the efforts of the laity were not always confined to such civilised appeals to the rule of law however, nor so restrained as to stop at the plundering of an abbot's lands and property, - as in the case of Glenluce - or mere assault, - as witnessed by the treatment of Abbot William Buncle of Kilwinning - may be seen in the efforts of Gilbert, 4th. Earl of Cassillis, to secure the lands of Crossraguel Abbey. Here, the unfortunate Abbot Quintin was taken to the coastal stronghold of Dunure and grilled over a fire until he proved willing to concede to the demands of the Earl for control of the abbey property and lands. That he was not alone in having suffered such savage treatment may be supposed by the equally brutal treatment of Abbot John Johnstone in the late 1570s; this unfortunate individual - if tradition is to believed - being suspended from the walls of Dunskey castle by its then owner Ninian Adair of Kinhilt, and his Kennedy backers until he agreed "to set ane feu of the haill lands and barony of Saulseat upon sick conditionis as pleissit thame". Thus, the tale of how Gilbert, Earl of Cassillis gained the lands of Glenluce through the use of forged documents - the subsequent murder of the forger, [a monk] by the Earl's assassin, and in turn this individual's execution by Gilbert to cover his own tracks - although apparently spurious, might have seemed credible to some in light of the cases examined above; those ecclesiastics who chose to occupy and build places of strong retreat therefore, could perhaps be at least partly excused on the grounds of necessity. [49]

If therefore, it was possible in many cases to so explain such an apparent contradiction - in terms of an individual's title of say abbot and his apparent appearance as a castellan - by a need for personal security, in other instances by governmental decisions to possess a reliable servant for a position of considerable trust - such as the appointment of the Precentor of Torphichen to the charge of Blackness - or the desire to see a powerful crown servant housed in a manner befitting his state imposed lay offices - such as the gift of Darnaway castle to Andrew Forman - it might be

possible to seriously undermine the criticism voiced by Lindsay above. Thus for an audience to accept such comments as criticism, it follows that there must have been additional evidence to complement such observations, which would negate this defence and further compound the failings highlighted; it is to a search for this evidence which this essay will turn in the following chapter.

1.) E. J. Talbot: "The Defences Of Earth And Timber Castles", in, D. H. Caldwell (ed.): *Scottish Weapons And Fortifications, 1100 - 1800*, (Edinburgh, 1981), 2 - 3.

2.) J. R. Kenyon: *Medieval Fortifications*, (Leicester, 1990), 4 - 5. Hereafter J.R. Kenyon: *Medieval Fortifications.*

3.) For the relative numbers of motte and ringwork constructions, see as above, 5.

W. D. Simpson: "The Two Castles Of Caerlaverock: A Reconsideration Of Their Problems", in, *Trans. Dum. And Gall.*, (2 April, 1937), 180 - 1.

4.) S. Cruden: *The Scottish Castle*, (Edinburgh, 1981), 28. Hereafter S. Cruden: *The Scottish Castle.*

5.) *R. C. H. M. Stirlingshire*, Vol. 1, 176 - 8.

J. R. Kenyon: *Medieval Fortifications*, 13, 18 - 20.

6.) G. Duby: *The Chivalrous Society*, (London, 1977), 143.

7.) J. P. Maitland: "The Early Homes Of The Balliols", in, *Trans. Dum. And Gall.*, Vol. 18, (1931 - 33), 236 - 7, 239 - 40 in particular.

A. M. T. Maxwell Irving: "The Castles Of Buittle", in, *Trans. Dum. And Gall.*, Vol. 66, (1991), 59.

G. Stell: *Dumfries And Galloway*, (H.M.S.O. Edinburgh)115.

R. C. Reid: "The Motte Of Urr", in, *Trans. Dum. And Gall.*, Vol. 21, (1936-8), 11 - 27.

J. R. Baldwin: *Lothian And The Borders*, (H.M.S.O. Edinburgh, 1985), 85.

J. B. Stevenson: *The Clyde Estuary And Central Region*, (H.M.S.O. Edinburgh, 1985), 81 - 2. Hereafter, J. B. Stevenson: *The Clyde Estuary And Central Region.*

D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Castellated And Domestic Architecture*, Vol. 4, 386.

8.) A. A. M. Duncan: *Scotland: The Making Of The Kingdom*, (Edinburgh, 1989), 175 - 6.

9.) A. O. Anderson: *Early Sources* , Vol. 2, 394, 448, 451, 531, 695.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 234 - 5.

J. Miller: *Portrait Of Caithness And Sutherland*, (London, 1985), 39 - 40, 45, 53, 119, 131.

A. B. Scott: "Gilbert Of Moray, Bishop Of Caithness", in, *R. S. C. H. S.* Vol. 1, 134 - 6, 140.

Rev. Prof. Cooper: "Some Old Elgin Houses", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.*, N. S. Vol. 5 ,(1904), 3.

R. Brydall: "Notes On Scottish Costume In The Fifteenth Century", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.*, N. S. Vol. 4, (1900), 227. Hereafter, R. Brydall: "Scottish Costume".

D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 1, 108 - 113; 2, 336.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Skelbo Castle see: Vol. 2, Plate 1,1.
Skelbo Castle see: Vol. 2, Plate 2,2

Effigy of Sir Richard de Moravia within Dornoch Cathedral. see: Vol. 2, Plate 3,3.

Effigy of Sir Richard de Moravia within Dornoch Cathedral. see: Vol. 2, Plate 4,4.

Dornoch Castle see: Vol. 2, Plate 5,5.

Varrich Castle see: Vol. 2, Plate 6,6.

10.) G. G. Simpson and B. Webster: "Charter Evidence And The Distribution Of Mottes In Scotland", in, *Scottish Archaeological Forum*, Vol. 6, (1974), 46.

11.) W. D. Simpson: "Castle Tioram, Moidart, Invernesshire, And Mingarry Castle, Ardnamurchan, Argyllshire", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.*, Vol. 13, (1954), 85.

12.) D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Castellated And Domestic Architecture*, Vol. 3, 42 - 6, for Mingarry; Vol. 1, 136 - 42 for Tarbert. See also for Tarbert:

A. A. M. Duncan and J. G. Dunbar: "Tarbert Castle, A Contribution To The History Of Argyll", in, *S. H. R.* Vol. 90, (1971), 1, 7 - 9.

R. C. H. M. Argyllshire, Vol. 1, 182.

13.) S. Cruden: *The Scottish Castle*, 45.

W. D. Simpson: "Castle Tioram, Moidart, Invernesshire, And Mingarry Castle, Ardnamurchan, Argyllshire", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.*, Vol. 13, (1954), 71 - 89.

14.) D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Castellated And Domestic Architecture*, Vol. 3, 56 - 58.

S. Cruden: *The Scottish Castle*, 47.

W. D. Simpson: "Castle Tioram, Moidart, Invernesshire, And Mingarry Castle, Ardnamurchan, Argyllshire", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.*, as above.

15.) R. C. H. M. *Argyllshire*, Vol. 2, 168.

W. A. Anderson: "Three Sites At Portinnisherrich, Loch Awe", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.*, N.S. Vol. 7, (1941), 24 - 7.

16.) R. C. H. M. *Argyllshire*, Vol. 2, 168.

D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Castellated And Domestic Architecture*, Vol. 3, 75 - 77.

17.) R. C. H. M. *Argyllshire*, Vol. 1, 134.

18.) As Above, Vol. 2, 124.

19.) See for instance the conditions under which one of Tioram's owners gained possession of his lands, in: W. D. Simpson: "Castle Tioram, Moidart, Invernesshire, And Mingarry Castle, Ardnamurchan, Argyllshire", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.*, Vol. 13, (1954), 71.

20.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 384 - 5, 387 - 9, 390.

21.) For Kismuil, see: J. G. Dunbar: "Kismuil Castle, Isle Of Barra", in, *Glasgow Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 5-6, (1978-9), 25 - 37.

For Breachacha, see:
D. J. Turner and J. G. Dunbar: "Breachacha Castle, Coll: Excavations And Field Survey 1965 - 8", in, *Soc. Of Ant.* Vol. 102, (1969 - 70), 155 - 8.

W. D. Simpson: "Breacacha Castle On The Island Of Coll", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.*, N. S. Vol. 10, (1939), 33 - 54.

22.) S. Cruden: *The Scottish Castle*, 43 - 4.

23.) R. C. H. M. *Argyllshire*, Vol. 2, 223 - 8.

24.) T. Jones: Chaucer's Knight: *The Portrait Of A Medieval Mercenary*, (London, 1985), 21 - 2, see plan of Doune Castle 23.

W. D. Simpson: "The Two Castles Of Caerlaverock: A Reconsideration Of Their Problems", in *Trans. Dum. And Gall.* (2 April, 1937), 182 - 5, 196, and fig. 4 on facing page.

W. D. Simpson: "Bastard Feudalism And The Later Castles", in *The Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. 26, (1946), 148 - 51.

D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Castellated And Domestic Architecture*, Vol. 1, 418 - 29.

To enable the reader to evaluate the importance of the house of Gilbert of Moray in the context of developments in military architecture, the following examples have been included for comparison.

In terms of Inverlochy, the building consists of four curtain walls with a projecting round tower on each corner, a ditch - filled with water from the River Ness - separates the castle from the landward approach on three sides, whilst on the fourth, the river itself forms a natural barrier. The military impact of Inverlochy however lies not in these features, but in the presence of its dunjon tower as the ultimate strongpoint in the castle, and in the ingenious construction of the wall walks which allowed each tower to operate independently should its neighbouring walls be taken, yet at other times provided unimpaired access to throughout their circuit; complex features which do not appear in the other castles of the period in this area, but which are pronounced features of many of Edward I's contemporary castles, the formidable Flint Castle in Wales for example bearing a marked similarity in shape and design.

A similar approach is seen at Kildrummy, where the "snow tower "- situated in the north - west angel of the castle -, some 53ft. in diameter no doubt formed the original control centre for the castle. In terms of appreciating the awesome nature of the snow tower of Kildrummy, the reader should remember that the great donjon of Bothwell Castle, - modelled on the imposing stronghold of Coucy Castle in France - which serves to dwarf any of the preceding Scottish examples of fortification, only exceeded the diameter of Kildrummy by some 12 ft.

In terms of strategic value therefore, Kildrummy may be said to have ranked amongst the leading examples of Scottish castles, for along with Inverlochy it featured prominently in the Scottish Wars of Independence, as indeed did its contemporaries of Bothwell - since it controlled traffic between northern Scotland and the south - west -, Caerlaverock, - as it served to dominate the Solway - and Dirleton - placed as it was near the southern shores of the Firth of Fourth and thus the sea - ward approach to Edinburgh, and Stirling beyond -. As may perhaps best be seen from the remains of Bothwell however, as with the examples already covered, such structures awarded their keepers not only military prestige within the realm, but a conspicuously comfortable lifestyle.

For the sources relating to this brief comparison of architectural styles, see for example:

The plan of Flint Castle in: A. Taylor: *The Welsh Castles Of Edward I*, (London, 1986), 22, which should be compared with that of Inverlochy in: J. Dunbar: "The Medieval Architecture Of The Scottish Highlands", in, L. McLean (ed.) *The Middle Ages In The Highlands*, (Inverness, 1981), 66.

The plan of Kildrummy in: S. Cruden: *The Scottish Castle*, (Edinburgh, 1981), 73, should be compared with that of Harlech to appreciate the importance attached to this castle both in terms of its early career, and in terms of its later remodelling which saw the addition of a gatehouse complex like that at Harlech: A. Taylor: *The Welsh Castles Of Edward I*, (London, 1986)68.

J. R. Kenyon: *Medieval Fortifications*, 69 - 70.

W. G. Simpson: "The Two Castles Of Caerlaverock: A Reconsideration Of Their Problems", in *Trans. Dum. And Gall.*, (2 April, 1937), 181, 186 - 7, 190 - 1, 195, 200 - 2.

R. C. Reid: "The Old Castle Site At Caerlaverock", in, *Trans. Dum. And Gall.*, (9 April, 1943), 66 - 71.

J. S. O'Neil: *Caerlaverock Castle.* (H.M.S.O. Edinburgh, 1982).

D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Castellated And Domestic Architecture*, Vol. 1, 73 - 8, Inverlochy; 64, 108 - 113, Kildrummy.

S. Cruden: *The Scottish Castle*, 79 - 80, 81 - 3.

J. B. Stevenson: *The Clyde Estuary And Central Region*, 64.

W. D. Simpson: "Bastard Feudalism And The Later Castles", in, *The Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. 26, (1946), 148 - 51.

I. A. G. Shepherd: *Grampian*, (H.M.S.O. Edinburgh, 1986), 90.

G. W. S. Barrow: *Robert Bruce And The Community Of The Realm Of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1976), 171, 273.

I. Hogg: *The History Of Forts And Castles*, (London, 1988), 54 - 5.

25.) D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Castellated And Domestic Architecture*, Vol. 1, 429 - 35.

J. Gifford: *Fife*, (London, 1988), 444 - 6. Hereafter J. Gifford: *Fife.*

Acts: Public Affairs, 1501 - 1554, 284 - 5, 16 September 1528 on this day the Lords met to consider "quhat artalzery war necessar [for the] recovering of the castell of Temptalloune.... ".

W. D. Simpson: "Bastard Feudalism And The Later Castles", in, *The Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. 26, (1946), 152 - 4.

I. MacIvor: "Artillery And Major Places Of Strength In The Lothians And The East Border, 1513 - 1542", in, D. H. Caldwell (ed.): *Scottish Weapons And Fortifications, 1100 - 1800*,(Edinburgh, 1981), 122.

R. Muir: *The National Trust Guide To Dark Age And Medieval Britain*, (London, 1985), 400 - 1350, 120 - 1.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Tantallon Castle. see: Vol. 2, Plate 7,7.

Main Gateway. see: Vol. 2, Plate 8,8.

Blockhouse. see: Vol. 2, Plate 9,9.

Ditch. see: Vol. 2, Plate 10,10.

Sanquhar Castle. see: Vol. 2, Plate 11,11.

Main ditch of above. see: Vol. 2, Plate 12,12.

26.) D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Castellated And Domestic Architecture*, Vol. 1, 157 - 67, 463.

R. Nicholson: *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 692.

J. R. Kenyon: *Medieval Fortifications*, 75 - 6, 121 - 2, 156.

27.) G. Stell: "Late Medieval Defences In Scotland", in, D. H. Caldwell (ed.): *Scottish Weapons And Fortifications, 1100 - 1800*, (Edinburgh, 1981), 29.

A. P. S. Vol. 2, No. 133.

28.) D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Castellated And Domestic Architecture*, Vol. 1, 538 - 45.

G. Stell: "Late Medieval Defences in Scotland", in, D. H. Caldwell (ed.): Scottish Weapons And Fortifications, 41, suggests however that some features, especially of the western towers, may be of the sixteenth century and relate therefore not to the work of Mary of Guelders, 1460 - 63, but to the later possession of the castle by William St. Clair, 4th. Earl of Orkney. See also 42 - 3, 45.

I. MacIvor: "Artillery And Major Places Of Strength In The Lothians And The East Border, 1513-1542", in, D. H. Caldwell: As Above, 100, 104.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Ravenscraig Castle see: Vol. 2, Plate 13,13.

Main entrance and defensive ditch protecting landward approach. see: Vol. 2, Plate 14,14.

"D" shaped tower from gun platform see: Vol. 2, Plate 15,15.

Rear of castle and remains of defensive structures overlooking the shoreline. see: Vol. 2, Plate 16,16.

29.) I. MacIvor: "Artillery And Major Places Of Strength In The Lothians And In The East Border", in,. H. Caldwell: As Above, for Blackness, 128 - 9; for Dunbar, 94.

Treasurer's Accounts, Vol. 1, 334.

D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Castellated And Domestic Architecture*, Vol. , 529 - 30.

30.) *Reg. Pr. Council*, Vol. 1, 1545 - 1569, 57.

31.) J. Edwards: "Torphichen And The Knights Of St. John Of Jerusalem", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch Soc.*, N. S. Vol. 3 (1897), 330 - 2.

R. M. S. 1424 - 1513, e. g. Nos. 975, 987, 1813, 2409.

H. B. McCall: *The History And Antiquities Of The Parish Church Of Mid-Calder,* (Edinburgh, 1894), 249 - 50, 253 - 4.

32.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488 - 1529, Nos. 260; 272; 330; 978; 979; 1212; 1529; 1530; 1628; 1623; 1629; 1734; 1882; 2120; 2482; 2483.

The Exchequer Rolls Of Scotland Vol. 12, 344.

33.) D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Castellated And Domestic Architecture*, Vol. 1, 304 - 6, see 305, fig. 261, for a plan of the roof, for St. Andrews, see As Above, Vol. 3, 331 - 2, 336.

J. Gifford: *Fife*, 367, 369 - 71.

34.) D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Castellated And Domestic Architecture*, Vol. 3, 334.

S. Cruden: *St. Andrews Castle,* (H.M.S.O Edinburgh, 1978), 5 - 6.

35.) J. B. Stevenson: *The Clyde Estuary And Central Region*, see photograph, 65.

I. MacIvor: *Craignethan Castle,* (H.M.S.O. Edinburgh, 1978), 13, 20.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Craignethan Castle. see: Vol. 2, Plate 17,17.

Caponier. see: Vol. 2, Plate 18,18.

Traverse. see: Vol. 2, Plate 19,19.

Tower House. see: Vol. 2, Plate 20,20.

36.) D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Castellated And Domestic Architecture*, Vol. 1, 439, 441, 443 - 4.

W. R. MacDonald: "*Notes* ", in, *Soc. Of Ant.*, (9 April, 1900), 392 - 5.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 157.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Spynie Castle, Main Keep. see: Vol. 2, Plate 21,21.

Gun loops at the base of this tower. see: Vol. 2, Plate 22,22.

Tower to south east. see: Vol. 2, Plate 23,23.

Tower to north west. see: Vol. 2, Plate 24,24.

Main hall. see: Vol. 2, Plate 25,25.

Female head, fireplace. see: Vol. 2, Plate 26,26.

Male head, fireplace. see: Vol. 2, Plate 27,27.

Chapel window, Spynie. see: Vol. 2, Plate 28,28.

Royal arms, Scotland. see: Vol. 2, Plate 29,29.

Arms of Patrick Hepburn. see: Vol. 2, Plate 30,30.

Arms of David Stewart. see: Vol. 2, Plate 31,31.

Main entrance. see: Vol. 2, Plate 32,32.

37.) I. MacIvor: "Artillery And Major Places Of Strength In The Lothians And The East Border", *1513-1542*, in, D. H. Caldwell, As Above, 107; 109, fig. 47; 111; 114, fig. 50; 115, fig. 51.

Acts: Public Affairs, 1501 - 1554, 7, 14, 27, 138.

C. McWilliam: *Lothian*, 184.

38.) J. B. Stevenson: *The Clyde Estuary And The Central Region*, see photograph 81.

In light of these developments it is somewhat surprising that the author of the account of the English campaign under the Duke of Somerset in 1547, should describe it as "a castle of petty strength.... "see, A. F. Pollard: *Tudor Tracts*, 138.

39.) S. Cruden: *St. Andrews Castle*, (H.M.S.O. Edinburgh, 1982), 10. See plan of castle, 6, for the placing of these towers.

J. Spottiswood: *History*, 173 - 4.

W. Maitland: *History*, Vol. 2, 867, 869.

40.) M. Sanderson: *Cardinal*, 132 - 3.

J. Gifford: *Fife*, 370.

41.) PHOTOGRAPHS.
Craignethan gun-ports on tower. see: Vol. 2, Plate 33,33.

Craignethan gun-ports on tower. see: Vol. 2, Plate 34,34.

Craignethan gun-ports on tower. see: Vol. 2, Plate 35,35.

Craignethan gun-ports on tower. see: Vol. 2, Plate 36,36.

Craignethan gun-ports on tower. see: Vol. 2, Plate 37,37.

Craignethan gun-ports on tower. see: Vol. 2, Plate 38,38.

Craignethan gun-ports on tower. see: Vol. 2, Plate 39,39.

42.) For Dunfermline Abbey, see: D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Castellated And Domestic Architecture*, Vol. 1, 515; *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 1, 248 - 9.

For Arbroath Abbey, see: As Above, *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 2, 46 - 8;
Castellated And Domestic Architecture, Vol. 1, 225, 561 - 2.

C. A. Raleigh Redford: *The Clunaic Abbey Of Crossraguel*, (H.M.S.O. Edinburgh, 1970), 20 - 1.

D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Castellated And Domestic Architecture*,
Vol. 3, 385; *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 2, 404, 417.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Dunfermline Abbey gatehouse. see: Vol. 2, Plate 40,40.

Dunfermline Abbey gatehouse. see: Vol. 2, Plate 41,41.

Crossraguel Abbey gatehouse. see: Vol. 2, Plate 42,42.

As Above, abbot's tower. see: Vol. 2, Plate 43,43.

43.) For Mirepoix Castle, see: M. H. B. Sanderson: *Cardinal*, 56.

For Balfour Castle, see: As Above, 8. D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Castellated And Domestic Architecture*, Vol. 3, 337-8.

For Ethie Castle, see: D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: As Above, Vol. 2, 409.

M. H. B. Sanderson: *Cardinal*, 24.

M. H. B. Sanderson: *Mary's Stewart's People*, (Edinburgh, 1987), 6. Hereafter, M. H. B. Sanderson: *Mary's Stewart's People.*

For Monimail Tower, see: J. Gifford: *Fife*, 325.

M. H. B. Sanderson: *Cardinal*, 131.

D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Castellated And Domestic Architecture*, Vol. 3, 448 - 9.

For Melgund Castle, see: M. H. B. Sanderson: *Cardinal*, 143.

D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: As Above, Vol. 4, 311 - 6.

M. H. B. Sanderson: *Mary Stewart's People*, 6, 9, 10.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Melgund Castle. see: Vol. 2, Plate 44,44.

Melgund Castle. see: Vol. 2, Plate 45,45.

Melgund Castle. see: Vol. 2, Plate 46,46.

Initials of Marion Ogilvie. see: Vol. 2, Plate 47,47.

Main fireplace. see: Vol. 2, Plate 48,48.

Bench seat at window see: Vol. 2, Plate 49,49.

Gun loops. see: Vol. 2, Plate 50,50.

44.) For Rossend Castle, see: M. H. B. Sanderson: *Cardinal*, 33.

J. Gifford: *Fife*, 108, 113 - 4.

D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Castellated And Domestic Architecture*, Vol. 3, 559 - 60.

For William Douglas' stronghold on the Borders, see, *Acts: Public Affairs*, 1501 - 1554, 27.

M. Dilworth: "Coldingham Priory And The Reformation. Notes On Monks And Priors ", in, *I. R.* Vol. 23, (1972), 125.

For Mauchline Castle, see: D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Castellated And Domestic Architecture*, Vol. 3, 202 - 4.

For Torphichen Preceptory, see: D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 3, 139; *Castellated And Domestic Architecture*, Vol. 2, 131.

J. R. Baldwin: *Lothian And The Borders*, 131.

For Dingwall, Redcastle, and Auchterhouse houses, see: *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488 - 1529, Nos. 1351, 1447 - 8, 2076.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Rossend Castle see: Vol. 2, Plate 51,51.

Arms of Abbot George Dury. see: Vol. 2, Plate 52,52 .

Arms of St. Margaret. see: Vol. 2, Plate 53,53.

Mauchline Castle. see: Vol. 2, Plate 54,54.

Mauchline Castle. see: Vol. 2, Plate 55,55.

Mauchline Castle Niche. see: Vol. 2, Plate 56,56.

Mauchline Castle Arched Window. see: Vol. 2, Plate 57,57.

Detail of head from above see: Vol. 2, Plate 58,58.

Torphichen Preceptory. see: Vol. 2, Plate 59,59.

Torphichen Preceptory. see: Vol. 2, Plate 60,60.

Torphichen Preceptory. see: Vol. 2, Plate 61,61.

45.) For Corehouse Castle, see: D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Castellated And Domestic Architecture*, Vol. 3, 404 - 6.

For Castle Varrich, see: D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: As Above, 253 - 4.

J. Miller: *Portrait Of Caithness And Sutherland*, 146.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 247.

R. M. S. 1513 - 1546, No. 2611, dated 20 February 1541.

R. Fawcett: "Glasgow Cathedral", in E. Williamson, A. Riches and M. Higgs (eds.) *Glasgow* (London, 1990), 131. Hereafter R. Fawcett: "Glasgow Cathedral".

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corehouse Castle. see: Vol. 2, Plate 62,62.

Corehouse Castle. see: Vol. 2, Plate 63,63.

Corehouse Castle. see: Vol. 2, Plate 64,64.

46.) D. Hamer (ed.): *Lindsay*, Vol. 1, *The Third Buke Of The Monarche*, 334, l. 4537 - 8.

47.) A. O. Anderson: *Early Sources*, Vol. 2, 394, note 4. For Chronicle of Melrose, As Above, 449, 450. See also note 5, *Extract From Chronicle Of Lanercost*. For *Icelandic Annals*, see, As Above, 451; 452, see also note no. 1.

J. Miller: *Portrait Of Caithness And Sutherland*, 131.

48.) *Letters: James IV*, 181, 280.

Letters: James V, 97 - 8.

Acts: Public Affairs, 1501 - 1554, 550.

J. Edwards: "Kilwinning Abbey", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.*, N. S. Vol. 7, (1919), 337 - 8.

Reg. Pr. Council, Vol. 1, 1545 - 69, 28.

49.) *Acts: Public Affairs*, 1501 - 1554, 528.

For Kelso: *Acts: Public Affairs*, 1501 - 1554, 7, 18, 53, 72, 118, 121, 126, 240, 286.

For other references to Andrew Stewart, see: Bishop of Caithness, *R. M. S.* 1513 - 1546, No. 9.

As Treasurer, As Above, No. 1788.

Bishop of Caithness, Commendator of Kelso and Fearn, As Above, No. 281.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 247.

J. Morton: *The Monastic Annals Of Teviotdale*, 96.

For the remaining information, see: *Acts: Public Affairs*, 1501 - 1554, 211, 364, 385 - 6, 419 - 20, For references to John Roule and Alexander Stewart.

Acts: Public Affairs, 1501 - 1554, 535 - 6, for George Crichton.

As Above, 117, for the attack on James Beaton's castle and palace.

I. B. Cowan and D. E. Easson: *Med. Rel. Houses*, 75.

J. Bain (ed.): *The Hamilton Papers*, Vol. 2, 734.

Reg. Pr. Council, Vol. 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 22, 42, 44, 51, 69.

Acts: Public Affairs, 1501 - 1554, 556.

R. C. Reid: "Soulseat", in, *Trans. Dum. And Gall.*, Vol. 17, (1930 - 1), 174, 176 - 8.

A. S. Morton: "Carscreuch Castle", in, As Above, Vol. 19, (1933 - 5), 135 - 6.

A. S. Morton: "Glenluce Abbey", in, As Above, Vol. 21, (1936 - 8), 230 - 34.

Chapter Three

Reluctant Castellans Or Able Warriors?

"It was said it was the Abbot of Dunfermline's banner: but whether it was his, or the Bishop of Dunkeld's, the Governor's brother [they, I understand, were both in the field] and what the number of these "kirkmen" was I could not certainly learn...."

[W. Patton: *The Expedition Of The Duke Of Somerset, 1547*, in, A. F. Pollard: *Tudor Tracts, 1532 - 1588*, 132. The extract refers to the presence of John Hamilton, Bishop of Dunkeld, and George Dury, the Abbot of Dunfermline, in the company of numerous other religious, at the battle of Pinkie on 10 September 1547.]

Introduction

In the above chapter, the problem of how the laity at large could have gained knowledge of the lifestyle and character of the leading members of the religious Orders of the day was explored in terms of the ownership, and occupancy of castles. Here it emerged that many of the men associated with the leading religious houses in the late fifteenth and earlier sixteenth Centuries, held some of the major fortifications of the realm, this perhaps in addition to the smaller "domestic" residences such as those possessed by David Beaton. That the laity could readily make the connection between such men and these warlike structures there can be little doubt, for in many instances these buildings were adorned with the proud coats of arms of the men who held them. Yet again however, it must be said that by c.1450 to 1560, there was a long tradition to show that such behaviour was commonplace. Thus the question arises as to how the criticism levelled by Lindsay at the beginning of the above chapter, would have achieved any great impact upon a lay audience in the period in question. Here it might be said that despite the evidence examined in the preceding chapter - which suggested that in most instances the desire for comfort and social prestige were equally as important as any military considerations - perhaps the most common assumption then as now - in the minds of most onlookers was that the gun - loops, ports, slits, ditches and other defensive features of these buildings, dictated that the individuals who held them were by nature men of war themselves. If such a suggestion could indeed be proved, then they

must have been men of such character as to have been ably suited - just as they were for governmental tasks - not only to plan but also participate in the military activity of the period, thereby proving themselves worthy of such positions of trust.

That they were capable of organising the defence of a castle might be said to have been proved in the preceding chapter, but what of the suggestion in the above title, that they were equally capable of carrying their advice on to the field of battle itself? If such activity could be proved, then Lindsay's argument would carry more weight, for if the public at large could add evidence of a ready capacity for violence to the architectural material examined above, they could achieve an even clearer image of the lifestyle and character of the men who controlled many of the country's leading religious houses. The following chapter therefore will analyse the activities of a number of those individuals who form the focus of the present work, to see if such a readiness for violent action did exist, and if it did, to determine how readily the public at large would have been made aware of it.

Again it should be emphasised, that members of the episcopate will feature prominently in all of the various topics raised in this chapter, since the majority of these men could also be directly linked to Scotland's regular communities, as past priors, ex - abbots and/or present commendators, and in a few instances the collegiate houses of the day. Those few examples included who could not claim such a "lineage", serve to shed additional light on the subjects of the present work, as they reinforce one of the points raised above, that the privileged lifestyle of these prelates served a means of influencing the outlook of those ambitious, highly motivated individuals - arguably the majority - who did possess such a background but who had yet to achieve their goal.

Thus, towards the end of this chapter, evidence will be presented in relation to the funerary monuments of the men so linked to the religious houses and secular colleges of the day, as they appeared in relation to the numerous other branches of the Church's servants. Importantly, in terms of the present work, such evidence shows how these men fitted into the hierarchical structure of the Church, the divisions of rank that existed, for arguably the monuments of many of the ecclesiastics with whom the present work is concerned were so designed as to show them in as favourable a light as possible, the equal - arguably - of those "princes" of the Church whose position and status they so desperately sought; this point illustrated for instance in such examples as the tombs of Bishops John Fraser and Robert Carncors, who both made the jump from a collegiate and a monastic background respectively, and that of Alexander Crawfurd, Clerk of the collegiate Chapel Royal who did not.

Finally, with regard to these monuments, a further issue should be borne in mind, - one which will be examined in greater detail in the following chapters on pilgrimage and the architecture

of the collegiate foundations - that such monuments were striking pieces of work, carved and painted to resemble the subject in life and at the height of his power, and in this they could be said to rival and imitate the most splendid of their lay counterparts. Thus the public at large could gain a further appreciation of the privileged lifestyle of the ecclesiastics under examination.

In turning now to address the question of the degree to which the regular Orders of the day could be linked to military activity, and thus acts of violence, in the minds of laymen in Scotland, the character of Patrick Panter - first encountered in chapter 1 - may be said to provide a suitable point from which to begin. In a letter from Pope Leo X to Panter - dated 2 May 1514 - for example, the Pope referred to the Abbot's earlier letter, in which he sought absolution for his part in the battle of Flodden. It further emerged that Panter was merely one of a sizeable contingent of religious present at this debacle, that as the king's Secretary he had been involved in the deployment and use of James IV's "engines of war", and that as a consequence was responsible, - though not directly, as he was quick to point out for the death and wounding of many men from the opposing ranks. [1] Of Panter's participation there can be no doubt therefore, but what of the other members of the Church whom the Pope maintained were also present? Here, a letter from the royal court to the papacy in the same year as the above, may be used to support this claim, for in commenting on the recent demise of Laurence Oliphant, Abbot of Inchaffray, it referred to his death at Flodden. [2]

That he was not alone may be seen in the equally untimely deaths of Alexander Stewart, an illegitimate son of James IV, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Commendator of Dunfermline, George Hepburn, Bishop of Sodor, the ex - Provost of Lincluden collegiate church, Commendator of Arbroath and Iona, William Buncle, Abbot of Kilwinning and the Dean of Glasgow;[3] of those present who escaped the rout, in addition to Panter may be included the figure of Alexander Stewart, Dean of Dunbar collegiate church, brother to the Duke of Albany -. [4] In terms of clerical casualties, it is perhaps even more important to consider the later national defeat at Pinkie in 1547.

Here, a contemporary English eye - witness to this event stated that among the heaped bodies of the dead:

> "lay there many priests and "kirkmen".... of whom it was bruited among us, that there was a whole band of.... three or four thousand.... but we were afterwards informed that it was not altogether so...."

Of greater interest still however, this same source stated that amongst the:

> "weapons, and besides divers other banners, standards and pennons, a banner of white sarsenet was found, under which it was said these "kirkmen" came, Whereon was painted a woman, with her hair about her shoulders, kneeling before a crucifix; and on her right hand, a church: after that, written along

banner, in great Roman letters, *AFFLICTAE SPONSAE, NE OBLIVISCARIS!* which words declared that they would have this woman to signify the Church, Christ's spouse.... being scourged and persecuted; meaning at that time by us.... It was said it was the Abbot of Dunfermline's banner: but whether it was his, or the Bishop of Dunkeld's, the Governor's brother [they, I understand, were both in the field]; and what the number of these "kirkmen" was I could not certainly know."

To this list in addition may - perhaps - be added the name of Thomas Douchtie - the hermit of Loretto - since his military background would suggest that he would have turned out along with the numerous other clerics. [5] Further evidence of a warlike nature within the ranks of the Churchmen of the day may be seen in the 1540s for instance, for the records of the Privy Council demonstrate that on many occasions, abbots and bishops of the realm regularly met with the queen, Governor, Earls, lords and leading knights of the country to plan and execute matters relating to national defence. [6]

In turn, it is possible to provide earlier instances to show that the crown's trust was not ill founded. Gavin Dunbar - Chancellor of Scotland and Archbishop of Glasgow, the ex - Commendator of the Premonstratensian Priory of Whithorn - for example, was to wield his ecclesiastical authority in 1525 in an attempt to quell the unrest of the Border regions; this in the form of his now famous cursing of the troublemakers who plagued the no - man's land between the two countries.

In thus becoming involved in attempts to pacify this volatile region he was far from unique, for there were numerous instances of ecclesiastical involvement in the Border commissions which sought to achieve stability among the inhabitants of this area and between them and their southern neighbours in England. In 1517 for example, James, Abbot of Dundrennan appeared alongside others to treat with the region's inhabitants over disputed claims to land. In 1520, and 1521 respectively, Thomas, Abbot of Kelso took part in negotiations to secure a peace in the region, whilst in 1525 Gavin Dunbar was accompanied by - among others - George, Abbot of Holyrood, and Robert, Abbot of Paisley in undertaking a similar mission, and in attempting to pacify the all to frequent squabbles between rival factions. The following year, David, Abbot of Arbroath, sought to secure a three year peace for the realm, and to give redress to complainants; some two years after this Thomas, Abbot of Kelso appeared once again to negotiate the five year peace of the Treaty of Berwick. That the problems of this region therefore, were such as to occupy the time of many of the

country's leading churchmen almost continuously throughout the period in question may be seen in three further examples; the first involved William Stewart, Bishop of Aberdeen the ex - Provost of the collegiate house of Lincluden, over a four month period in 1534 as he sought to secure a peace between the two realms and settle border disputes, the second in 1551 saw Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, Commendator of Kinloss and Beauly, become involved in the negotiations surrounding the Treaty of Norham, whilst the third saw the bishop and Henry Sinclair, Dean of Glasgow deal with the "machinery of redress" in 1557.

Turning again to the example of Archbishop Gavin Dunbar of Glasgow, it should be noted that this churchman had appealed to Frederick I, king of Denmark on 27 January 1528/9, for military aid against the English in the form of "twelve lasts of gunpowder" and as many "falcons", "haggebuttis" and "culveringis" as he could send, along with "six highly skilled men"; presumably to see to their deployment and use. Earlier still, this individual's uncle - the Bishop of Aberdeen, former archdeacon principal of St. Andrews - played a part in witnessing two treaties of alliance between the Scottish and French crowns, on 6 March 1511/12 and 10 July 1512 respectively. It is equally significant to note that in the witness lists of these documents, in the first Dunbar appeared in the company of Alexander Stewart, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Commendator of Dunfermline, Andrew Forman, the Bishop of Moray, Commendator of Dryburgh, Dunfermline, Kelso, the Priory of Pittenweem and Cottingham in England, and Patrick Panter the future Abbot of Cambuskenneth who, as seen in chapter 1 above, was at this time the parson of Tannadice, Master of the Hospital of the Blessed Virgin Mary [near Montrose], parson of Fetteresso and Archdeacon of Moray; in the second instance, he accompanied Forman, Panter and no less a figure than the Earl of Angus. Andrew Forman for his part played an equally important role in the defence of his country; negotiating a peace with Henry VIII in July and August of 1509 for example, he was seen to have been acting in the name of king James IV, - performing a similar function some nine years later for James V in the company of the Bishop of Aberdeen [Gavin Dunbar] and the Bishop of Orkney [Edward Stewart] - whilst in 1512 he wrote to Louis XII for money, "artillery and powder", to be sent to Scotland along with military advisors who could "show the Scots how to form in battle order and how to besiege fortified places...."; this in the struggle with the old enemy of England. Equally revealing, in 1513, was a memorandum:

"tuiching the gunnis, puldir, bullettis, pikkis, mattokis, and uthir municiouns send be the king of France to the kingis grace, [it was ordained] be the lordis of consell that.... the saidis municiounis [be brought] be wattir furth of Dumbritane to

Glesgw, and that [there the] lordis of Glesgw, Paslay, and Newbottill and uthiris....
cary the saidis municionis furth of Glasgw to Striveling...."

Further evidence of military involvement by a churchman may be seen in the letter sent by James Beaton [1st. b- Archbishop of Glasgow, Commendator of Arbroath, Dunfermline and Kilwinning - in 1518 to the French crown, in which he both related his concern over the lawless nature of the Anglo - Scottish Border region and his negotiations with Henry VIII to have the malefactors responsible for the continued unrest returned to Scotland to face justice. Some five years later he could be seen in charge of the strategic castle of Inche Garvie in the Forth.

Evidence of a more direct nature may also be witnessed in this individual's career, and this outwith military activity against an external enemy; in the abortive attempt to gain control of the young James V from the ruling Douglas faction in 1526 for example, Beaton appeared not only as one of the plot's leading figures, but also as a combatant in the subsequent engagement fought at Linlithgow, in which several thousand men were apparently engaged, and the Earl of Lennox lost his life. Moving forward in time to the career of his nephew Cardinal David Beaton, this former Abbot of, and Commendator of Arbroath may be seen to have played a prominent part - like many other of his contemporaries - in both the negotiations required to secure military aid for Scotland from Europe's rulers, and - again - more directly in the military expedition mounted by James V in 1540 to subject the Western Highlands and Islands to his authority. On this occasion, it appeared that Beaton not only had command of a large warship, the *Mary Willoughby*, but that he personally financed the crewing of this vessel, and the maintenance of a force of some five hundred men, comprising soldiers and members of his own household. [7]

Later still, during the English invasion of Scotland in 1544, under the Earl of Hertford, one witness to the events of the time remarked that when the English force encountered the Scots on the outskirts of Edinburgh, "the first man that fled was the holy Cardinal...." that is, Beaton. Whether such an obviously biased source can be trusted to provide an honest account of Beaton's actions is obviously open to question, however it is perhaps safe to assume that he was correct in assigning to the Cardinal/commendator a leading role in the defending army.

A similarly enterprising example may be seen in the career of George Dundas, the Preceptor of Torphichen, who before achieving this office, the temporalities of which he received on 30 November 1508, had taken part in the fighting against the "infidels in the East"- as indeed had Thomas Douchtie - and that in the year 1522 his previous military experience was being put to

good use, for Dundas was recorded as patrolling the Scottish Borderlands at the head of a force of some two thousand men. [8]

Of an equally impressive nature, were the actions of the Abbot of Jedburgh, John Hume. On 9 October 1528 for example, the Lords of Council empowered George, Lord Hume and his brother the abbot, "with thar kyn, frenndis and servandis...." to evict Archibald Douglas and his followers from "the placis of Coldinghame and Coldsbrandspeth and kepe the samin fra thaim.... and hals thaim furth of the boundis of the Mers...." Thereafter, the abbot was to hold "the landis of Colbrandspeth with the tour and fortalice of the samin...." he and his brother to be assisted in their warlike duties through the aid of:

> "LX speris furnist in all expens.... XXIII culveringuaris with culveringis, powdir and expens for the space of ane moneth and langar gif neid beis...."

In addition they were to be supported by the "lordis and baronis of Louthiane or uthiris to the nowmer of IIII or Vc.men....", their directive, the "expulsioune of the saidis rebellis...." and the defence of "the said place of Coldinghame...." Presumably the abbot met with some resistance, for on 22 October 1528 the Lords commanded the "erlis, lordis baronis...." of the "scherefdomes" of Edinburgh and Haddington to muster with their followers under the command of the "erle Bothvell", to not only put the abbot in possession of the priory, but fortify and provision it so that the abbot would be able to carry out their earlier instructions regarding "the kingis inymis." The following month, the abbot and Lord Hume again requested reinforcements, and it may be assumed that they received them for on 18 March 1529/30, John's position would seem to have been secure, for on that day the Lords of Council decreed that he should:

> "duell and remane in Coldinghame accumpanyt with XXIIII wele horsit men, and [should] ryde with the lieuetennand quhen he [was] chargit with LX speris and [should] kepe the cuntre scathles in thai partis fra thevis, tratouris, rebellis and brokine men, and fra the inymeis of Ingland...."

For his services, the Lords promised to reward him with:

> "the title of the said benefice of Coldinghame or uthair wais according to his gude service...."

It is significant to note, that it was the abbot, as opposed to his brother, who was delegated to ride forth at the head of a body of professional soldiers, to lead them in the fulfilment of a series of perilous duties in what was after all a war zone; this whilst he held the command of what had become a Border fortress, the priory, an outpost for the Scottish command, serving doubtless as an early warning station of any large scale incursion from England. [9]

At this point, it is perhaps useful to pause and consider the question of how such men would have appeared, both to the soldiers within their command, and to the general public, as they ventured forth on patrol or to battle; in effect, would they have looked any different from a lay commander engaged in similar duties?

To begin with, it is useful to remember Henry VIII's observations regarding the religious who perished at Flodden, and those of "W. Patten, Londoner" regarding the religious slain at Pinkie; Henry maintained that it was impossible to distinguish between lay and ecclesiastical dress in the fray, and this view would indeed seem to be supported by the latter observer when he said that it was impossible to distinguish the social rank of the individual Scottish combatants:

> "This vileness of port was the cause that so many of their great men and gentlemen were killed, and so few saved...."

Such a statement would seem to be clear enough, yet indeed was this a fair assessment of the situation, or were the above observations merely an attempt by the English monarch and the later Patten to escape censure? Patten for example, had indeed drawn his audience's attention to the highly distinctive banner under which the religious had fought at Pinkie. Here, three examples may be used to illustrate just how accurate a picture both Henry and Patten may have provided. These are David Beaton, James Beaton and Adam Colquhoun, the last named serving the Church in numerous capacities, principally - perhaps - as a canon of Glasgow Cathedral, and as the parson of Stobo. It would appear that David Beaton frequently wore armour beneath his episcopal robes, similarly, it would seem that in playing his part in the "Cleansing of the Causeway" James was similarly attired. At first glance both examples would seem to undermine Henry's claim, for if the Beatons could so blend religious garb with warlike then so could others. Here however, it is possible to suggest that even if many of the clergy present at Flodden and Pinkie had so identified themselves, and it is possible they did not, such surface clothing may easily have either been torn beyond recognition in the fray, or discarded in panic in the flight which followed, traditionally the

time when the heaviest casualties would have been inflicted, the full horror of the situation captured in Patten's description of the bloody aftermath of Pinkie; without it they would indeed have merged with the rest.

That Patten supplied something more than a merely partisan account of those who participated in the conflict, and that the idea that many could have been so slain in the shambolic aftermath of the encounter is a relatively safe assumption, may be suggested from the observations made by Archbishop Spottiswood on the events of that day, for he stated that there were none present who were:

> "so foolish as the priests and clergymen, who dreaming of nothing but victory, cried out that the English heretics had no spirits, and durst not come to battle. But they found themselves deceived; for upon Saturday, the tenth of September 1547, the armies joining, the Scots were put to the worse, and many thousands slain, few in the fight, which lasted not long, but exceeding many in the chase...."

Additional evidence on the military baring of some churchmen is forthcoming in the case of Adam Colquhoun, for among the items listed in his will there appeared:

> "ane stand of harnes.... ane halberschow of melze.... ane pair of brigattanis.... ane stile jak.... ane hellmont.... ane stile bonet.... tua gluffis of malze.... ane pissane of malze.... ane pair of irne [arm] splentis.... ane pair of leg splentis.... ane pair of chenzeis.... tua gluffis of plait.... ane tua handit swerd.... ane ex.... hagbuttis.... culteryngis, juedbur stavis.... ane handit swerd, dowble ourgilt with gold, scabert of welvoit, crampait with sileur, ane belt with welvot with patrine.... [and] crossbow and all uyer concerning yairto...." [10]

Arguably, this inventory - if the above evidence is considered - would have been commonplace among many of the men drawn from the upper echelons of the Church, men whom the laity could see were directly linked to most of the regular houses of the day. In answer to the question of how such an individual would have appeared to the onlooker, it is perhaps fair to say that on many occasions there would have been little to distinguish between layman and religious, other than the tonsure. The best evidence to support this statement comes from the prestigious monuments which mark the resting places of the Scottish religious elite of the period, which will be

examined below, and in such remarks as those made by contemporary authors. In Lindsay's *Three Estates*.... for example, the "Persone" bemoans the approach of "reformatioun" thus:

> "The Devill mak cair for this unhappie chance, For I am young, and thinks to pas to France And tak wages amang the men of weir, And win my living with my sword and speir." [11]

Further evidence still may be produced to suggest a lay as opposed to an ecclesiastical calling. In the *Three Prestis of Peblis*.... for example, the author describes the summoning of the three estates to parliament and the order of their arrival:

> "The bischopis first with prelotis and abbotis, With thar clerkis, thar servandis and werlotis...."

all were lodged "in a pleasing manner" within a large hall. Here the description could perhaps arguably be equally applied to a lay lord arriving with his retinue; indeed in terms of the accommodation proffered to the above religious, amongst whom it should be noted the abbots warranted separate mention, it would appear that they favoured better than the lords and burgesses who were also present. [12]

In terms of actual examples, the above remark relating to the ability of David Beaton - Commendator of Arbroath - to furnish a military following of some five hundred men when he accompanied James V on his northerly expedition in 1540, provides a good starting point. Although such a large retinue was doubtless due to the circumstances in hand, it should not be thought that Beaton was accustomed to travel with but a few attendants when he ventured forth on other less warlike errands, or that the troops referred to above were merely hired mercenaries.

In terms of his ability to raise men for such a venture, in an entry under the *Register of the Privy Seal* for 16 February 1532/3, an insight is provided into just how strong a following this individual could command through loyalty alone, for in this letter of protection, reference is made to:

> "the said venerabill fader, his kynnismen, freindis and servandis undirwrittin, that is to say, Johne Betoun of Balfoure, James Betoun of Melgound, John Betoun in Nethir Markinche, Johne Wardlaw of Torry, Henry Wardlaw, his sone and apperand aire, William Grahame of Fintre, Johne Graham of Claverhous, Robert

Mawle of Panmure, Alexandre Ouchterlony of Kelle, James Ogylluy in Cukiston, John Ogyluy in Cane, Fynla Ramsey, David Ramsay, James Gardine, Henry Fethe, Johnne Belle, David Belle, Thome Belle, Thomas Ramsay in Kennoquhie, Thomas Belle, Henry Fethe in Ballesak, Thomas Fecht, Archibald Meriot, and all and sindry his and thare propir men, tenentisfamiliaris, servandis.... and in speciale the tennentis lauboraris and inhabitantis...." [13]

Thus when this Commendator of Arbroath travelled abroad - as in this entry - or within Scotland itself, either on his frequent trips to the royal court, touring the country with the king, or travelling in his own time for business or pleasure to one of his numerous homes, or those of his friends or family - he did so in the company of a large, personal retinue comprising both his servants, officials and soldiers. In this he was far from unique, for similar - albeit less awesome - examples abound. On 6 April 1516 for example, the *Register of the Privy Seal* recorded a letter of protection to James Ogilvy, then Postulate of Dryburgh to cover himself and:

"utheris his kynnismen, freindis and servandis to the nowmar of xxi personis...."

on his travelling to England as the king's ambassador. Similarly, when David Arnot, the Bishop of Galloway, Commendator of Tongland and ex - Abbot of Cambuskenneth, travelled to England on a similar mission, the letter of protection issued to him on 3 April 1516 related to himself and:

"his kynnismen, frendis and servandis to the nowmer of xlv persouns...."

An earlier entry for 28 May 1508 saw the Bishop of Moray, Andrew Forman, - the commendator of five religious houses - receive the same "protection and respite" for himself, the Dean of Glasgow - Robert Forman - and Sir John Forman, knight, on their undertaking the same mission; on this occasion it is possible to suggest that an even larger following would have been present, for in a later letter to Henry VIII - dated 21 May 1511 - king James IV had requested a safe conduct for:

"Andrew, Bishop of Moray, now beyond the sea for treating of universal peace with 100 servitouris to pass and repass at pleasure...."

Mawle of Panmure, Alexandre Ouchterlony of Kelle, James Ogylluy in Cukiston, John Ogyluy in Cane, Fynla Ramsey, David Ramsay, James Gardine, Henry Fethe, Johnne Belle, David Belle, Thome Belle, Thomas Ramsay in Kennoquhie, Thomas Belle, Henry Fethe in Ballesak, Thomas Fecht, Archibald Meriot, and all and sindry his and thare propir men, tenentisfamiliaris, servandis.... and in speciale the tennentis lauboraris and inhabitantis...." [13]

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through Henry's kingdom. A similar request by James IV on 18 July 1512 in turn related to a desire for letters of safe conduct for:

> "William, Earl of Errol, John, Prior of St. Andrews, George, Abbot of Holyrood, Master Patrick Panter, Secretary, Master Gavin Dunbar, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, Clerk to the Rolls, and Master Robert Forman, Prothonotary, Dean of Glasgow and Chancellor of Moray, conjunctly or severally, with a hundred horses and persons, Scotsmen, Italians or Frenchmen, to be valid for one year." [14]

In summing up the evidence so far therefore, it would appear that many individuals whom the laity could readily associate with the regular and collegiate houses of the day, not only possessed castles, but also took part in military manoeuvres, battles, dressed as soldiers and travelled the countryside in the company of armed retainers.

Here it might be argued that these individuals were merely paying the price of their ambition, for in achieving promotion to the highest lay offices of state they were by necessity forced to play an equal part in matters relating to national defence. To determine whether this were the case or not, it is necessary to turn to examples of these individual's personal behaviour when they were not thus engaged in national affairs. Here, several individual portraits may be used to further expand upon the issue of how these individuals must have seemed to contemporary lay society.

In beginning this task, the Beaton clan once again provide a most appropriate starting point, for in the correspondence relating to the royal court of James V, they emerge as key figures in an incident which could have done little to enhance the reputation of the Church.

It emerged that the Archbishop of St. Andrews, James Beaton, had commissioned Alexander Alesius to deliver an address "at the diocesan synod" on - among other topics - immorality among ecclesiastics. Prior Patrick Hepburn however took the address to be a personal slur, presumably insults were traded on both sides, and his followers and those of Beaton seemingly were only just stopped short of violence by the intervention of - among others - the archbishop's nephew, David, Abbot of Arbroath. Here it is significant to note that James Beaton still maintained a hold on Kilwinning, Dunfermline and Arbroath for although he secured Arbroath Abbey for his nephew David, James ensured that "half the fruits should be reserved [for him] on David's consent, with bulls of access and regress [on David's] decease"; it was a claim he was to maintain for many years to come. This aside, the peace secured after the above outburst was short lived, for when the chapter of the house announced their intention of bringing a complaint over

Hepburn's behaviour before the king, the enraged prior - supported by an armed following - confronted them in the chapter house; Alesius claiming to have been spared the attention of Hepburn's sword only by the timely intervention of two of the canons present at the debacle. Both Alesius and the canons present were then imprisoned by Hepburn, who in the event was to hold the former individual for a year until he was released by his previous saviours - the canons - in the prior's absence. [15] In 1545, the followers of David Beaton - by now Cardinal yet still maintaining his hold on Arbroath - and Gavin Dunbar - the Archbishop of Glasgow, ex - Commendator of Whithorn - were to take part in an equally unedifying scene at Glasgow Cathedral. Here, John Knox provides a somewhat comical description of the events of the day; Beaton apparently claimed "pre - eminence" over Dunbar on the strength of his being Cardinal, Primate of Scotland and Papal Legate, his cross therefore he maintained, should take precedence over Dunbar's as the two religious entered the cathedral with their respective attendants. Something of a race seems to have taken place as each sought to carry his cross before the other's; the tension between the followers of the two mounted, until, Knox said:

> "thare begane no little fray.... for rockettis were rent, typpetis war torne, [and] crounis war knapped...."

Although this version of events may be viewed mainly as Knox poking fun at two of Scotland's leading ecclesiastics, that the confrontation did occur - and that it was a reasonably violent affair - may be seen in the letters which the Governor Arran, and Beaton, sent to the Pope to account for this shameful episode; both indicate considerable force was used, Beaton for his part claiming that Dunbar had employed armed men within the Cathedral itself. [16] That such actions were not merely the result of the involvement of the Beaton family, may be seen from a number of other well known figures becoming embroiled in equally unedifying scenes. Thomas Douchtie it would appear, was known for more than his fame as the Hermit of Loretto; on 20 May 1536 for example, he appeared along with:

> "Mr. Thomas Johnesoun, a chaplain, William Johnesoun, Patrick Johnesoun, William Johnesoun, and William Furd...."

before the Official of Lothian, for having taken part in a nocturnal assault on a fellow cleric, Robert Waithe. That the assault was something more than a mere scuffle may be assumed from the fact

that a dagger was used to wound the unfortunate Waithe, and from the excommunication of the chaplain Thomas Johnesoun, and the fining of the other aggressors involved, including Thomas Douchtie. [17]

Thus it would appear that there was little to distinguish between the squabbles of the nobility and those of the religious, for both tended to look to armed followings of friends, relatives and their retainers to back them in their disputes with their fellows. That such behaviour in the upper reaches of lay society would have been well known to the populace at large may be seen with reference, in particular, to the various Border families and their complex web of associations. [18] Arguably here too there would have been little to distinguish the religious of the day. The Commendator of Newbattle in the mid sixteenth century for example, Mark Ker, suffered the loss of his father - Sir Andrew Ker of Cessford - during a clash with the followers of Scot of Buccleuch in 1526. Some twenty - six years later, the laird of Buccleuch was cut down in Edinburgh in a revenge attack, in which it is highly likely that Mark Ker not only took part but perhaps delivered the fatal blow; this incident aside, it is clear that Ker was party to the slaying of a French soldier in 1555 at the seat of his ecclesiastical power, Newbattle.

With the death of the Prior of Coldingham - Robert Blackadder - two letters relating to the royal court of Scotland in the year 1520, state that "the English" had taken a leading part in his murder. It has been suggested that family feuding between the Hume family and the Blackadders was an equally important factor; for it emerged that Blackadder's predecessor, David Hume was also murdered, and that after Blackadder's untimely demise, the individual suspected of his removal was none other than David Hume of Wedderburn who then placed his brother - in - law William Douglas, - the brother of the Earl of Angus - into the office of prior[19]. That this individual was to behave in an equally partisan way, may in turn be seen from his participation in the small scale - but nonetheless bitter - clash known as the "Cleansing of the Causeway", in which supporters of Angus, the Douglases, joined with their Hume allies to expel the pro - Arran Hamilton faction from Edinburgh. On this most public occasion the violence spilled over to affect not only the lay combatants but the property of the Church and its personnel. Thus an entry under the Privy Seal recorded a remission granted to:

"John Lauson, John Scot, John Myllar and John Scot senior, for their treasonable blockade and breaching of the doorway.... of the hospital within the town of Edinburgh, in Chalk lane, of the brethren of the Friars preacher of the same...."

Significantly, the same letter referred to the attack on the doorkeeper and porter of the building in question, and to the

> "capture and apprehension of James of St. Andrews within the aforesaid building...."

It would appear therefore that no less a figure than the Archbishop of Glasgow - not St. Andrews since in 1520 James Beaton possessed the former not the latter office - had been roughly handled in this attack on the Church's property, further it is suggested by Pitscottie that but for the timely intervention of Gavin Douglas, Beaton would have been murdered.

> "Bischop James Betoun fled to the Black Freir Kirk, and thair was takin out behind the alter and his rockit rivin aff him, and had beine slaine, had not beine Mr. Gawin Dowglas requeisted for him, saying, it was shame to put hand in ane consecrat bishop". [20]

That such behaviour was by no means uncommon may be seen by reference to perhaps an even more damaging incident on 1 January 1555, known by the more grim and appropriate title of the "Bloody Vespers". On this occasion, William Innes of that ilk led a band of followers numbering some one hundred and twelve individuals, on a murderous errand to slay the Dunbar Prior of Pluscarden - Alexander Dunbar - the Dean of Moray - David Dunbar - and any other members of the Dunbar family whom they might encounter. The prior's kinsmen meanwhile, either to foil this plot, or as was suggested by H. B. Macintosh, in his brief guide to the history of the cathedral, to murder the laird of Innes and any of his followers who might have been in attendance, arrived the same night in a band numbering seventy two men under the leadership of James Dunbar of Tarbert. It would take little effort to picture the ensuing events as the rival families slashed, stabbed and pursued each other within the cavernous interior of this building, nor to imagine the harm done to the Church itself as details of this engagement spread to the wider society. Once again, family feud involving members of the clergy had further sullied the spiritual authority which the Church maintained was inherent in both her buildings and her representatives.[21]

At this point it should be noted that lay involvement and interference in the life of the Church was not merely confined to the larger, more strategic foundations, for in 1507 king James IV wrote to the Cardinal of St. Mark to inform him that:

> "The house of Sadaguil, [Saddell] once Cistercian and established by the king's ancestors in Lismore diocese, has within living memory seen no monastic life and has fallen to the use of laymen...."

This statement is strongly supported by the high proportion of gravestones which mark the resting place of members of the laity, perhaps suggesting therefore that the local magnates looked on it as their own property, and as a suitable place of burial. [22] Here too, it may be said that the religious shared yet another factor in common with their privileged lay counterparts, for it may be claimed that they too displayed the same pride in the manner in which they chose to mark their final resting places; thus society could again see the elitist outlook so criticised by the authors of the day, carved in the stone memorials of these individuals. Here, it is important to remember several of the points raised in the introduction to this chapter, that in examining the tombs of men connected to the regular Orders of the day, and indeed the secular colleges, reference will also be made to those of individuals possessing no such connections, drawn from the ranks of the episcopate and those of the lesser clergy. This course was chosen since it demonstrates yet another oft repeated feature of the present work, that those men associated with the colleges and the regular Orders were members of the Church as a whole. The tombs of members of the episcopate and of the lesser clergy are included therefore to show the reader where the abbots, commendators and members of the colleges fitted into the league table of the Church's personnel, that they held themselves superior to the lesser members of the Church, and - arguably - on the same plane as those from the episcopate, the princes of the ecclesiastic hierarchy. Indeed many commendatory heads of religious houses were - as seen above - themselves bishops, and for those yet to attain such a position these men served as model examples of behaviour. Furthermore, the intention is to demonstrate that despite their apparently worldly, violent lives, those who possessed close connections with the secular colleges and the regular Orders of the day still expected to share in the boons granted - in terms of burial - to the servants of the Church over all but the most privileged members of the laity. Such men therefore must have seemed to the public at large to have enjoyed the best features of both worlds; power and all of its attendant trappings in this life, and yet still - despite all of this lavish excess and disregard for the rules which bound them - an easier passage into the next. Salt must have been rubbed in the wound thus inflicted for these monuments were as a rule striking pieces of work. Carved and painted to resemble the subject in life, at the height of his power, they displayed the privileges enjoyed by such religious to all onlookers down through the ages to the period in question, the resentment engendered doubtless adding weight to the criticism

of contemporary authors. They thus provided the less fortunate members of society with visual proof of the contradiction between religious ideals and the reality of these individuals lives.

In terms of the frequency and location of these monuments, it is proposed to examine a series of examples from around the country in alphabetical order, to provide an accessible body of material for consideration. Beginning with Arbroath Abbey therefore, within the abbot's house there stands the headless figure of an abbot/bishop, its identity unknown today, but in its time a prestigious reminder of this individual's privileged position both in lay society and within the Church. [23] In turning to the Cathedral of Dunblane, in the nave of this building lies the much defaced effigy of Bishop Michael Ochiltree, the only remnant of what must once have been a proud tomb, for this was the individual who placed the crown on the head of James II at his coronation at Holyrood on 25 March 1437. In the choir of the same foundation, the better preserved figure of a bishop lies at rest. Suggestions as to this individual's identity divide between Bishop Findlay Dermoch who died in 1419, and the man responsible for the favourable reverse in the fortunes of this house, Bishop Clement, who died some time between 1256 and 1258; it is thought that the latter assumption is the more reliable. [24]

Moving South to the Border Abbey of Dundrennan, the remarkable effigy of a past abbot may be seen just within the west entrance, it having been moved to its present site from either the chapter house or perhaps the east end of the abbey church; it is of particular note as it depicts the abbot with a dagger plunged into the left side of his chest, whilst beneath his feet - arguably - lies the disembowelled figure of his assassin. As with the figure at Arbroath, their is no clue to the abbot's identity, but again it is safe to say that in the period to which the statue belongs, - c. early fourteenth century - and indeed for long afterwards, both this man and the events surrounding what appears to have been his murder, would have been well known both to the members of his house and to the surrounding lay population. Within the chapter house itself, the fragmentary remains of monuments to numerous other past abbots may be seen; perhaps the finest remnant of all, - carved with an ornate Calvary cross and an abbatial staff, bearing the inscription:

"Here lies Lord Giles, 22nd. Abbot of Dundrennan, who died in office...."

The erection of this monument may be placed around the middle of the fourteenth century. [25] In moving north to Perthshire, the remains of Dunkeld Cathedral house the monuments of Bishops William Sinclair and Robert De Cardeny; although stripped of much of their former splendour, they would undoubtedly have served to enhance an already impressive foundation, the former

monument in the choir marking the resting place of a close acquaintance and friend of King Robert I, the latter in St. Ninian's Aisle a man who could claim to be the uncle of the half brother of King Robert III. [26]

Further north still, Elgin Cathedral provides a welter of surviving detail; here, amongst the numerous monuments which survive - in various states of preservation - may be listed those of Andrew de Moravia, [consecrated c.1223 - 24, died 1242] John de Pylmore, [consecrated 30 March 1326, died at Spynie in 1362] John de Innes, [consecrated 23 January 1406, died 25 April 1414] Columba de Dunbar, past Dean of the collegiate church of Dunbar [provided 3 April 1422, died at Spynie 1435] John de Winchester, a past Provost of Lincluden collegiate church [consecrated 9 May 1437, died 1 April 1460], and James Stewart [provided 19 May 1460, resigned in 1462]. [27]

In the neighbouring diocese of Ross, within the present day remnants of Fortrose Cathedral, may be seen the worn remains of the monuments to Bishop John Fraser [provided 14 March 1497 - 98, died at Fortrose 5 February 1507] and Bishop Robert Carncors [admitted to the temporalities of Ross 23 June 1539, died 30 November 1545].

That in turn these monuments would have been splendid examples of the stonemasons art, may be assumed - for example - from the fact that John Fraser had served as a Dean of the prestigious royal collegiate foundation of Restalrig and as the clerk of the Register of the Great Seal, whilst Robert Carncors had been the Abbot of Holyrood, thereafter - on promotion to the see of Ross - drawing a pension of 500 merks from this house and assuming control of Premonstratensian Fearn; all of this in addition to his position as Royal Treasurer to James V. [28]

Finally, that such memorials were not merely on show to the laity within the confines of the country's larger houses may be seen for instance, in the episcopal effigies which survive at the churches of Luss, Sanquhar and the collegiate foundation of Tain. [29]

At this point, it is also worth noting that the distinction of being thus remembered within such hallowed surroundings, was a privilege which was not simply reserved for the most powerful servants of the Church; rather it is possible to view at least as many monuments - albeit that they are less grand perhaps than those examined above - to the lower ranks of the clergy. In the ruined church of Bathgate for example, the much worn effigy of a priest lies exposed to the elements; its almost life-size dimensions within such a small building proving beyond doubt that the individual in question was accorded a position of great esteem in the eyes of the Church and therefore the surrounding lay community. [30] Similar distinction accorded to a cleric may be seen in the burial ground of the old parish church of Tranent, which retains the tomb of Alexander Crawfurd, priest of Tranent, and Clerk of the collegiate Chapel Royal, in the blurred remains of an effigy

commemorating an unknown priest in the ruin of St. Magridin's Church, Abdie, in the parish church of Stobo, where a fine stone commemorates "Mr. Robert Vessey, sometime vicar of Stobo, who died 10 May in the year of Our Lord 1473", and in the recumbent effigies which mark now forgotten clerics in the churches of Sanquhar and the collegiate church of Tain. [31]

In the more prestigious educational foundations of St. Salvator's collegiate church and that of St. Leonard's in St. Andrews, the memorials to several ecclesiastics may be found - apart from Bishop Kennedy's ✗ in the former establishment, the incised figure of a priest preserves the memory of Hugh Spens, provost of St. Salvator's who died in 1534, whilst the latter holds - amongst others - the monument of Canon William Ruglyn. [32] Turning once more to the larger houses of the period, the reader's attention is once again drawn to the example of Dundrennan Abbey, where in addition to the abbatial monuments there exists a relatively ornate, incised slab to mark the resting place of Patrick Douglas, the foundation's cellarer who died in 1480, and - perhaps somewhat surprisingly - another to the memory of a nun; the inscription on the latter slab interpreted by one author as reading:

"Here lies
The Lady Blanche;
She was a nun,
At one time a lady prioress;
She died in the
Year of Our Lord 1440."

Her office as prioress perhaps a reference to the long suppressed house of nuns at Lincluden. [33]

Moving north again, it is significant to note that in the small house of Saddell, erected alongside the many monuments to the local gentry, may be numbered two memorials which mark the passing of an anonymous priest and monk respectively, whilst amongst the many prestigious monuments to the leading lay and ecclesiastical figures, who lie within the confines of Elgin Cathedral, may be numbered the burials of no less than seven minor ecclesiastics. [34]

In drawing this chapter to a close therefore, it is possible to substantiate many of the accusations regarding the elitist outlook of contemporary personnel of the Church, and to say that such an obvious irritation to the laity could be equally observed in the monuments to the lesser servants of the Church. In many instances, the Church's leading figures occupied well built, often formidable homes proudly emblazoned with their arms, from which - again in many instances - they

effectively held sway over much of the surrounding countryside. That a direct connection could be made between the occupiers of such structures and the religious foundations of the day in the minds of the populace may be suggested from the fact that such individuals were, as a rule, equally anxious to leave their personal mark on the religious houses so entrusted to their care. [35] It has also been shown that the close association which these individuals forged with the court of their royal master - as evidenced in chapter 1 - provided them with power not only in the highest state offices with regards to the running of the country in times of peace, but also leading parts in the defence of the realm in times of war, this militaristic side of the ecclesiastical character spilling over on frequent occasions to involve such men in violent confrontations in both the internal political infighting of the day, and in what seems to have been purely personal or family vendettas. Through such involvement it followed that if they - the religious - became involved in such affairs they would by virtue of necessity alone have to dress the part; thus individuals like David Beaton, James Beaton, George Dundas and others mentioned above, must - arguably - have frequently dressed in the garb of the military commander.

At this point however, it must be asked why such matters would have provoked any particular feelings of outrage on behalf of the authors who commented on the Church in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and more importantly still amongst those who either read or saw their works performed, for such behaviour was by no means unique or without precedent. Here it is important to recall a point raised in the introduction to this thesis, that the men linked to the regular Orders and their secular equivalent in the colleges, should not be viewed in isolation from the activities of the Church's other servants. This applied equally in military terms, for it is the view of the present work that such behaviour was not only seen as commonplace by the period in question, society expected such men to shoulder their fair share of military service just like anyone else. The ready propensity for violence which the men who form the subject of this thesis displayed therefore, was also a feature common to all ranks of the Church long before the period in question; a classic instance of the martial cleric occurred for example as early as 1388, for in his description of the battle of Otterburn, the chronicler Froissart suggested that the Scottish victory was in no small way due to the warlike qualities of a priest, William of North Berwick, who assumed the office of archdeacon and canon of Aberdeen the same year. No mention is made here of how unsuitable such behaviour was in a member of the Church. Even earlier still, the involvement of members of the religious Orders in military matters of the utmost importance may be seen in the signing of the Treaty of Falaise in 1174 for example, for here the Bishop of St. Andrews and the Bishop of Dunkeld were joined by the Abbot of Dunfermline and the Prior of Coldingham as witnesses to the

event. Of equal relevance, the involvement of Adam, Abbot of Cupar in the political and military manoeuvring of the late twelfth century; in 1284 for example this individual could be seen to be similarly industriously employed, travelling between the English and Scottish royal courts on behalf of his royal master Alexander III. Thus men drawn from the ranks of the regular houses of a much earlier period than that under examination were quite at home in the highest ecclesiastic and lay circles as they negotiated matters of the utmost importance to the defence of the realm. Overseas travel would also appear to have formed a routine part of the careers of these individuals, for in a letter from Philip of France to the Scottish guardians in 1299, the French monarch referred to their envoys as "John, Abbot of Jedwurth, and John Wissard knight....", further, that "dreading the risks which sometimes chance to letters,...." he was relating "his views by word of mouth to William Bishop of St. Andrews." Evidence to suggest that the bishop was a familiar figure at the French court over a period of some years may be further assumed from such factors as a letter from France, - dated 25 May 1303 - in which Lamberton urged the Guardian and the community to "offer a strenuous resistance to the king of England...." That Lamberton performed other, more direct military functions on behalf of his nation, may in turn be seen form a number of sources. In a letter by "Robert Hastangis" - dated 20 August 1299 - to Edward I for example, the author related the events surrounding a stormy meeting between "the Bishop of St. Andrews, the Earls of Carrick, Buchan.... and Menteith, Sir John Comyn.... and the Steward of Scotland." During this encounter, "Sir John Comyn [took] the Earl of Carrick by the throat, and the Earl of Buchan [seized] the Bishop of St. Andrews...." When tempers cooled it was decided that "the Bishop of St. Andrews, the Earl of Carrick, and Sir John Comyn should be Guardians of the realm, the first having custody of the castles as principal...."

The idea of an ecclesiastic as a castellan therefore, was one which - by the period under question - had long been established. Further glimpses of the part played by the regular members of the Church in the Wars of Independence may be gleaned from the correspondence of Edward I himself; on 16 June 1306 for instance, the king wrote in a somewhat joyous mood to Aymer de Valence in Scotland expressing his delight at the capture of Robert Wishart, the Bishop of Glasgow, an event which pleased him "almost as much as.... if it had been the Earl of Carrick...." In letters dating to August of the same year, the king ordered that the "Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and the Abbot of Scone...." be transferred "from Newcastle to Nottingham castle....", thereafter the "Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow...." were to be put "in irons in the castle of Winchester and Porchester...." respectively, whilst "the Abbot of Scone...." was ordered to be "placed in iron fetters in the castle of Mere". In terms of the Church's involvement in these troubled times however,

perhaps the most telling piece of evidence comes in the form of the *Ragman Roll*. Compiled over the period covering 13 May to 28 August 1296, it contains the names of no less than fifty five heads of religious houses, an entry for 28 August for example recording the submission of "John, abbot of Sweetheart, Walter abbot of Passelay, Alisaundre abbot of Tungland, Walter abbot of Dundreynan, Adam abbot of Holy Rood...." amongst many others, and their "respective convents", who swore fealty under "joint letters". Finally, that such martial behaviour was by no means confined to the Scottish camp may be proved from such random examples as Barbour's account of "The Chaptur of Myntoun", [1318] which reads as a rehearsal for the events at Flodden, and in the later instance - 1347 - of the retinue of the Archbishop of York John Thoresby at the siege of Calais, - the author of *The Lay Folk's Catechism* - which comprised "one banneret, two knights, thirty esquires, thirty archers on horse - back and thirty archers on foot". David Beaton therefore - whilst undoubtedly one of the most powerful men in the period under examination - was not unique in being the only individual associated with the regular Orders to command a formidable military following. [36]

The case against those connected to the regular Orders and colleges of c.1450 to 1560 in Scotland, may be further weakened when it is considered that it was in effect expected of them to take a part in the wars of the period. In Robert Wedderburn's *The Complaynt of Scotland* - c.1550 - for example, the author left his audience in no doubt as to how the religious of the time should react to the threat of invasion by their old enemy the English. Here the clergy were given a clear choice; either fight in battle alongside the "gouvernour and vith the nobil lordis and barrons of Scotland" against the English invasion, or face torment at the hands of their captors. Wedderburn therefore exhorted them to change their religious regalia for steel jackets and coats of mail, those who were too old or frail to fight themselves he said, had "patrimone and beneficis" at their disposal with which to equipe "preistis monkis and freiris, vith al necessair thingis convenient for the veyris". Moreover, "nane of the sperutualite" could excuse themselves from the conflict on grounds of scruples or spiritual exemption, since in Wedderburn's view God's law, the law of nature, "positive lau" civil and canon law all demanded they fight for "ther public veil", and "ther native cuntre"; this reasoned approach should, if necessary, he continued, be reinforced by the repeal of any existing "exemptions". That such a standpoint received formal, governmental backing may be seen in the business of the Privy Council on the sixteenth century, for its members declared that the nearest "kin" of any "kirkman" who died whilst serving in the present army, was mortally wounded, or contracted an ultimately fatal illness, would have the "presentatioun, provisioun and collatioun of his benefice for that time allanerlie, and the same to be disponit to the nerrest of his kin that happynnis to be slane or deceis in maner forsaid,.... to pertene to thaim and thair executouris, alsweill abbottis,

priouris, and to all uthairis religious men, as all uthair kirkmen...." Earlier still, - in 1523/4 - the Lords of Council had ordained that all the "hedismen of the bordouris baith spirituale and temporall" were to "pas with thar houshald tothar saidis housis on the bordouris thar to remane for the defence of the samyn fra invasioun of our said auld innymyis [the English], that is to say the abbottis, priouris and kirkmen under payn of tinsell and recognicioun of thar temporall landis and all [others].... temporall men undir the payn [of] tynsell of life, landis and gudis...." [37]

Thus, to deliver a blanket condemnation of all ecclesiastics who performed military functions for the crown would be misleading, for there was ample precedent for such action, as indeed there was in terms of judicial approval that they should carry weaponry;[38] similarly, their possession of some of the foremost strongholds in the realm could hardly be described as a novelty by the period under examination, for again this had long been expected of the Church's hierarchy. To explain why such behaviour might take on an especially offensive nature therefore, it is perhaps appropriate to turn in the next chapter to an examination of certain other aspects of these individuals lives, which contemporary authors considered worthy of comment; that is, the seemingly overriding financial motivation involved in securing appointment to office within the Church.

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15.) *Letters: James V*, 95 - 6, 260 - 1, 272.

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17.) D. McRoberts: "Hermits In Medieval Scotland", in, *I. R.* Vol. 6, (1965), 209.

J. Spottiswood: *History*, 136 - 7.

18.) W. Croft Dickinson and A. A. M. Duncan: *Scotland From The Earliest Times to 1603*, (Oxford, 1977), 222 - 3.

G. Donaldson: *Scotland: James V- James VII*, 12 - 13, 151 - 2.

19.) M. Sanderson: *Mary Stewart's People*, (Edinburgh, 1987), 166 - 7.

J. Lesley: *History*, 114; Under the year 1519, referred to the death of the Prior of Coldingham " callit Blacadder and sax of his men, quha wes slane be the lorde of Wodderburne at Lamertoune the saxt of October... "

W. Maitland: *History*, Vol. 2, 776, stated that " in East Lothian the Prior of Lothian was murdered along with six of his domesticks, by Hume of Wedderburn.... "

Acts: Public Affairs, 1501 - 1554, 353, Refers to the slaying of the Prior of Coldingham.

Letters: James V, 76 - 78.

M. Dilworth: "Coldingham Priory" , in, *I. R.* Vol. 23, (1972), 116.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 3, No. 480.

T. R. Rae: *The Scottish Frontier*, 162, states that "Patrick Blackadder of Tulliallan, Archdeacon of Glasgow.... was murdered folowing a dispute with John Hume, Abbot of Jedburgh over the fruits of Coldingham Priory."

20.) M. Dillworth: "Coldingham Priory" in *I.R.* Vol. 23, (1972), 122.

J. Lesley: *History*, 115 - 6; states that he was present when the trophies of the severed heads of the Humes were recovered in 1521.

G. Donaldson: *Scotland: James V- James VII* , 35.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 342.

R. S. S. Vol. 2, 1529 - 1544, No. 4483. See also note at the foot of 679 relating to this entry.

W. Maitland: *History*, Vol. 2, 2.

A Diurnal Of Remarkable Occurents, 7.

E.J.G. Mackay(ed.): *History*, Vol.2, 288.

A. P. S. Vol. 2, 298.

21.) H. B. MacKintosh and J. S. Richardson: *Elgin Cathedral, The Cathedral Kirk Of Moray* (H.M.S.O. Edinburgh, 1980), 41.

D. McKay: "Parish Life In Scotland, 1500-1560" , in, D. McRoberts (ed.) *Essays*, 97. hereafter, D. McKay: "Parish Life".

R. Pitcairn: *Criminal Trials*, Vol. 1 376.

22.) *Letters: James IV*, 93 - 4.

A. L. Brown: "The Cistercian Abbey Of Saddel, Kintyre" , in, *I.R.* Vol. 20, (1969), 135, 137.

A. McKerral: "A Chronology Of The Abbey And Castle Of Kintyre", in, *Soc. Of Ant.* Vol. 86, (1952), 115 - 21.

23.) R. L. Mackie, S. Cruden and R. Fawcett: *Arbroath Abbey* (H.M.S.O. Edinburgh, 1989), 11.

R. Brydall: "Monumental Effigies", in, *Soc. Of Ant.* (13 May, 1895), 339.

The former publication suggests a mid-fifteenth century dating of the figure whilst the latter suggests " the early part of the fourteenth century as its probable date " .

24.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 196 - 8, 205 - 6.

D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 2, 112.

R. Brydall: "Monumental Effigies", in, *Soc. Of Ant.* (13 May, 1895), 333, 358.

J. H. Cockburn: Guide To Dunblane Cathedral, (Society Of Friends Of Dunblane Cathedral, 1977), 10, 17.

J. F. Miller and J. C. Lusk: *Dunblane Cathedral*, (Society Of Friends Of Dunblane Cathedral, N.D.), 9 - 10, 12.

J. H. Cockburn: *The Medieval Bishops Of Dunblane And Their Church*, (Edinburgh, 1959), 62.

PHOTOGRAPH
Dunblane Cathedral, Effigy of Bishop Clement in the choir. see Vol. 2, Plate 65,65.

25.) J. S. Richardson and C. J. Tabraham: *Dundrennan Abbey*, (H.M.S.O. Edinburgh, 1981), 8 - 9, 14 - 15.

D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 1, 398.

R. Brydall: "Monumental Effigies", in *Soc. Of Ant.* (13 May 1895), 356-7, 356, 367.

J. Starke: " Notices Of The Nun Slab At Dundrennan Abbey ", in, *Trans. Dum. and Gall.*, (1863 - 64), esp. 37.

26.) M. E. Root: *Dunkeld Cathedral*, (H.M.S.O. Edinburgh, 1950), 12 - 13.

D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 2, 37.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 61 - 3, 70 - 1.

Dowden says: " raised to the episcopate by Robert III, out of the affection which the king entertained for the bishop's sister, who presumably was Mariota de Cairdney " dilecta regis " (Robert II) mother of King Robert III's half brother.... "

27.) H. B. MacKintosh and J. S, Richardson: *Elgin Cathedral ,The Cathedral Kirk Of Moray* (H.M.S.O Edinburgh, 1980) 12 - 14, 18, 21 - 2, 35, 37, 39 - 40. Hereafter H.B. MacKintosh and J.S. Richardson: *Elgin Cathedral.*

D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 2, 141 - 45.

R. Brydall: " Monumental Effigies ", in, *Soc. Of Ant.*, (13 May 1895), 333, 356, 358.

W. R. MacDonald: " Notes ", in, *Soc. Of Ant.*, (9 April 1900), 357 - 8, 367, 370.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, Andrew de Moravia, 148 - 9.

John de Pylmore, 152 - 3.

John de Innes, 157.

Columba de Dunbar, 158 - 9

John de Winchester, 159 - 60.

James Stewart, 160 - 1.

PHOTOGRAPHS
For an idea of the splendour of the episcopal monuments within Elgin Cathedral, see for example the figure of Bishop John Innes which stood on top of his own magnificent tomb in the crossing; it now occupies a stand in the south transept, between his effigy - to the left - which once adorned the mid-tower, and that of a knight which once also occupied a prominent position on the mis-tower. See: Vol. 2, Plate 66, 66.

The figure of Bishop Columba de Dunbar within the North transept; see Vol. 2, Plate 67,67.

The figure of Bishop John Pilmore in the North wall of St. Mary's aisle; see Vol. 2, Plate 68,68.

The figure of John de Winchester in the North wall of St. Mary's aisle east of the above monument; see Vol. 2, Plate 69,69.

The tomb of Bishop Archibald in the North wall of the presbytery; see Vol. 2, Plate 70,70.

28.) R. Brydall: As Above, 358 - 61.

R. Fawcett and D. J. Breeze: *Beauly Priory And Fortrose Cathedral* , 22 - 3.

D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Eccleslastical Architecture*, Vol. 2, 394 - 402.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 222 - 6.

J. Close Brooks: *The Highlands* , (H.M.S.O. Edinburgh, 1986), 116.

A. J. Beaton: " Notes On Ormond Or Avoch Castle ", in *Soc. Of Ant.*, Vol. 19, (1884-85), 401, and note no. 1 at the foot of the page. Here the author suggests only 1 of the 3 tombs which survive was to commemorate an episcopal burial. The earlier of the two described above he suggests may have been that of " the Regent of Sir Andrew de Moravia.... " who died " about the year 1338 ". Such a claim may be dismissed however in light of the weight of the above evidence.

29.) At Luss, the bishop in question is probably Robert Colquhoun, Bishop of Argyll. See: J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 386 - 7.

G. Hay and D. McRoberts: " Rossdhu Church And Its Book Of Hours ", in, *I.R.* Vol. 16, (1965), 5 - 16.

A. D. Lacaille: " Notes On A Lomondside Parish ", in, *I.R.* Vol. 16, (1965), 152.

At Sanquhar, the fine statue of a bishop remains, its identity however is unknown. see for example:
W. W. McMillan: "The Church Of Sanquhar ", in, *Trans. Dum. And Gall.*Vol.16 (1929 - 30), 95 - 6.

J. Brown: *The History Of Sanquhar* , (Edinburgh, 1853), 388.

At Tain, 2 episcopal statues remain, one within the east end, the other in the north niche on the exterior of the west end; they perhaps commemorate the town's famous patron, St. Duthac. see:
D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Eccleslastical Architecture*, Vol. 2, 540.
J. Durkan: " The Sanctuary And College Of Tain ", in, *I.R.* Vol. 13, (1962), 149, note no. 25.

J. Close - Brooks: *The Highlands* , (H.M.S.O. Edinburgh, 1986), 114.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Luss, Effigy of bishop; see Vol. 2, Plate 71,71.

Sanquhar, Effigy of bishop; see Vol. 2, Plate 72,72.

Tain, Effigy of bishop; see Vol. 2, Plate 73,73.

As Above, See Vol. 2, Plate 74,74.

30.) For Bathgate, see: D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Eccleslastical Architecture*, Vol. 2, 475, 477.
Here reference is made to the possession of the church by the Abbey of Holyrood, and to its being among other houses paying tax to the see of St. Andrews in the 13th. century, the approximate date suggested for the effigy in question. Might the effigy therefore be a representation of an Augustinian who served the church in question, and whose efforts were so appreciated as to be rewarded by this distinction? see also: C. McWilliam: *Lothian* , 95.

PHOTOGRAPH
Bathgate, Effigy of priest; see Vol. 2, Plate 75,75.

31.) For Tranent, see: C. McWilliam: *Lothian Except Edinburgh* (Harmondsworth, 1978), 452. Hereafter C. McWilliam: *Lothian.*

For Abdie, see: D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Eccleslastical Architecture*, Vol. 2, 293 - 6.

J. Gifford: *Fife* , 57 - 8.

For Stobo, see: R. C. H. M. *Peebleshire* , Vol. 2, 214.

For Sanquhar, see: W. W. McMillan: " The Church Of Sanquhar ", in, *Trans. Dum. And Gall.* , (1929 - 30), 96.

D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Eccleslastical Architecture*, Vol. 3, 434 - 6.

Sanquhar, Effigy of religious; see Vol. 2, Plate 76,76.

Tain, Effigy of religious; see Vol. 2, Plate 77,77.

32.) J. Gifford: *Fife*, 377, 388.

33.) J. S. Richardson and C. J. Tabraham: *Dundrennan Abbey* , (H.M.S.O. Edinburgh, 1981), 8 - 9.

D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Eccleslastical Architecture*, Vol. 1, 398.

J. Starke: " Notice Of The Nun Slab At Dundrennan Abbey ", in *Trans. Dum. And Gall.* , (1963 - 4), 34 - 9.

R. Brydall: " Monumental Effigies ", in, *Soc. Of Ant.*, (13 May 1895), 367.

34.) A. L. Brown: " The Cistercian Abbey Of Saddell, Kintyre, " in, *I.R.* Vol. 20, (1969), 137.

H. B. MacKintosh and J. S. Richardson: *Elgin Cathedral* , 23 - 6.

35.) Here, a few examples have been included to show the diversity of such remains:

Arbroath Abbey:
Note the arms of Abbot Walter Panter within the sacristy. R. L. Mackie, S. Cruden and R. Fawcett: *Arbroath Abbey*, (H.M.S.O. Edinburgh, 1989), 9. Hereafter, R. L. Mackie, S. Cruden and R. Fawcett: *Arbroath Abbey*.

D. Macgibbon and T. Ross: *Eccleslastical Architecture*, Vol. 2, 45.

St. Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen:
The reader's attention is drawn to the roof of the nave, provided by Archbishop Gavin Dunbar [1518/1531] it displays not only this individual's arms but also - for example - those of Pope Leo X, the royal arms of Scotland, and those of numerous other episcopal figures. In terms of preserving his lasting fame the Archbishop also ensured that his arms were displayed in the company of those of Scotland on his fine tomb within the south transept of this building, and on it's exterior in the company of those of Henry de Lychtone [translated from Moray to Aberdeen 1 April 1422, died 1440/1].
D. Macgibbon and T. Ross: *Eccleslastical Architecture*; Vol. 2, 77; 85 - 87.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 138 - 9; 120 - 2.

C. J. P. Cave: *Roof Bosses In Medieval Churches: An Aspect Of Gothic Culture* (Cambridge, 1948), 17 - 18, 181. Hereafter, C.J.P. *Cave: Roof Bosses.*

J. S. Richardson: *The Medieval Stone Carver In Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1964), 55. Hereafter, J.S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver.*

Culross Abbey:
Within the West doorway, the arms of Abbot Andrew Mason are proudly displayed by an angelic supporter [see reference in chapter 9 to the additional presence of the green man]; although accurately described by messrs. Macgibbon and Ross, they wrongly suggest that the letters "... may stand for the name of Mallet... "
D. Macgibbon and T. Ross: As Above, 235.

J. Gifford: *Fife*, 148.

PHOTOGRAPH
The arms of Abbot Andrew Mason, Culross Abbey; see Vol. 2, Plate 78,78.

Dunblane Cathedral:
Here the arms of Bishop James Chisholm [provided 31 January 1486-7, resigned 1526] may be seen to mark the sixteenth century parapet of the foundation's early tower, and that added to the exterior of the choir; within, this same individual saw fit to include his arms on two of the choir stalls which now stand within the west end of the building in question.

D. Macgibbon and T. Ross: As Above, 89, 95, 104 - 7.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 207.

S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 152.

J. Hutchinson Cockburn: *Guide to Dunblane Cathedral*, (Society Of Friends Of Dunblane Cathedral, 1977) 5, 9, 23.

The Medieval Bishops Of Dunblane And Their Church, (Society Of Friends Of Dunblane Cathedral, 1977), 191 - 2.

J. F. Miller, J. C. Lusk and J. McCracken: *Dunblane Cathedral*, (Society Of Friends Of Dunblane Cathedral, 1977) 3, 17.

M. D. Anderson and G.L. Remnant: *A Catalogue of Misericords in Great Britain With An Essay On Their Iconography* (Oxford,. 1969), 189. Hereafter, M. D. Anderson and G.L. Remnant: *A Catalogue of Misericords in Great Britain.*

PHOTOGRAPHS
Arms of Bishop James Chisholm on the tower of Dunblane Cathedral; see Vol. 2, Plate 79,79.

Arms of the above on choir stalls; see Vol. 2, Plate 80,80.

As Above; see Vol. 2, Plate 81,81.

Dunfermline Abbey:
Amongst the detail to survive here, on the north porch the arms of Abbot Richard de Bothwell, which may also be seen within the north aisle of the choir in the company of those of St. Margaret; those of Abbot George Dury may still apparently be seen on a window surround of the palace, where they are displayed in the company of the "Annunciation".
J. Gifford: *Fife*, 177, 179, 180, 184 - 5.

Dunkeld Cathedral:
The arms of Bishop Robert de Cardeny [provided 27 November 1398, died 16 January 1436] may be seen on the exterior of the nave and on his tomb within the south aisle of the nave, those of Bishop Thomas Lawder (provided 28 April 1452, died 4 November 1481) on the level of the clerestory of the nave, on the exterior of the chapter house and on the tower, where they appear in the company of those of Bishop James Levingston (provided 2 October 1475, died 28 August 1483); above the north - west window of the nave, immediately before the tower, may be seen the arms of Bishop George Brown (provided 22 October 1483, died 14 January 1514). D. Macgibbon and T. Ross: As Above, Vol. 3, 34 - 35, 38, 43, note at foot of 45, 46.

PHOTOGRAPHS
The Arms of Bishop Robert de Cardeny, above the entrance to the south aisle of the nave; see Vol. 2, Plate 82,82.

The Arms of Bishop Thomas Lawder, on the level of the clerestory; see Vol. 2, Plate 83,83.

As above, on the exterior of the chapter house; see Vol. 2, Plate 84,84.

The Arms of Bishop George Brown; see Vol. 2, Plate 85,85.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 70 - 1, 75 - 7, 77 - 8, 79 - 81.

M. E. Root: *Dunkeld Cathedral*, (H.M.S.O. Edinburgh, 1950), 13, 15, 16.

R. Brydall: "Monumental Effigies", in *Soc. Of Ant.*, 13 May 1895, 380 - 2.

Elgin Cathedral:
Above the main west doorway, the arms of Columba de Dunbar [provided 3 April 1422, died 1435] a past dean of the collegiate church of Dunbar, appear in the company of those of the See of Moray, and the royal arms of Scotland, his tomb lies within the north transept.

PHOTOGRAPHS
The Arms of Columba de Dunbar; see Vol. 2, Plate 86,86.

The Arms of the See of Moray; see Vol. 2, Plate 87,87.

The Royal Arms of Scotland; see Vol. 2, Plate 88,88.

Also within the confines of the building itself, the huge figure of Bishop John de Innes [provided 12 January 1406 - 07, died 25 April 1414] now stands sadly broken and worn, but in its day it adorned the central tower of the cathedral, and thus might be said to have dominated all beneath it.

PHOTOGRAPHS
To provide an idea of the scale of this figure in relation to the building itself, the reader's attention is drawn to a photograph of the interior of Elgin Cathedral, the figure of Bishop Innes may be seen in the right hand side of the picture within the remains of the south transept; see Vol. 2, Plate 89,89.

The figure of Bishop Innes in the south transept; see Vol. 2, Plate 90,90.

In turn this same individual may be seen to have left his arms within the chapter house and on the outside of the nearby stables.

Moving forward in time to the episcopacy of Bishop James Stewart, [provided 19 May 1460, resigned 1462, died 5 August 1466] his arms may be seen on his tomb within the south transept, - albeit that the figure therein is from the tomb of Robert of Invermarkie - those of his successor Bishop David Stewart [provided before 30 June 1462, died 1476] within the " Bishop's house " in the street to the west of the cathedral.

PHOTOGRAPH
The tomb of Bishop James Stewart, bearing his coat of arms and pastoral staff; one effigy is that of Bishop Innes of Invermarkie; see Vol. 2, Plate 91,91.

Returning to the chapter house, the arms of Bishop Andrew Stewart, [provided 7 August 1482, died 29 September 1501] may be seen on the central pillar of this structure, and on one of the many roof bosses, whilst those of the later Bishop Patrick Hepburn, [provided 14 June 1538, died at Spynie 20 June 1573] are preserved within the ground floor of the south west tower.

PHOTOGRAPH
The arms of Patrick Hepburn; see Vol. 2, Plate 92,92.

Finally, before leaving this site, the reader's attention is drawn to the " Bishop's house " once more, where on the east wall may be seen the arms of Bishop Robert Reid, [provided to the See of Orkney 20 July 1541, died at Dieppe on 6 September 1558] this individual also leaving his mark on his tower at Kinloss, and in the Priory of Beauly.

PHOTOGRAPH
The arms of Bishop Robert Reid, Elgin; see Vol. 2, Plate 93,93.

W. R. Macdonald: " Notes " in, *Soc. Of Ant.* (9 April 1900), 345 - 6, 350 - 3, 376 - 81.

H. B. Mackintosh and J. S. Richardson: *Elgin Cathedral*, 9 - 14, 22, 28.

D. Macgibbon and T. Ross: As Above, Vol. 1, 421; Vol. 2, 135, 140 - 5, 249.

J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 55 - 6. Here Richardson wrongly identifies the giant episcopal figure as Bishop Columba de Dunbar.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 157 - 8, 160 - 5, 171 - 2, 265 - 7.

R. Fawcett and D. J. Breeze: *Beauly Priory And Fortrose Cathedral*, (H.M.S.O. Edinburgh, 1989), 11, 15.

Fearn Abbey:
Within the ruined St. Michael's Aisle, the tomb and arms of Abbot Finlay McFaed.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Fearn abbey from the south east; see Vol. 2, Plate 94,94.

As Above, from the north east; see Vol. 2, Plate 95,95.

The monument of Abbot Finlay McFaed; see Vol. 2, Plate 96,96.

Arms of Finlay McFaed; see Vol. 2. Plate 97,97.

Details from monument, Acorns and foliage; see Vol. 2, Plate 98,98.

Details from monument, floral rosettes; see Vol. 2 , Plate 99,99.

D. Macgibbon and T. Ross: As Above, Vol. 2, 542.

Fortrose Cathedral:
The arms of Bishop John Bullock [provided 9 March 1417/18] on a roof boss within the south aisle. C. J. P. Cave: *Roof Bosses*, 192.

PHOTOGRAPHS
The effigy of Bishop John Fraser, in the south aisle of the nave; see Vol. 2, Plate 100,100.

The effigy of Bishop Robert Carncors, as above; see Vol. 2, Plate 101,101.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 216 - 8.

D. Macgibbon and T. Ross: As Above, Vol. 2, 399.

R. Fawcett and D. J. Breeze: *Beauly Priory and Fortrose Cathedral* , (H.M.S.O. Edinburgh, 1989), 20.

Glasgow Cathedral:
In this foundation, - dealt with in some detail below in chapters 10 and 11 - numerous symbols of ecclesiastical power are present throughout. The chapter house for example bares the arms of Bishop William Lauder [appointed on 9 July 1408, died 14 June 1425] - which also appear on the parapet of the central tower - and Bishop William Turnbull, [appointed on the 27 October 1447, died 3 September 1454?] whilst those of Lauder's successor Bishop John Cameron [provided on the 22 April 1426, died 24 December 1446] accompany the royal arms of Scotland in the pillar in the vestry. Moving forward in time, the arms of Archbishop Robert Blackadder [translated from Aberdeen to Glasgow on the 19 March 1482/3, died 28 July 1508] may be found in both the aisle which carries his name, on the exterior of this structure, and on the altar platforms attached to the choir screen.

PHOTOGRAPHS
The arms of Bishop William de Bondington (modern); see Vol. 2, Plate 102,102.

The arms of Bishop William Lauder (modern); see Vol. 2, Plate 103,103.

As above; see Vol. 2, Plate 104,104.

The arms of Bishop William Turnbull; see Vol. 2, Plate 105,105.

The arms of Bishop Robert Blackadder; see Vol. 2, Plate 106,106.

As above; see Vol. 2, Plate 107,107.

As above, within the Blackadder aisle; see Vol. 2, Plate 108,108.

As above; see Vol. 2, Plate 109,109.

As above; see Vol. 2, Plate 110,110.

As above; see Vol. 2, Plate 111,111 .

In the lower church, the reader's attention is drawn to the armorial panel which once adorned the bishop's castle; here the arms of Archbishop Gavin Dunbar [provided by Pope Clement VII, 8 July 1524, elected earlier in 1523, died 30 April 1547] appear in the company of those of James Houston, subdean of Glasgow, and those of James V his ex - pupil.

Here it should be noted that this castle once also bore the proud arms of Archbishop James Beaton [translated from Whithorn to Glasgow on 19 January 1508 - 09, translated to St. Andrews 10 October 1522] and the above mentioned Bishop John Cameron, a past Provost of Lincluden collegiate church. See for example: D. Macgibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 2, 161 - 162, 192 - 198, 200.

R. Fawcett: "Glasgow Cathedral", in, E. Williamson, A. Riches, and Malcolm Higgs (eds.): *Glasgow*, 110, 113, 117 - 19, 126, 131.

Archbishop Eyre: "The Old Arrangements Of The Glasgow Cathedral", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.* (1889), N. S. Vol. 1., 481.

Archbishop Eyre: "The Inscription In The Chapter-House Of Glasgow Cathedral", in, As Above,(1891), N. S. Vol. 2, 156 - 7.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 318 - 9; 319 - 22; 322 - 4; 331 - 7; 337 - 43; 343 - 9.

J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 38.

J. Durkan: *Glasgow Cathedral*, 2.

J. Durkan: "The Great Fire At Glasgow Cathedral", in, *I.R.*, Vol. 26, (1975), 90.

Holyrood Abbey:
The suggestion has been made that here the abbey possesses a portrait in stone of the Abbot Robert Stuart, " a natural son of James V. " J. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver* 41.

Jedburgh Abbey:
Here, the arms of Abbot John Hall [1478/84] may be seen on " the south east pier of the crossing ", and a roof boss in the " south choir chapel ", whilst those of Abbot Thomas Cranston [1484/88] are carved on the " south - west pier of the crossing " and on its partner to the north - west; his initials also mark the south arch of the crossing. On the central buttress of the south choir chapel, what is thought to be the arms of Bishop William Turnbull of Glasgow, whilst on the tower above the crossing the initials and arms of Abbot Robert Blackadder, later Archbishop of Glasgow. D. Macgibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 1, p. 414.

C. J. Tabraham and D. J. Breeze: *Jedburgh Abbey*. (H.M.S.O. Edinburgh, 1987), 13.

J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 52, 56.

Kinloss Abbey:
The arms of Abbot Robert Reid over the doorway of the abbot's tower at Kinloss. W. R. Macdonald: "Notes", in *Soc. Of Ant.*, (9 April 1900), 403.

D. Macgibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 1, 416.

Lincluden Collegiate Church:
The arms of Provost John Halyburton - amongst many others - on the wall of the choir. D. Macgibbon and T. Ross: As Above, Vol. 2, 391.

J. S. Richardson: As Above, 55.

Melrose Abbey:
Here the arms of Abbot Andrew Hunter [1444/1471] and William Turnbull [1503/1507] may still be seen in the extensive ruins of this abbey. Those of the former remain on a roof boss in the fourth of the eight small chapels which lead off from the south aisle of the nave, on another roof boss in the south transept, and on the fourth buttress on the south side of the nave. Those of the latter for their part appear on a piscina in the third of the above mentioned eight chapels, and in the company of those of James IV on a buttress - again - on the exterior wall of the south aisle.

PHOTOGRAPHS
The arms of Abbot Andrew Hunter; see Vol. 2, Plate 112,112.

The arms of Abbot William Turnbull; see Vol. 2, Plate 113,113.

J. S. Richardson, M. Wood and C. J. Tabraham: *Melrose Abbey*, 7 - 10, 15, 17.

D. Macgibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 2, 366, 368, 373 - 4.

J. S. Richardson: As Above, 52.

Paisley Abbey:
The arms of Robert Shaw, Abbot of Paisley, with angelic supporters may still be seen in their original form, and in the modern replicas that adorn the tower.
For the former; see Vol. 2, Plate 114,114.

For the latter; see Vol. 2, Plate 115,115.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 168-9.

Pluscarden Priory:
In the " Dunbar Vestry ", on the central roof boss, the arms of its builder, Prior Alexander Dunbar [1533/1560]. W. R. Macdonald: "Notes", in, *Soc. Of Ant.* (9th. April, 1900), 409.

D. Macgibbon and T. Ross: As Above, 156.

S. R. MacPhail: *History Of The Religious House Of Pluscarden*, 160 - 1.

St. Andrews Cathedral:

PHOTOGRAPH
St. Andrews Cathedral, remnant of episcopal tomb; see Vol. 2, Plate 116,116.

That such evidence as presented above was by no means confined to the castles and ecclesiastical buildings which these individuals possessed, may be seen for example in the appearance of the arms of Bishop Gavin Dunbar on the old bridge spanning the river Dee, and those of Archbishop James Beaton on the " Dairsie Bridge ", and the " Guardbridge " in Fife. J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 57.

J. Gifford: *Fife*, 169, 238.

36.) G. Brereton (ed.): *Froissart: Chronicles* , (London, 1987), 344.

J. Bain (ed.): *Cal. of Doc.*, Vol. 2, 26, 104, 109, 111, 121, 192, 215, 330, 350, 479 - 80, 487 - 88, 525.

F. Palgrave (ed.): *Documents And Records Illustrating The History Of Scotland* , 9 (London, 1837), 323 - 5.

E. L. G. Stones: *Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174-1328*, (London, 1965), 2, 25, 43.

J. Jamieson (ed.): *The Bruce, Or, The Metrical History Of Robert I, King Of Scots, By Master John Barbour, Archdeacon Of Aberdeen* , (Edinburgh, 1820), see Book 12, 350 - 1, l. 323 - 328,
" Ner a thowsand deyt thar. Off tham yet thre hundyr war preystis, that deyt in the chass, that for that bargane callit wass " The Chaptur Of Mytoune ", for thar slayn sa mony prestis war.... ".

M. Ash: " William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrew, 1297-1328 ", in, G. W. S. Barrow (ed.): *The Scottish Tradition, Essays In Honour Of Ronald Gordon Cant* , (Edinburgh, London, 1974), 44 - 55.

R. Hill: " An English Archbishop And The Scottish War Of Independence ", in, *I.R.* Vol. 22, (1971), 59, states, the Battle of Mytoun was notable for the large " number of priests and clerks, among whom were divers religious, both possessioners and mendicants.... " who were present.

W. Maitland: *History*, Vol. 1, 492, refers to the engagement as the " White battle ", and again mentions the great number of churchmen who took part.

37.) A. M. Stewart (ed.): *The Complaynt* , 128 - 9, fol. 129r - 129v.

Reg. Pr. Council, Vol. 1, 1545 - 69, 77

Acts: Public Affairs, 1501 - 1554, 198, 14 March 1523 - 24.

J. Wilkie: *The Benedictine Monasteries Of Northern Fife* , 191 - 2.

38.) D. McKay: " Parish Life In Scotland, 1500-1560 ", in, D. McRoberts (ed.): *Essays* , 96 - 7.

D. Patrick: *Statutes* , 70, note no. 2.

Chapter Four

Religious Calling = Financial Security?

"For throw thir playis and thir promotioun, Mair for denners nor for devotioun, Sir Symonie hes maid with them ane band, The gould of weicht thay leid out of the land...."

[R. Lyall (ed.): *Lindsay, The Three Estates*, 103 l. 2858 - 2861.]

Introduction

In the above three chapters it has been demonstrated that the majority of the religious houses of the period in question - c.1450 to 1560 - were headed by men who also served the Church as members of the episcopate. Such men it is true were often ex - abbots, priors or - less frequently - members of a collegiate church, possessing therefore a background in two of the groups who form the focus of the present study. Equally however it was - as seen above - by no means unknown for someone with no such background to find themselves in charge of one of the monastic houses of the day, both the former and the latter individuals inextricably bound to these foundations through their additional titles of commendator. In attempting to determine how the general public - who enjoyed no direct contact with these individuals - could have determined the truth of then contemporary criticism of such men, the high profile lives of such members of the episcopate may be said to have provided the most extreme examples for evaluation. To provide an even clearer picture of the character of such individuals, additional material has been included which relates to the careers of men who possessed no such background in the regular Orders, or in the service of the collegiate churches, for - as stated above - they help to show the "qualities" sought by the crown in thus recruiting to the ranks of its most able servants. That such servants were well rewarded with positions of the utmost power within the country was demonstrated above, but the office of head of a monastic community brought with it more immediate benefits still. In terms of the direct income of the religious houses of the day, the table used in the introduction to identify the houses under examination has used to provide examples of the estimated income of certain houses as they stood at the time of the Reformation; again the details have been taken from I. B. Cowan and D. E. Easson's *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland*, the relevant references may be

located in note no. 6, chapter 1. It should be borne in mind that the figures listed are conservative ones and in some instances may have been considerably higher.

RELIGIOUS ORDER, NAME OF HOUSE, INCOME

Augustinian Order

Blantyre	£131	Loch Leven [Portmoak]	£250
Cambuskenneth	£3, 148	Canonbie	Income included in entry for Jedburgh.
Monymusk	£40	Holyrood	£5, 600
Inchaffray	£667	Restenneth	Income included in entry for Jedburgh.
Inchcolm	£1, 240	St. Andrews	£12, 500
Jedburgh	£2, 480	Scone	£5, 350

Trinitarian [Under Augustinian]

Aberdeen	£54	Scotlandwell	£280

Benedictine

Coldingham	£2, 600	Pluscarden	£3, 570
Dunfermline	£9, 630	Urquhart	United to Pluscarden 1453/4.

Carthusian

Perth	£1, 680

Cistercian

Balmerino	£1, 773	Coupar Angus	£5, 590
Culross	£1, 600	Deer	£2, 300
Dundrennan	£500	Glenluce	£667
Kinloss	£3, 480	[Beauly]	[£674]
Melrose	£5, 180	Newbattle	£11, 500
Sweetheart	£690		

Clunaic

Crossraguel	£1, 680	Paisley	£6, 100

Premonstratensian

Dryburgh	£2, 210	Fearn	£1, 010
Holywood	£880	Soulseat	£ 810
Whithorn	£2, 540		

Tironensian

Arbroath	£10, 924	Fogo	Income claimed not to exceed £7 in 1537.
Fyvie	Income not to exceed £12 in 1450/1.	Kelso	£4, 830
Kilwinning	£2, 560	Lesmahagow	Income to have exceeded £1,200 in 1561.
Lindores	£4, 790		

Convents

Cistercian

Coldstream	£503	Eccles	£650
Elcho	£193	Haddington	£2, 710
Manuel	£284	North Berwick	£1, 880
St. Bothans	£380		

Dominican Nuns

Edinburgh, Sciennes.	£245

Franciscan

Dundee	£2[?]

In light of the above information, it might be possible to suggest that the criticism examined so far could be given added force, if the emphasis on gaining possession of a religious house were such as to suggest that financial considerations were the only motivating factors at work. In this chapter therefore, it is proposed to begin by trying to form a picture of the extent to which it might be said that "gould and silver" did indeed go to Rome - was it as common an occurrence as suggested above? - thereafter to analyse the motivation of those so involved - was it greed? - ultimately to try and determine through individual behavioural examples how all of these factors - when they are combined - might have been perceived by those who were not directly involved in what the poet Lindsay so obviously perceived as a widespread trade.

In terms of substantiating the opening claim, it is perhaps advisable to begin by examining the evidence as represented in the legislative acts of the day, since if the problem were as great as suggested, it would of necessity be of the utmost concern to any ruler. Here, the problem could be seen to have been a long standing one, for as early as the thirteenth century, Bishop David Bernham of St. Andrews would seem to have had just this issue in mind when he stated that:

> "No monk or nun or other religious person [might] be received [into religion] for a stipulated sum...."

Moving closer to the period under study, it would seem that parliament equally endorsed the fears of such observers as the bishop and Lindsay above, for as early as the reign of James I concern had been voiced over the financial drain arising from the pursuit and purchase of benefices at Rome. This unsatisfactory situation was in no small part the result of the papacy of Martin V who established the papal right to place candidates of his choice in control of any abbacy or prelacy where the yearly income exceeded two - hundred gold florins. As a result, increasing numbers of candidates sought to pursue often disputed rights to benefices at Rome, or failing this to secure a pension from the disputed office; in effect to be bought off.

The cost involved in such action was in the event compounded by yet additional financial demands of the papacy, namely that for admission to a bishopric the successful candidate was forced to pay the common services of the see in question - that is a sum equivalent to one third of the income of the See in question - and that as an abbot, commendator, prior or head of a college most of the money to be thus raised would have come from the house which the "applicant" controlled; further, as the sums involved were considerable, there was an undoubted temptation to either maintain possession of past foundations as a commendator, or seek new or additional religious houses after elevation to the episcopate - again as a commendator - to help meet the

costs incurred. Such a course of action was fraught with danger itself however, for yet additional funds had to be raised in turn to secure these foundations themselves. For less lucrative posts, the individual still had to meet a demand known as the first fruits - a sum equivalent to half of the income of the position in question in the first year of the individual's holding office. Legislation was introduced therefore as early as the reign of James I to stem what was seen by the crown as a wholly unacceptable drain on the country's reserves; in his first parliament of 1424 for example, James forbid any religious or their agents to leave the country without his express permission, further, that henceforth no - one would be allowed to buy themselves a share in the income of any benefice, and that anyone who had already done so was not to be allowed to enjoy his ill - gotten gains. Finally, to doubtless try and make recourse to Rome a prohibitively expensive practice, parliament announced that a levy of three shillings and four pence would be payable for every one pound of gold or silver which anyone proposed to take outwith Scotland. Further restrictions followed, for in the years 1426, 1427 and 1428 these measures were not only reinforced but given additional strength through added restrictions which made churchmen declare their intentions in travelling abroad, seek the currency required for their journey whilst in Scotland, and agree that they would not indulge in "barratry" during their permitted absence. [1] Subsequent rulers took similar measures to both limit the money being collected by Rome, and increase the power of the crown with regards to appointing its own candidates to positions of authority within the Church in Scotland. Thus - for example - in the reign of James III the crown used the concession granted to Bishop Kennedy of St. Andrews by Pope Martin V - that the former be allowed to sanction the appointment of heads of houses within his diocese - to limit papal involvement in the process of provision to the monastic headship of those houses falling within the diocese of St. Andrews - thereby within the foremost See in the land - by legislating - in 1469 - that no - one was to buy any benefice at Rome which could be awarded by the Church in Scotland itself. [2]

The parliament of May 1471 further strengthened the king's hand, for it not only reinforced the crown's prohibitions on the export of coin from the country, it enabled parliament to effectively countermand any unpopular appointments made by the papacy. When in the following year therefore, the Bishopric of St. Andrews was raised to Metropolitan status - thus forcing the other bishops within the realm into a subordinate role - the king was quick to capitalise on what he claimed was a blatant disregard for his wishes. In his subsequent removal of the unfortunate appointee - Patrick Graham, a man who acquired the Commendatorship of the Abbeys of Paisley and Arbroath along with the Priory of Pittenweem and the provision of his "own" man, William Scheves, therefore James III gained a valuable lever to use against the papacy, the culmination of which - arguably - was the Indult of 1487. [3] Even still however the practice continued, for in 1525 for

example, parliament once again felt the need to repeat that all the earlier prohibitions on the purchase of benefices should be observed; clear proof that even at this late stage in time they were still being ignored. [4]

Further evidence to suggest that the views expressed in the opening heading of this chapter were indeed accurate, may be derived in an examination of the sums of money which some of the leading churchmen of the day were willing to part with in order to secure office. In turning back to the unpopular first Archbishop of St. Andrews, Patrick Graham for example, it emerges that on 29 November 1465, this individual had empowered his agent to offer the Curia the crippling sum of 3, 300 gold florins to secure his hold on this See, and doubtless facilitate his later acquisition of the Commendatorship of Paisley Abbey, Arbroath Abbey, and the Priory of Pittenweem; arguably, it was his ultimate inability to pay the debt he so incurred which so heavily contributed to his breakdown. Further information with regards to this prize may be gleaned from the later career of James Beaton - Commendator of the Abbeys of Arbroath, Dunfermline and Kilwinning - for on his translation from the See of Glasgow to St. Andrews on 10 October 1522, he too was forced to foot a bill of 3, 300 florins. In moving North to the See of Moray, the career of Andrew Forman provides an insight into the sums of money being demanded; on the 15 December 1501 for example, Forman's agent in Rome paid over the sum of 1, 200 florins to secure his hold on the See. His expenditure was not over yet however, for on 25 September 1511, he paid a further sixty - six and two - thirds florins to gain control of Kelso Abbey; thereafter, on being provided to the See of Bourges - on 15 July 1513 - he paid the sum of 1, 200 florins to retain his hold on the See of Moray, 60 florins to ensure a similar hold on Kelso Abbey and 150 florins to maintain possession of the Abbey of Dryburgh. A similarly impressive outlay may be witnessed in the later episcopacy of Robert Shaw - the ex - abbot of Paisley - for his agent in Rome - John Thornton, "canon of Moray" - paid the curia the sum of 1, 200 gold florins on 5 July 1525 to secure the See in question for his master. In turn, Shaw's successor, Alexander Stewart of Pitcairn - already Commendator of Inchaffray and Scone - made use of the same proctor on the 29 September 1529 when he paid Rome 1, 200 gold florins for possession of the See of Moray, plus a further 210 florins to maintain his hold on the Abbey of Scone, and 100 florins for papal agreement that he retain Inchaffray Abbey. Numerous other examples, taken from a variety of ecclesiastical careers throughout the country, tend to support the idea of large sums of money changing hands, of deals being struck to ensure a favourable outcome in the pursuit of church office.

David Arnot for instance - ex - provost of Bothwell collegiate church, ex - Abbot of Cambuskenneth Abbey - apparently not yet satisfied with the title of Bishop of Whithorn and of the collegiate Chapel Royal, paid the sum of 50 florins to secure the additional honour of becoming the

Commendator of the Abbey of Tongland on 7 May 1510. Similarly, although George Hepburn secured the Bishopric of the Isles on the 10 February 1510 - 11, he too saw fit to pay "660 florins for Sodor, 600 florins for the Abbey of Arbroath, and 41 [and] two - third florins for that of Iona" on 23 March same year. On 18 of September 1524, the name of John Thornton appeared again; on this occasion he was acting on behalf of Gavin Dunbar, paying the sum of 2, 500 gold florins to the papacy to facilitate the latter's promotion to the Archbishopric of Glasgow. Two years later, - on the 17 July 1526 - Franciscus Butrius, merchant of Florence, appeared in the role of agent for George Crichton - the ex - Abbot of Holyrood & the bill on this occasion 450 gold florins, the prize was the See of Dunkeld. Moving forward in time again, it is equally relevant to note that the provision of Robert Carncors to the Bishopric of Ross on 14 April 1539, was followed by a payment of 600 florins to the papacy on 28 April 1539, and that Carncors subsequently gained a pension of 500 merks from his old Abbey of Holyrood and the Commendatorship of Fearn; similarly, the provision of Robert Reid to the See of Orkney on 20 July 1541, saw his agent in Rome, James Salmond, deliver 200 florins into the papal coffers on 3 September of the same year, a factor which perhaps explains his being allowed to retain all his spiritual incomes, amongst which featured the Abbey of Kinloss and the Priory of Beauly.

That such expenditure was undertaken by individuals beneath abbatial rank may be seen from the example of Patrick Panter who parted with 400 florins to secure the Abbey of Cambuskenneth in 1513; that such transactions could be long, tortuous and expensive undertakings may in turn be proved by the case of Alexander Brady, monk of Cupar, and his efforts to secure the Abbey of Dundrennan. In a letter to Rome dated 22 March 1441, it transpired that despite "having transmitted much money for the apostolic letters" required for this promotion, he "learnt later that the said letters had not been expidited", this despite the fact that "he had personally visited the present Curia with many perils, labours and expenses and impetrated anent a like provision from the pope...." Since Alexander had "intromitted in the rule of the said monastery before the letters were made out [he suspected] that the impetration [might] be deemed surreptitious". Therefore, the unfortunate Alexander was now asking the Curia - again - to not only send the aforementioned apostolic letters, but to be "absolved" from "excommunication" and any other censure which he might have unwittingly incurred. [5] The claim that large amounts of money were being invested to secure office within the Church therefore, might be said to have been well founded, but what of the second of the above interrelated questions, concerning the factors which so motivated these individuals, that they were apparently willing to part with such sums of money? Here, it may be recalled that in chapter 1 of this thesis, it was shown that promotion to high office within the Church as a rule carried promotion to equally high office in the lay estate, this in turn bringing such social

status - as seen in chapter 2 - with regards to - for example - possession of grand domestic residences, and - as seen in chapter 3 - impressive personal entourages, the benefits stretching even to cover their deaths in the abiding images of themselves which they left in the funerary monuments scattered across Scotland. The issue under examination here however is the financial, and it is to this subject which this analysis will now return.

In terms of direct income from the religious houses of the day, the table used in the introduction to estimate the income of the houses under examination, may be employed to achieve a rough idea of the substantial wealth which the many pluralists of the day must have enjoyed. At this point however, it should be noted that the revenue which an individual derived from the control of such a house, was not merely dependent upon such ecclesiastically related factors as the appropriation of the income of parish churches and the pious generosity of personal benefactors - both issues which will be examined in greater depth in chapter 7 below with regards to the religious and collegiate foundations of the period - although these were undoubtedly important sources of financial support; it has been estimated for example, that Paisley Abbey alone could draw on the income of some thirty parish churches to ensure its continued well - being. [6]

In terms of financial rewards, the career of David Beaton - who held the Abbey of Arbroath amongst his other prestigious ecclesiastic titles - provides a good illustration of the rewards on offer; on 3 January 1529 for example, Beaton was awarded the office of Keeper of the Privy Seal, an occupation which carried significant material returns for - as seen above in chapter 1 - this seal was needed to endorse a wide variety of documents ranging from letters of protection to grants of crown land. Unless this boon was granted "gratis", the recipient had to pay one fee to the king's treasury, and another to the keeper of the Privy Seal himself; thus, when Beaton received this office, he was assured of a regular income over and above anything which he received from his various religious mantles. [7] Money was also forthcoming from the position of trust accorded to many of these individuals - presumably on account of their high Church office - which made them wealthy land - magnates in their own right. On 15 August 1532 for example, the *Register of the Privy Seal* recorded how, at this time, one "Johne Wardlaw of Torry [was] presentlie by himself, nocht havand power nor witt to gyde himself, bot furios and furth of his mind....", the king therefore appointed several "guardians" to look after "his persoun, landis and gudis...." Amongst those so named? "David, Abbot of Arbroith," and "George, Abbot of Dunfermling...." A similar honour had earlier been awarded to David's uncle, for on 4 February 1505/6, the same *Register* recorded a letter of

"Bailzery...., maid to James, Abbot of Dunfermling, thesaurar,.... and James Redheuch, comptrollar, makand thaim conjunctly and severally, baillies of the landis and lordschip of Dirltoun, with tennandis.... for all tyme thai sall be in ward."

This privilege in turn should be considered in association with a further reference to the same individual, for on 22 February 1505/6 for instance, "A Commission" was made to, amongst others:

"William Bischop [of] Abirdene.... James, Abbot of Dunfermling, thesaurar, Henry, Abbot of Jedbugh, Archibald erle of Ergill, James Redheuch, comptrollar, M. Gawane Dunbar, archdene of Sanctandris.... gevand thaim power to sett al and sundri the landis and stedingis within the lordschip of Ettrik forest pertenand to the king...."

Moving on from the Beaton dynasty, it appears that grants such as these were fairly commonplace, John Hepburn, the Prior of St. Andrews for instance received:

"A letter of Tak.... of al and hale the landis of the barony of Auchinlek, with the hous of the sammyn, liand in the schirefdome of Are; the half landis of the baronyis of Glenbervy and the hous of the sammyn, and of Barres, liand in the schirefdome of Kincardin; and the half landis of the barony of Kemnay, and the half landis of Arbady and Inschmarloch, liand in the schirefdome of Abirdene; - togidder with the tennand and tennandrys, and all sindri malis, proffitis and dewiteiz and pertentis quhatsumever, or ony maner of way may pertene to the landis above writin...."

David Arnot, as Abbot of Cambuskenneth, received a joint share in the gift of the lands of one John Cunningham, and the right to the marriage of his son Robert; this perk followed in turn by his receiving "the gift of the marriage of David Bruce, nephew and heir to David Bruce of Clackmannan...."

Andrew Stewart, Bishop of Caithness and Commemdator of Kelso and Fearn, for his part was given amongst other honours:

"the gift of the ward of ane marks worth of land of ald extent of the Tulloch, liand within the lordschip of Ross.... with all malis and proffittis...."

along with the later gift of:

> "the fischingis of the watter of Conane and all uther fischingis pertenyn to the king within the lorsdchippis of Ross and Ardmannach."

Gavin Dunbar, as the archdeacon of St. Andrews, received a grant of all of the king's lands in Tarbert within the Earldom of Ross with the right to grant tenancies on this land, whilst James Ogilvy, the parson of Kinkell and Commendator of Dryburgh, received the "gyft of the marriage of Robert Edzare...." and the right to manage his lands "; this along with a later grant which gave him power over the lands of his late brother "Sir William Ogilvy of Stratherne, knight" and the marriage of his son and heir. [8]

Other sources of income which accrued to these individuals, and which had their origins outwith a spiritual remit, were sometimes of a more "industrial" nature. In the *Accounts for the Masters of Works* for example, there is ample evidence that at Culross, the abbey was located at the heart of a thriving port. Mention is made for instance of the payment of wages to men employed in the "fraucht" of "stanis fra Culrois to Leyth", a reference which also proves the existence of a profitable local quarry. Other references still talk of the use of "Craer", small ships, for carrying the produce of this quarry, for example "aistlaris" - ashlar - and of the "careage of the samyn...." from the quarry to the awaiting ships. Other entries record the payment of the boatmen involved in this carriage, whilst a personal touch is added in the mention of the "Masoun of Culross", one Thomas Mason, for his skill in dressing and "resavyng stanis". The fortunes of Culross were not merely confined to the quarrying, cutting and transport of stone however, for in 1540 Robert Colville - brother of William Colville the Commendator of Culross - was given permission to construct a salt pan, and mine for coal.

Other instances of abbeys drawing income from such enterprises could be seen for example in Dunfermline Abbey's feuing of land to William Douglas of Lochleven, - who used it for mining coal at Kelty, - and the Abbey of Kilwinning which derived money from a grant of land - by the Commendator of the Abbey, Alexander Hamilton to Thomas Nevin and his wife Elizabeth Crawford - on which mines were being worked. Similar evidence of an industrial focus of activity can be seen at Lindores, where there is considerable evidence that this site acted as a vital link in the chain of supply which fed the needs of the craftsmen and construction workers engaged at Falkland Palace.

Still further avenues of investigation into the non - spiritual activity and incomes of the religious of the day open up in the work of the poet William Dunbar, through his cutting observations

on the career of the "Abbot" of Tungland, John Damian. In *Ane Ballat Of The Fenyeit Freir Of Tungland....* and *Lucina Schynning In The Silence Of The Night*, Dunbar, in condemning Damian as a fraud, liar, fugitive and murderer, reveals that one means which this individual employed to maintain favour with James IV was his claim that he could change base metals into gold. It was perhaps as a means of attempting to obtain a supply of this precious metal from more conventional sources therefore, which also prompted his foray into working the mines of "Crawford Moor". However incredible the activities of this individual may have appeared, the idea of an abbey becoming directly involved in the production of money is not in the least far fetched, for within the confines of the monastery of Crossragruel, the discovery of large numbers of coins and copper blanks which had yet to be struck - dated to the latter half of the fifteenth century - provided strong evidence that a moneyer's workshop once flourished in tandem with the spiritual services offered by the monks.[9]

In turning to the third question raised above, as to how the above factors manifested themselves in the behaviour of the individuals concerned, the poet William Dunbar provides an able insight into the mind of the benefice hunter. In a piece entitled *Schir, Yit Remembir As Of Befoir*, for example, Dunbar addressed his royal master James IV with the plea that he should be provided with a cure to maintain him in his old age, a theme to which he oft returned in tones which suggest that the competition for such was indeed a bitter affair. In another of his works therefore - *Of The Warld's Instabilitie* - he sourly remarked:

> "I knaw nocht how the Kirk is gydit, But beneficis ar nocht leill devydit; Sum men hes sewin, and nocht ane; Quhilk to considder is ane pane".

This pressure on the crown he maintained in numerous other pieces such as Dunbar's *Complaint...*, *The Petition Of The Gray Horse, Auld Dunbar* and *To The King, That He War Johne Thomosunis Man* in which he pointedly referred to the Queen as his "advocat, bayth fair and sweit." Arguably however, his most damning comments come in a series of pieces entitled In *Asking Sowld Discretioun Be, Of Discretioun In Geving* and *Of Discretioun In Taking*. In the first of these works, Dunbar says of himself that he "schames to ask" for such preferential treatment; presumably however he was more honest in his comments which followed - in which it would seem he described his own misfortunes in the general scrabble for ecclesiastic livings - when he talked of those who received a positive response to such pleas through little in the way of meritorious effort, whilst others - presumably himself included - after "grit labour" were still refused. Doubtless therefore the poet was reflecting the situation as he then experienced it.

In *Of Discretioun In Geving*, he referred to those who received power and prestige in addition to that which they already possessed, so that they could in turn aid the giver; a reference here arguably to such individuals as identified above whose careers in the Church were matched by their success in lay, governmental offices, and who owed their positions more to who they knew as opposed to what they knew. Later in the same piece he returned to the central notion of his numerous requests for benefices, the equation of Church office with financial security, referring to his own situation again, and the numerous appeals for such preferment which he had delivered to the royal court over the years. The result therefore in the eyes of Dunbar, of such ill judged refusals and flawed appointments was a situation whereby:

> "Sum givis parrochynnis ful wyd, Kirkis of Sanct Barnard and St. Bryde, To teiche, to rewill and to ouirsie, That he na wit hes thame to gyd:...."

Thus summarising the defects which he perceived he repeated:

> "In geving sould discretioun be".

Thus Dunbar may be said to paint a gloomy picture indeed of what was seemingly a widespread problem, whereby the unqualified were admitted to benefices, often increasing the income of an already wealthy individual. Admission to the Church therefore was seen not as a calling to serve God or the spiritual needs of men, rather it was a heated, undignified and sometimes fiercely contested struggle to ensure financial security by claiming a right to a share in the Church's undoubted wealth. Indeed, as Dunbar was quick to point out - in the third of the above mentioned works - in some cases "clerkis" took "benificis with brawlis". [10]

In so describing contemporary religious behaviour, Dunbar provides a good point from which to determine a response to the third of the three questions levelled at the beginning of this chapter, that is how such heated competition for financial security within the Church must have appeared to those who witnessed it; were the contests for secure and lucrative livings as unseemly and as common as Dunbar would suggest, or was he merely giving vent to his own obviously personal disappointments?

One such case which would tend to support Dunbar's observations, was that of the plight of "Sir Thomas Boswald, vicar perpetual of Kirkenbreth". This individual claimed to have been "compelled by David, Abbot of Corsrguell, to promise a certain annual pension of six merks of money to [a] John Boswald, to be uplifted from his said vicarage...." thus he subsequently tried to

renege on the agreement because it had been extorted through his "fear", and his desire "to avoid greater inconveniences". Details of the form which such "inconveniences" could take may in turn be gleaned from another case in which the Trinitarian house of Failfurd was apparently stormed by a group of armed men. Here the minister of the house, William Houston complained that a certain Christopher Houston had falsely claimed the office of "Provincial of the Order of the Holy Trinity in the kingdom of Scotland", and that whilst acting under this assumed title had not only excommunicated the aforementioned William, but had, in the company of "forty persons", invaded the "house of Failfurd.... with arms, namely balistas, bows, hand mangonels and other offensive weapons....": thus the raiders "broke the gates and doors at the persuasion of the said friar...."

An explanation of sorts may be provided here from the fact that some four years earlier - 1528 - William Houston had arranged that "his coadjutor and future successor" should be his "his nephew", none other than friar Christopher Houston. It might be suggested therefore that having waited patiently for some years for his uncle to step down, Christopher had grown impatient and had decided to take matters into his own hands.

In chapter 1 it might be remembered that in the pursuit of Torphichen Preceptory no less than four candidates - George Dundas, Patrick Panter, James Cortesius and Alexander Stewart - were engaged in a protracted contest for this prestigious award, and upon more detailed examination this situation would appear to have been far from unique. Alexander Stewart for example, having failed in his bid for Torphichen, now turned his energies to securing the Priory of Whithorn; here again it is possible to gain an insight into the complex bargaining which in effect tarnished the image of the Church in its higher echelons. On 9 December 1518, following a lengthy dispute over the above office, Pope Leo X wrote to the governor Albany in an attempt to reconcile the combatants involved in this dispute; the governor's brother Alexander, and Silvius Passarinus, the Cardinal of Cortona. In this, a reply to earlier requests by Albany, the Pope revealed yet another aspect of Stewart's ambition, for he referred to "Albany's letters desiring the Commenda of Scone.... for Alexander" and his wish that his brother be allowed in addition to retain a second house. In what were perhaps despairing tones therefore, the pope continued thus:

> "Though this conflicted with the decree of the Lateran Council, and Alexander was ineligible by persistent neglect of censures,.... particularly by participation in warfare, to remove any ground for contumacy, and despite the knowledge that he has no right to Whithorn, the pope has in consistory agreed Scone vacant, and in the hope that Alexander will forthwith yield possession of the priory of Whithorn to Cortona with restitution of fruits he gives the Commenda of Scone with the

renege on the agreement because it had been extorted through his "fear", and his desire "to avoid greater inconveniences". Details of the form which such "inconveniences" could take may in turn be gleaned from another case in which the Trinitarian house of Failfurd was apparently stormed by a group of armed men. Here the minister of the house, William Houston complained that a certain Christopher Houston had falsely claimed the office of "Provincial of the Order of the Holy Trinity in the kingdom of Scotland", and that whilst acting under this assumed title had not only excommunicated the aforementioned William, but had, in the company of "forty persons", invaded the "house of Failfurd.... with arms, namely balistas, bows, hand mangonels and other offensive weapons....": thus the raiders "broke the gates and doors at the persuasion of the said friar...."

An explanation of sorts may be provided here from the fact that some four years earlier - 1528 - William Houston had arranged that "his coadjutor and future successor" should be his "his nephew", none other than friar Christopher Houston. It might be suggested therefore that having waited patiently for some years for his uncle to step down, Christopher had grown impatient and had decided to take matters into his own hands.

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desired retention, and dispensation for inhability and in the matter of promotion to all holy orders."

To try and ensure Alexander's co-operation on this occasion, Leo "ordered St. Eusebius, cardinal protector of Scotland, to retain the Cedula, the commenda to be void if Alexander [did] not yield". The Duke for his part thanked the pope for the grant of Scone for his brother, but placed the blame for the Whithorn controversy squarely on the shoulders of the Cardinal of Cortona, for his opposition to the nomination of Stewart by the Scottish crown and Council; further, in an act little short of extortion, he turned the tables on the papal judgement by saying that when his brother had the "Bulls of Scone, he [would] certainly demit Whithorn", and that he - Albany - would do all he could for the Cardinal, "if", he yielded and relaxed "the censures on Alexander". Further negotiations followed between the Crown and the papacy, the Cardinal of Cartona himself explaining his position in a revealing letter dated 12 August 1520. Here the Cardinal proved himself equally adept at securing his own needs in the long running dispute over Whithorn.

Although the letter is phrased so as to appear deferential, when stripped of this superficial gloss, the Cardinal was in effect making a series of blunt demands. Firstly, he informed the Duke that "he did not propose to renounce the priory without a suitable recompense in Italy, or at least without a pension equivalent to the fruits, which he [knew] to exceed a thousand ducats after deduction of all charges, satisfaction for fruits levied by the Duke's brother Alexander, and surety in Rome for these obligations". He continued by informing the Duke of his decision to accept "a pension of 250 ducats under a bond.... by Gavin Dunbar [the eventual recipient of this office] and four prelates," subject to other conditions about which Albany would be informed. Drawing to a close the Cardinal hinted that matters would run more smoothly if the Duke would agree to some day "procure for him through his influence with Francis a much more valuable benefice than the priory...." for such a prize he said could be found "very easily.... in Lombardy"; finally, he asked the Duke if he "would try to have two years pension paid down now". Perhaps sensing that his cause was destined eventually to fail, the Cardinal thereafter proposed a further "compromise" which again involved Albany's agreeing to a series of ill concealed demands. Thus he informed the Governor that since he understood that "the annual fruits" were "above one thousand pieces of gold...." he was "prepared to renounce the priory to Alexander Stewart.... for a pension of 500 ducats of gold and arrears of fruits, with a reservation from Francis I at Albany's request of the first vacant benefice or benefices in the state of Milan to the value of a thousand ducats of gold, with priority to any others having reservations in Milan from Francis". As always however, the Cardinal

was careful not to entirely limit himself to the pursuit of only one goal, thus he closed by saying that if
the above proposals were not to the Duke's liking, then the Cardinal would be prepared to "accept new benefices in Milan to the pension value, free of expenses." That Passarinus did indeed consider all of the options open to him may be seen in his negotiations with Gavin Dunbar over the same office. Here the Cardinal proposed that he would allow Dunbar to have possession of the priory as long as it did not effect his - above mentioned - claims on Alexander Stewart, and providing that "Dunbar and his successors...." agreed to pay him a pension of "two hundred ducats of gold.... free of teinds and charges, payable in Rome at the beginning of each year, with right of regress after the payment [was] one month in arrear or upon Dunbar's demission of the priory." To further protect his financial interests, the Cardinal also demanded that Dunbar was to "bind himself, all his goods, and the whole priory fruits...." and would "make the first payment on the day of the Cardinal's resignation. He [would also] find cautiners in the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishop of Aberdeen and Patrick Painter." Finally, to reinforce the above contract, the Duke himself was required to ensure that Dunbar would "pay the pension and furnish the securities...." which he had asked for.

To appreciate the extent of the Cardinal's acquisitive nature, it is important to realise that the above conflict was not the only one in which he became involved in the period in question. On 25 August 1517 for example the governor Albany wrote to Pope Leo X relating how James Stewart had obtained the Abbey of Arbroath "by the resignation of the Archbishop of St. Andrews....", in turn Stewart intended to resign the house into the Pope's hands and it was Albany's purpose in writing now to nominate "James, Archbishop of Glasgow and Chancellor" for the resultant vacancy. This recommendation however had run into difficulties, for the Cardinal - in Albany's words - had claimed: "Arbroath on a pretended right of regress through the resignation of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, though the abbey was given consistorially in commendam to a son of James IV." To this, Albany countered that when Stewart received the Commendatorship of Arbroath - on 20 November 1514 - the Cardinal had made no mention of his "alleged right of regress...." further, he maintained, "the royal privilege in prelatial promotion [was] sufficiently clear, and the Cardinal should conserve, not impair it.... No transaction in a prelacy, even with a Cardinal...." he continued, in terms of "reservation, regress, access, or pension", would be "held valid against royal privilege." On an ominous note he warned the Cardinal that only "superior force" would change this stance whilst he was Governor. In the event - perhaps in desperation - the Duke of Albany attempted to defuse the hostility which such competitions invoked, by undertaking a series of promotions which arguably showed little consideration for improving the spiritual reputation of the Church.

Andrew Forman he determined, would receive the prize of the see of St. Andrews along with the Commendatorship of Dunfermline Abbey, in return Forman was to resign his hold on the Abbey of Arbroath to James Beaton - the Archbishop of Glasgow, Chancellor of the realm - and pay

a pension of three thousand crowns - for life - to John Hepburn; John's brother, James, was in turn to be pacified by the gift of the Bishopric of Moray, whilst Alexander Gordon - cousin to the Earl of Huntly - was to receive the See of Aberdeen. James Ogilvy was to gain control of the Abbey of Dryburgh, whilst George Dundas was to receive the Preceptory of Torphichen. In the words of the later observer Archbishop Spottiswood, "this partition did satisfy them all, and so they were fully reconciled...."

That such behaviour must have once been relatively commonplace, may also be seen in the career of Andrew Forman, and the series of "deals" which were struck as he and his rivals negotiated the most favourable conditions of employment they could secure. On 11 April 1514 for instance, Pope Leo X wrote to the Duke of Albany to inform him that he would willingly support the application of Andrew Forman for the job of Archbishop of St. Andrews if Forman in turn would cede his office as Archbishop of Brouges to Innocent Cibo, the Pope's nephew. This letter should be considered in turn with further correspondence from the Pope on 8 December the same year, in which it emerged that Leo had also recommended his nephew for the see of St. Andrews, and - arguably - on finding this avenue blocked, was now only withdrawing this demand in the hope of securing the consolation prize of Brouges. The situation became murkier still however, for it was suggested - by the supporters of yet another claimant for the see of St. Andrews, Gavin Douglas - that Forman had in effect purchased the Pope's support, moreover, he was accused by the Scottish crown that whilst employed at the French court as the Scottish ambassador, - in his capacity as the Bishop of Moray - he had abused his authority to advance his own personal interests as opposed to those of his country. On 25 January 1514/15, James Hepburn - the postulate of Dunfermline Abbey - appeared before the Lords of Council to accuse him of having:

> "purchest the maist part of all the beneficis vaikand of thaim at decessit in the field in Northumbirland [Flodden] be sinister informacioun....",

that it had been as a result of Forman's ambition - and presumably influence in both that the French and Scottish courts - that he had been the:

> "hale occasioun and caus of the feild quharthrow the kingis grace and his noblis of the realm be the maist part war slane and destroyit...."

Acting in his defence, his brother Robert - Dean of Glasgow - had argued that:

"the said archbishop had purchest the saidis beneficis for the observing of the privilege of the realme sa that he as ane Scottisman suld broik thaim erar than Italeanis suld impetrat the samym...."

In addition he stated that:

"the said bischop of Murray had our soverane lordis writingis.... toggider with my lord goverour writingis to purches ony benefice vacand in this realm, and that tharfor suld nocht ansuer...."

In the event, Forman was able to maintain at least part of his power - base within the Church - the see of St. Andrews and the Commenda of Dunfermline - on "divesting himself and his friends of Moray, Aberdeen, Dryburgh, Kilwinning and some secular benefices", but again, as with so many of the other events examined, this episode can have done little to maintain the reputation of the Church; far from attempting to moderate his future actions, Andrew could be seen for instance to have pursued a claim to the rights of the Abbey of Kelso for himself - on 25 and 26 June 1517 for example - and the parsonage of Kinkell for his dutiful brother Robert.

An even more undignified squabble still arose in connection with the proposed appointment of David Hamilton in 1513 to the Commendatorship of Glenluce; this so that Hamilton could lead a more comfortable life in possession of his other office, that of the Bishopric of Lismore. The request was to be repeated in 1514, and again in 1516; on the latter occasion the complex and not altogether wholesome dealing which could surround such an appointment was again made apparent.

Here Albany related how on the death of the last commendator, Cuthbert Bailzie, Pope Leo X had granted the house to the Cardinal of St. Eusebius. This decision in turn had been overruled by on the crown's nomination of David Hamilton, the scene further complicated by the Cardinal's support for one Alexander Cunningham, a monk of the house in question who wished to act as the Cardinal's agent. Albany therefore was now countering any right of claim which Cunningham might possess, by, in turn, accusing him of using violence to both secure his initial hold on the abbey, and thereafter maintain it, abusing the house in question moreover for his own personal profit. Some two years later Albany was still pressing unsuccessfully for the appointment of Hamilton to Glenluce, abandoning the pursuit of this office for him only after he had secured the Commendatorship of Dryburgh on 13 May 1519; thereafter the governor pursued - successfully, having in effect bought off the Cardinal of St. Mark - the advancement of his "familiar" Walter Malyn

to Glenluce, and the - as seen above ultimately unsuccessful - claim of his brother Alexander Stewart to Whithorn.

Another sorry tale of financial sharp practice emerged in a letter sent by Albany to Pope Clement VIII on 5 May 1524, in which the duke informed the pope of the actions of John Hepburn, the Prior of St. Andrews; namely his extorting "a pension from the archiepiscopal revenues" of Archbishop Forman of St. Andrews, "and exemption from ordinary jurisdiction for himself and certain ecclesiastics". "The number of his opponents" Albany continued, "and the power of the ambitious prior [had] induced the archbishop to consent...."; the lands and church of Kirkliston therefore "were assigned in pension and the exemption granted." Forman had quickly set about recovering this lost source of income, "and had almost succeeded" Albany informed Clement, when he died. The Duke was now pressing the case, "partly to ease his own consience for a certain degree of negligence and unfamiliarity with Scottish affairs, and.... [arguably more truthfully] partly out of consideration for the present archbishop, who [was] liable to very heavy public expenditure as chancellor, and who [was] certainly worthy of more ample favours from his holiness".

During the same papacy, an equally questionable transaction was undertaken at the instigation of the king, James V. In a letter dated 1 August 1531, James reminded pope of his grant of the Priory of Beauly to one "James Baudouen" a canon regular; however, because of the foundation's poor income and because of the differences in "monastic rule"a- as a canon regular Baudoven would have been subject to the Rule of St. Augustine, whilst Beauly was a Cistercian house - Baudoven had suggested a swap with the king's councillor, Robert Reid, the Abbot of Kinloss. He - Baudoven - would give Reid the Priory of Beauly, if Reid in turn would give him "the vicarage of Grandtully in the Diocese of Moray"b- a secular benefice within the abbot's remit - along with "an annual pension reserved from the priory of a hundred and twenty merks Scots for life".

Royal support for the practice of dealing in Church offices as commercial commodities therefore4- despite all of the above legislation to the contrary - was by no means unknown, for it formed - for example - an important part in the disputes over benefices which marked the career of George Dury; this - for example - in terms of his possession of the archdeaconry of St. Andrews, - which saw a battle between Dury and one John Cantuly which the king remarked at one stage had been ongoing over a period of some ten years - and the parsonage of Strabok.

Finally, no examination of the competition for, and exploitation of pre - Reformation Church offices, however brief, would be complete without at least a passing reference to the activities of the Beaton dynasty. James Beaton [1st.] for example, whilst the Archbishop of Glasgow, had mounted a determined effort to thwart the efforts of his rival Gavin Douglas - the Bishop of Dunkeld - for the See of St. Andrews and control of the Abbey of Dunfermline. Having secured the prize of St.

Andrews - and Dunfermline - Beaton maintained the pressure he had been exerting on both the papacy and the royal courts of Scotland and Europe to ensure that there would be no diminution of his authority; thus on 31 December 1523 Beaton wrote to the Cardinal of St. Eusebius [Ancona], expressing his concern over the now vacant See of Glasgow, asking that "there be no derogation from its ordinary jurisdiction or any exemption, and that in fact the pope should expressly reserve the primatial and legatine authority in providing for Glasgow". This proved to be a recurrent theme, for on 16 January 1523/4, it formed the substance of a letter from the Scottish crown to Pope Clement VII, and a further request from Beaton to the aforementioned Cardinal; in the latter instance, the Archbishop not only demanded that the papacy force the submission of the Bishop of Moray - James Hepburn, the Commendator of Scone - to the authority of St. Andrews, but also ensure that any future attempts at exemption on the part of either Moray or Glasgow, would be speedily dealt with in favour of St. Andrews. That Beaton remained resolute in the defence of his privileges in a struggle with the Archbishop of Glasgow which saw first one party gain ascendance only to lose it to the other in a scenario repeated over and again throughout a period of some years - may be seen for example in further correspondence of the period; thus, on 1 March 1524/5, James V expressed his concern over the way in which the Archbishop of Glasgow was detracting from the authority of St. Andrews "by way of exemption", whilst on 24 May 1529, a letter to Pope Clement VII expressed the king's support for the Archbishop of Glasgow - Gavin Dunbar - in his seeking to establish his independence from the authority of St. Andrews. That James Beaton's motivation was financial - as opposed to any desire to merely preserve the spiritual gravity of his office - may be seen - for example - both in his litigation with Lord Borthwick over "the lease of the fruits of the Church of Stow" - a case which tended to highlight the exploitation of the Church's wealth in mutually agreed pacts between the laity and the religious - and in his apparent attempts to establish a principal right of regress to the Abbotship of Arbroath. [11]

In summing up the above evidence therefore, it would seem that large amounts of money were being paid into the coffers of Rome, to secure appointment to the leading religious offices of the Church in Scotland, this statement being borne out both by the obvious concern of the crown - in for instance the repeated legislative attempts to limit the practice - and in the above mentioned amounts which individuals parted with in order to secure specific prizes. In turn, it is equally true to say that in many instances, the terms of the "deals" which were struck between churchmen themselves - in relation to the financial aspects of these offices - and the various sources of income to be derived from successfully securing such positions, it would seem that accusations of simony and greed could indeed be levelled.

Finally, in terms of how the actions of such individuals might have effected those who witnessed their unseemly struggles to obtain and thereafter maintain such lucrative possessions, in general terms the behaviour of those so involved may be said to have seriously weakened the deference with which most members of the laity traditionally viewed both these offices, and their holders. Thus the anonymous author of *The Thre Prestis Of Peblis, How Thai Tald Thar Talis* remarked:

> "Gets nane the Kirk, bot baith for gold and gude.... That Symonie is countit now na sin; And thus is the caus, baith al and sum,.... Ouhy halines fra kirkmen is away."

At this point however, it must again be asked whether such practices were peculiar only to the late fifteenth century and the early decades of the sixteenth century, for if it could be proved that they were, then it might well be possible to argue that much of the forgoing criticism would have carried extra weight in the latter years of the period under examination, c.1450 to 1560.

Here, the pleas made to the Roman curia in the first half of the fifteenth century by those seeking appointment to Church office make interesting reading. On 15 January 1433 for example, Laurence Piot, priest of the diocese of Moray, wrote to Rome recounting the struggle between the Abbot and Convent of Arbroath on the one hand and "John de Innernes" on the other, over the "vicarage of Innernes in the diocese of Moray". Piot thereafter informed the papacy of the death of the latter litigant, and his - Piot's - subsequent desire to possess the aforesaid vicarage, in addition to the "canonry and prebend of Bonkel in the church of Dunkeld.... and the vicarage of Meryns, diocese of Glasgow...." which he already possessed. The number of benefices held and the distance which separated them therefore, had little effect on Piot's intentions, nor it would appear on the Abbot and community of Arbroath who sought the income of a benefice at some remove from themselves. With regards to the Cistercian Abbey of Kinloss, rivalry flared:

> "between brother Henry Buchterry, monk professed of the monastery of Cupar.... diocese of St. Andrews, on the one side, and one John Floter, alleged priest, monk of Kynlos.... diocese of Moray, defendant, on the other, anent the monastery of Kynlos...."

this on 11 January 1444. In the event it would appear that the latter candidate was successful in his defence, but that he resigned his abbotship shortly afterwards "in the hands of Richard Abbot of

Melros...." Subsequently the Pope provided one "John de Ellem" to Kinloss with the approval of both the convent of the house concerned and Richard of Melrose; regardless of his apparently strong position however, the newly appointed abbot was still seeking further assurances of papal approval lest in this climate of competition he too might be challenged. That Abbot John had cause to worry may in turn be seen by the fairly extreme measures taken by the papacy on 1 January 1433 for:

> "pacifying [the] long discords and strife between Thomas, abbot, and John de Lithgow, monk, of Paisley.... anent provision to the said monastery.... to bring concord between them, the pope [commended] the parish churches of Dundonald, with annexed chapels.... pertaining to the said monastery, with the manor and mains of Monkton, and all it's rights and pertinents to John for life, or until he shall have gained peaceable possession of an abbey or other dignity of the said order, to be held, ruled and governed, with full and free perception and administration of the fruits, the said John giving consent. Moreover for the security of the said John [the pope] fully [exempted] and [liberated] him and the said parish churches of all superiority and jurisdiction in the burdens of the abbots of Paisley or diocesan, willing that the said churches with annexed chapels and manor revert to the said monastery after the death of John or after his peaceable assecution of an abbey."

Thus it would appear that the monk in question was to be humoured to the value of the aforementioned properties until he was able to secure a more rewarding charge at some point in the future.

In the Priory of Pluscarden for its part, a battle was waged between one "Andrew Symonis, monk, [of the Order of Citeaux]", who had seemingly "obtained the said priory without dispensation anent transfer from the Cistercian to the Valliscaulian Orders, and detained it for seven years unlawfully...." and "William de Breneth, priest, monk, professed of the said priory...." The case had duly appeared "before certain judges by apostolic authority.... [and] the judges found against Andrew...."; the matter did not rest here however, for Andrew appealed to "Baptiste bishop elect of Chieti....", against the ruling, asking that "the bishop be given mandate to provide him anew to the said priory should he find that neither litigant was right." A similar case arose in the Priory of Urquhart, for here "William Durward, monk of Aberbrothoc...." petitioned the pope - on 22 December 1433 - to provide him to the aforementioned priory, since, he maintained, the present holder, "William Broun" had possessed the same illegally for a period of "two years and more by pretext of

apostolic letters containing no clause of general reservation...." Durward proved successful - 29 July 1434 - but in the event his celebrations were short lived, for a counter appeal on behalf of Brown alleged that:

> "in his impetration [Durward] was silent as to the grade of the nobility and the line of detention of [the] priory [by the] said William Broun.... so, by a papal rule in favour of possession, the grace granted to Durward is no longer of strength. Lest William Broun.... who is a kinsman of Archibald Earl of Douglas should be molested by Durward and so that he may remain in posession, William Broun [supplicated the] pope to mandate the auditor to declare [the] grant to Durward null and.... provide William Broun to [the] said priory."

Thus in this instance, an invalid claim to possess a house was waved, a papal judgement reversed, in order to appease the might of "Archibald Earl of Douglas". [12] Once again therefore, it would seem that although the accusations of greed, manipulation of benefices, simony and plurality which certain authors of the period levelled at contemporary ecclesiastics were accurate, like their other equally unfavourable observations above, there was little new in such behaviour. In the following chapter therefore, an attempt will be made to evaluate additional material relating to accusations of, for example, immorality, dishonesty, illiteracy, to see if such criticism added an extra dimension to all of the issues covered thus far, a dimension which would explain society's rejection not only of the long perceived merits of the regular Orders, but also of the more recent popularity of the collegiate kirks.

1.) D. Patrick (ed.): *Statutes*, 65.

R. Lyall (ed.): *Lindsay*, 103, l. 2844.

J. Dowden: *The Medieval Church in Scotland*, 328, note no. 1.

W. Croft Dickinson and A. A. M. Duncan: *Scotland From The Earliest Times To 1603*, 270 - 72.

2.) W. Croft Dickinson and A. A. M. Duncan: As Above, 273.

R. Nicholson: *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 432, 460.

Acts: Civil Causes, Vol. 2, 1496 - 1501, 63, 98.

A. P. S., Vol. 2, 98, c.21; 166, c.11.

3.) In terms of the 1487 Indult, the king gained an 8 month delay before the pope would put forward a candidate for any vacant benefice - in a cathedral or abbey - whose value exceeded " two hundred gold florins ". In the meantime, the pope would receive and consider those men put forward by the king. Note that this is an extremely condensed account; for a fuller appreciation of the sequence of events leading up to the Indult of 1487, it is important to consider other factors such as parliament's repeated assertion of the crown's decisive voice in " sede vacante ", in, for example, April 1481, March 1482 and February 1484. It is also important to remember the royal objection to the appointment of George Brown to Dunkeld - in 1483 -, voiced by parliament in May 1485, and the associated demand by the king that the papacy grant the crown a 6 month period of grace before making any decision regarding the filling of prelacies and elected benefices. This so that the crown could put forward its own candidates, men trustworthy and capable enough to sit with the king in parliament and council. Earlier evidence still of the influence exhibited by the crown in the affairs of the Church may be seen in the parliament of May 1471, which dealt with - among other topics - the annexation and union of benefices. For a summary of the above see: I. B. Cowan: "Patronage, Provision And Reservation, Pre-Reformation Appointments To Scottish Benefices", in, I. B. Cowan and D. Schaw (eds.): *The Renaissance And Reformation In Scotland, Essays In Honour Of Gordon Donaldson*, (Edinburgh, 1983), 75. Hereafter I.B. Cowan and D. Shaw (eds.): *The Renaissance And Reformation In Scotland.*

L. MacFarlane: "The Primacy Of The Scottish Church, 1472-1521", in, *I. R.*, Vol. 20, (1969), 115.

R. Nicholson: As Above, 461 - 64, 466 - 68.

A. P. S., Vol. 2, 99, c.4; 133, c.7; 141, c.16 - 17; 166, c.9; 171, c.7, 9.

4.) *A. P. S.*, Vol. 2, 294.

5.) For Patrick Graham, see: J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 33.

L. MacFarlane: "The Primacy Of The Scottish Church, 1472 - 1521", in, *I. R.*, Vol. 20, (1969), 111 - 14.

James Beaton: J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 40.

Andrew Forman: J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 166.

Robert Schaw: As Above, 169.

Alexander Stewart: " ", 170.

C. M. MacDonald: "The Struggle", in *S. H. R.* Vol. 14, (1917), 36 - 7.

David Arnot: J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 371.

George Hepburn: " ", 291.

Gavin Dunbar: " ", 344.

George Crichton: " ", 87.

Robert Cairncors: " ", 225.

Robert Reid: " ", 265.

Patrick Panter: C. M. MacDonald: "The Struggle", in, *S. H. R.* Vol. 14, (1917) , 28.

A. I. Dunlop, D. MacLauchan and I. B. Cowan (eds.): *Calendar Of Scottish Supplications To Rome*, Vol. 4, 1433 - 1447, (Glasgow, 1983), 183 - 84, no. 756.

6.) H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 107.

C. Innes: *Scotland In The Middle Ages*, (Edinburgh, 1860), 132.

7.) M. H. B. Sanderson: *Cardinal*, 51 - 2.

R. S. S. Vol. 1, 1488 - 1529, Preface vii.

8.) *R. S. S.*, Vol. 1, 1488 - 1529, No. 1388; 1216; 1228; 646; 1215; 1753; 1462; 1464; 1633; 2828; 2861.

9.) H. M. Paton (ed.): *Accounts Of The Master Of Works For Building And Repairing Royal Palaces*, Vol. 1 1529 - 1615, (Edinburgh, 1957).
Culross, 2 - 3, 5, 7, 16 - 54.
Lindores, 207, 213, 216, 246, 262 - 63, 271 - 72, 287.

M. H. B. Sanderson: *Sc. Rural Soc.*, 32, 114, 115.

J. Anderson (ed.): *Laing Charters* No. 442.

R. M. S. 1513 - 1546, Nos. 3245.

Acts: Public Affairs, 1501 - 1554, 585.

A. Ross: "*Notes*", in, D. McRoberts (ed.): *Essays*, 218.

I. F. Grant: *Social And Economic Development Of Scotland Before 1603* (Edinburgh, 1930), 316.

J. Small (ed.): *William Dunbar* , Vol. 1, Introduction, xlvi - vii, cxvii - viii.
Vol. 2, 139, l. 9 - 10; 140, l. 30 - 8; 141, l. 51 - 8, 60; 150, l. 21 - 25, l. 44 - 5.

G. MacDonald: "The Mint Of Crossraguel Abbey", in, *S. H. R.* Vol. 17, (1920), 163 - 64.

M. Barrett: *The Scottish Monasteries Of Old*, (Edinburgh, 1913), 40 - 1, 119, 150, 170.

A. I. Dunlop: *Bishop Kennedy*, 375.

10.) J. Small (ed.) *William Dunbar*, Vol. 1, Introduction, clxi. Vol. ii, 106, l. 61 - 5; 227, l. 45 - 8; 212 - 19; 84, l. 13; 85, l. 36; 87, l. 3 - 4, 16 - 20; 88, l. 31 - 5; 89, l. 56 - 60; 90, l. 6.

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Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VII, 2, No. 4641 - 47, 4695; 3, No. 33, 949.

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For James Stewart see: *Letters: James V*, 49 - 51.

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J. Spottiswood: *History*, Vol. 1, 122.

For Andrew Forman see: *Letters: James V*, 8, 16, 18 - 19, 21, 23 - 4, 28 - 30.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 1, No. 3532, 3588; 2, No. 218, 365, 771, 1869.

Acts: Public Affairs, 1501 - 1554, 29 - 30, 32 - 4, 67, 95 - 6, 125, l 136, 359.

For Gavin Dunbar see other entries.
For David Hamilton see: *Letters: James V*, 3, 13, 31, 61 - 2, 71 - 2.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For and Dom. Henry VIII, 1, No. 2551, 3119; 2, No. 4649.

Acts: Public Affairs, 1501 - 1554, 150.

For Walter Malyn see: *Letters: James V*, 71 - 2.

For John Hepburn see: *Letters: James V*, 100 - 1.

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For Robert Reid see: *Letters: James V*, 195.

For George Dury see: *Letters: James V*, 156, 259 - 60, 323, 363 - 64.

Acts: Public Affairs, 1501 - 1554, 445.

For James Beaton see: *Letters: James V*, 86, 90, 96 - 7, 117, 154, 382 - 83.

Cal. of Let. and Pap. For. and Dom. Henry VIII, 3, No. 1850, 2162, 3674; 4, No. 33 - 4.

With regards to Lord Borthick, Beaton challenged the right of his predecessor - Andrew Forman -, indeed of all prelates, to lease lands over a period as long as the 19 year period stipulated in this case. Significantly, in defending his case, Beaton effectively included every Scottish prelate, " past and present " in this charge of perjury, and so was compelled to admit that " the souls of all who gave such leases (were) lost ". The king countered by arguing that: " No mortal soul in Scotland ever hesitated to believe that leases for 19 years of lands, teinds and other fruits pertaining to ecclesiastics, and especially to bishops and abbots, were so completely valid that breach was always a gross wrong.... " The king maintained therefore that such a practice - whereby prelates of the realm could lease out church lands for profit to individuals wishing to work them - was both " long established and of great benefit to those involved ". In terms of Arbroath, the king complained to Paul III that James Beaton had resigned his hold on Arbroath Abbey to his nephew David Beaton, on the agreement that he should have " half the fruits, and regress in the event of David's death ". Beaton however was now apparently approaching the pope behind the king's back for " regress to Arbroath howsoever vacant.... " That such a materialistic picture was indeed common might be surmised from a letter written by James Beaton's nephew, David, on 16 November 1539. In it he stated that there was strong opposition against his receiving the power of a Legate a Latere from the Scots at Rome who: " (Feared the) loss of profits from commissions they now received concerning leases.... of ecclesiastic property in Scotland.... "

12.) A. I. Dunlop, D. MacLauchan and I. B. Cowan (eds.): *Calendar Of Scottish Supplications To Rome*, Vol. 4, 1433 - 1447, 2, No. 7; 244, No. 984; 252 - 53, No. 1014; 1, No. 1; 73, No. 300; 133, No. 554; 27, No. 113, 137, 163.

T. D. Robb (ed.): *The Thre Prestis Of Peblis, How Thai Tald Thar Talis*, 27, l. 420, 426 - 7, 430.

Chapter Five

Immoral, Illiterate, Worldly, Physically And Mentally Flawed. Common Failings Of Contemporary Ecclesiastics Or Selected Exceptions From The Body Of The Church?

"For wantonnes they wald not wed na wyvis, Nor yit leif chaste, bot chop and change thair cheir...."

[J. Cranston [ed.]: *The Poems Of Alexander Scot*, 3, l. 61 - 2.]

Introduction

Thus the poet Alexander Scot summed up the perceived immorality of the representatives of the Catholic Church in his poem, *Ane New Zeir Gift To The Quene Mary, Quhen Scho Come First Hame*, in 1562, in a piece which portrayed them as hypocrites who led dissolute lives whilst they enforced strict religious discipline on the laity. [1] One of the questions put forward for consideration in the opening stages of this chapter therefore, is, was such a commentary on the personnel of the now "defeated" Catholic Church a fair assessment, or was it merely the spiteful voice of triumphant Protestantism? At this point it is important to remember that although lecherous conduct was by far the most frequently mentioned flaw, it was by no means the only charge to be levelled, furthermore it is essential to recall the point raised in the introduction to the present work, that although all of the grievances of the time were not aimed solely at the regular Orders, or indeed the colleges, they must still be considered, - albeit not in the same detail - for through the effects of appropriation - as witnessed in chapter 7 - the subjects of this thesis were responsible for many appointments at parish level. Thus the regular Orders and the colleges shared in the sins of such individuals, principally, through direct association in this manner, and, through the more tenuous link, that all could be seen to be fellow servants of the Church as a whole; each grouping therefore would have been touched - arguably - by the sins of the other. Of the other charges to be examined, accusations of greed, dishonesty and the pursuit of an easy life at the laity's expense - the last named topic of particular relevance to the subjects raised in chapter 7 - were levelled at both monks and friars, the common suggestion being that both groups were ill - educated parasites who employed a variety of means - both legal and otherwise - to attain their own ends. Thus the

following chapter will begin with an evaluation of the type of criticism being levelled at the religious of the day, thereafter an attempt will be made to see if this criticism could be seen to have had a basis in fact as opposed to the imagination of the authors concerned.

In turning now to address the first issue raised, that of the perceived moral failings of contemporary religious, it is proposed to return once more to examine the work of pre - Reformation writers, to use their observations as the principal means of providing a body of material from which it is intended to provide a balanced analysis of the opening lines. In beginning with the work of William Dunbar, in a piece called *Tidings From The Session*, - c.1503 - the poet referred to:

"Religious men of diuerss placis, [who] Cumis thair to wow and se fair facis;"

thereafter to how:

"Thair cumis yung monkis of he complexioun, Of devoit mynd, luve, and affectioun; [however].... in the courte thair hait flesche dantis, Full Faderlyk, with pechis and pantis; Thay ar so humill of intercessioun, All mercyfull wemen thair eirandis grantis...."

In a later piece still, *Devorit Wiyh Dreme, Devysing In My Slummer*, - c.1507/8 - he used the medium of a dream to castigate the prelates of his day - many of whom as seen above were commendators of monastic houses, too few he said, bothered to "preiche and pray", rather they spent their time in dressing for the pursuit of "harlettis". That Dunbar was not alone in possessing such a jaundiced view of the Church's servants may in turn be seen in the later works of Sir David Lindsay. In *Ane Satyr Of The Thrie Estaitis* for example the poet delivered a blanket condemnation of all members of the ecclesiastic elite, in a daring piece which pointed to the papacy as the root of the problem. Thus "Wantonnes" in addresing the king states:

"Beleive ye, Sir, that lecherie be sin. Na, trow nocht that! This is my ressoun quhy: First at the Romane [court] will ye begin, Quhilk is the lamp of lechery, Quhair Cardinals and Bischops generally To luif ladies they think ane pleasand sport, And out of Rome hes baneist Chastity, Quha with our Prelats can get na resort."

In turn "Solace" tells him:

"For all the Prelats of this natioun, For the maist part, Thay think na schame to have ane huir, And sum hes thrie undair thair cuir:"

Thereafter, to reinforce his point in the minds of his audience, Lindsay uses comedy in the form of the character of the "Sowtar", who - in bemoaning his lot with regards to his formidable wife - remarked jealously that:

"Bischops ar blist, howbeit that thay be waryit For thay may fuck thair fill and be unmaryit!"

In the character of David Beaton society possessed a highly prominent figure who linked the office of Cardinal with that of commendator; episcopal links with the monastic houses of the day through the latter office as examined above were much commoner still. That such corruption was seen to be commonplace in the Church may be taken from Lindsay's listing the various levels within this vast organisation from the Pope downwards. Thus when "Sensualitie" was confronted by "Divine Correctioun", she begged to be allowed to "pas againe to Rome...." where she said among "bischopss and cardinals I wald get gould, silver and precious clais...." Finally, when she had lost all other support in the land, it was to the Church, "Spiritualitie", that she fled secure in the knowledge that even now she would be welcomed. At this point it should be noted that Lindsay was not satisfied with mere general accusations of immorality within the Church, for he provided details of the way in which such moral failing gave rise to still further reprehensible behaviour. "Spiritualitie" for example, remarked on one occasion that although the Church prohibited him from having a legal wife, it seemingly nevertheless allowed him to have four or five concubines, the sons of whom he ensured shared in the wealth of the Church, whilst his daughters were equally well provided for through his securing advantageous marriages within the upper levels of lay society. Through these means - and the associated granting of ecclesiastic privilege to the laity - he was thus able to maintain a better lifestyle than any temporal lord of equivalent status, his principal spiritual duty - in Lindsay's eyes at any rate - of preaching, conveniently ignored through the convenient use of a friar. Thus it would seem that when in *The Complaynt Of Sir David Lindesay*, the author referred for example to how the:

"proudest prelatis of the kirk Was faine to hyde thame in the myrk That tyme, so failyet wes thare sycht. Sen syme thay may nocht thole the lycht Off Christis trew

Gospell to be sene, So blyndit is thare corporall Ene With warldly lustis sensuall...."

he was not merely indulging in ribald farce, rather he sought to expose what he saw as actual failings in a manner which would reach as wide an audience as possible.

Here it is also important to realise that like Dunbar before him, Lindsay intended that his audience should realise that his observations were aimed at the Church as a whole, not merely confined its highest ranks. Thus, in *The Thrie Estaitis*.... the character of "Chastity" accused both the "Abbot", and the "Prioress", of maintaining a pretence of holiness whilst:

"Thay [lived] in huirdome and in harlotry...."

Moreover, when the "Abbot" was questioned as to his lifestyle, he replied:

"My paramours is baith als fat and fair As ony wench into the town of Air. I send my sons to Pareis to the Scullis.... And all my douchters i have weill providit...."

The problem which he now faced therefore - with the advent of the Reformation - was not one of doctrinal issues, rather it was the problem of how he was to provide a dowry for his two remaining unmarried daughters. [2] As to the aforementioned female religious, the author was equally condemnatory. "Placebo" in addressing the king for example, asked if:

"my Lady Priores The suith till declair Gif it be sin to tak [ane] Kaity, Or to leif like ane bummillbaty...."

In a later episode, when "Diligence" remarked that "Chastitie" should seek shelter with the "ladies of religioun" who have sworn to observe her lifestyle, she replied that although they had taken a vow to this effect:

"With Chastitie thay can mak na concord, Bot leids thair lyfis in sensualitie"

Lindsay then has "Chastitie" approach the "Prioress" who greeted her arrival with undisguised horror. "Ye ar contrair to my complexion...." she exclaimed:

"Gang seik ludging at sum auld monk or freir.... Or to prelatis mak your progression...."

The "Lords of Spiritualitie" however are no less forthcoming for they exclaim "we knaw yow nocht...."; the "Abbot" for his part, - like the "Prioress" above - stated his loyalty to "Sensualite" whilst the "Persone" merely sent her back to where she started, with the advice that she "Pas hame amang the nunnis and dwell". Later still, when the common man puts forward his views in the words of "Johne", the tone is more offensive yet, for he referred to the "abbesses and thir nunneries,...." as "publick hirdomes and harlotries"; this an image which he again reinforced in the minds of his - Lindsay's - audience in the remark of the "First Sergeant" who, in man - handling the "Prioress" from the stage, finds that she is wearing a silk gown beneath her habit:

"Now brother, be the Masse! Be my judgement i think This halie Priores Is turnit in ane cowclink![3]

In terms of the nuns male counterparts, the monks, friars and priests of the day, whilst not so vociferous in his condemnation, Lindsay let it be known that there was no cause for smug complacency. Thus "Solace" tells his royal master:

"Speir at the monks of Balmerinoch Gif lecherie be sin...."

and thus ran the conversation between the poor "Cotter" and the "Nuntius"; the latter asking the former if he would marry again if his present wife died, the "Cotter" replying that he would not, the "Nuncio" then asking if he would remain "chaste" as was appropriate, the "Cotter" replying that he would as soon:

"leif chest as abbottis, monkis and freiris. Maister, quhairto sowld i myself miskary Quhair i, as preistis, may swyre and nevir marry?

Such was the problem in Lindsay's view indeed, that women were at risk from ecclesiastical lechery even at confession; thus he has a curate say to one such victim:

"I can nocht yow absolve, Bot to my Chalmer cum at euin, Absolvit for to be and schreuin."

In terms of the friars, a concise summary of their perceived failings appeared in a piece by William Dunbar entitled *The Freiris Of Berwick*. Here, the author establishes one of the commonly voiced grievances of the reforming outlook in the opening stages of this work, that of the seemingly overwhelming numbers of religious within the towns of the period. Thus, in the example of Berwick he said:

"The Jacobene freiris of the quhythew, The Carmelites, and the monkis eik; The four ordouris wer nocht for to seik, Thay wer all in this toun dwelling.

At this point it should also be noted, that Dunbar used this poem as a means of striking out at numerous other examples of misconduct within the ranks of the friars. In doing so, he provides the present work with a means of linking the aforementioned charges of immorality, to other forms of unacceptable behaviour in the wider society of the Church's servants as a whole.

In returning to the *Freiris Of Berwick*, the poet centred his attention on two of the "Jacobyne freiris", whom, he said, entertained "all wyffis", with "tailis of haly sanctis lyffis". Thereafter, he proceeded to recount how the two friars extorted "aill", "breid and cheiss" from a landlord's wife, with an obviously well rehearsed routine which relied upon a mixture of charm, flattery and a seemingly pious appeal for charity. In such congenial company the time passed quickly for the two friars, suddenly however the sound of "the prayer bell of their awin abbey...." reminded them that they were long past the hour of their return. Nonplussed, they resort to an appeal for charity and the threat of spiritual censure to overcome the reluctance of their hostess to have them stay overnight whilst her husband was absent.

Dunbar now introduced an element of comic farce to still further disgrace the pair, thus whilst "Friar Robert" - the younger of the two religious - determined on mischief rather than sleep, his hostess in turn prepared to meet her lover, "Freir Johne.... ane Gray Freir.... of grit renoun", the wealthy head of his order's house in Berwick.

The two lovers meet - "Friar Robert" observing their antics through a hole in the ceiling - their evening together cut short however by the unexpected return of the young lady's husband. Panic ensued, "Johne" threw himself beneath a trough in the corner of the room, the innkeeper's wife rushed off to bed and her maid hastily removed the evidence of their meeting. When the

innkeeper finally gained entry, nothing remained of the feast; calling for his wife, he bid her bring him food and drink, then rouse the friars to join them.

Thus assembled, the friars host announced his desire for "gud meit and drink" to cheer the company. "Friar Robert" - having observed the hiding place of friar John's gifts of fine meat and wine - immediately replied that by certain crafts he had acquired "beyond the sey in Pareiss....", he could provide the "best meit that [was] in [the] cuntre...." and "Gascone wine". Thereupon he entered into a ceremony which grew ever more impressive as it progressed, the friar turning to the various points of the compass, reading from his prayer book - whilst various curious expressions crossed his face - and generally behaving in an extremely alarming and mysterious fashion. With his audience spellbound, he suddenly turned on the innkeeper's wife, ordering her to bring forth "Gascoyne wine" and sundry other delicacies - an inventory in effect of her illicit feast which she had hidden in a nearby cupboard - as though his exertions had finally borne fruit. Aware that her secret was out, the good wife - in terror lest he should betray her to her husband - played along with the friar's deception, this whilst her stunned husband marvelled at the sanctity and knowledge of his guest. The poem itself ends with "Friar Robert" - having by this point supped his fill - explaining that his power lay in his ability to summon a mysterious "page", thereafter with the identification of this emissary with friar John, whom he mercilessly exposes to assault, ridicule and abject humiliation.

The tone of the whole piece therefore appears as a comic interlude in the style of Chaucer; both the miller's wife in *The Canterbury Tales* and that of the "Gudman" in *The Freiris Of Berwick* for example, sharing not only fairly similar experiences, but also the christian name of "Alison". Equally however, Dunbar employed such a humorous, ribald approach to put across several serious points to his audience.

In the first instance, the mendicants over - familiarity with the housewives of the region; this accusation reinforced with the description of the practised way in which both friars manipulated their hostess - initially for food and drink, then accommodation - through a crafty mixture of flattery, easy charm and - when these tools failed them - the threat of spiritual censure for denying the needs of two members of a religious Order. It was therefore, Dunbar seemed to be saying, a routine which they - and indeed other religious - had used so many times with the same success, that it was a polished performance on the part of professional frauds. Note also that Dunbar's friar exhibited an equally professional ease in the way he used the information he had gathered on his hostess to compel her further obedience. A hint here perhaps that such a tactic may well have been more widely employed by the friars, for, in light of Dunbar's claim that they were familiar with "all

wyves", it would have been a simple task once a gullible host or hostess was at ease, to root out similarly incriminating revelations which could then be used to subtly - or otherwise as above - further strengthen their hand. In the ensuing farce moreover, friar Robert's actions demonstrate the ignorance of the laity with regards - arguably - to Church ceremony. The innkeeper obviously had no idea what the friar was doing, but was quite prepared to believe in its efficacy for a number of reasons. Firstly, because of the dramatic nature of the events he had witnessed, secondly through the friar's reading from his prayer book - thus adding an added air of authenticity to his actions - and thirdly because the friar could rest secure in his knowledge that he was greatly aided both by the innkeeper's unquestioning respect for his habit - there is never any hint of his doubting the friar's veracity no matter how ridiculous his behaviour became - and his "natural" acceptance that he would have to rely on such an individual - who had after all been to "Paris" to study - to "correctly" interpret signs and ceremonies which only a member of the Church would be privileged and educated enough to understand. Hence the equally revealing comment made by Lindsay in "Kitteis Confession", concerning the actions of "Schir Andrew":

"And mekle Latyne he did mummill, I hard na thing but hummill bummill...."

Dunbar then levelled equally serious accusations of immorality, both in the intention and guile of "Friar Robert", and in the actions of "Friar John", alongside a veritable catalogue of other misdemeanours. The friars in question for example obviously frequented taverns on a regular basis, failed to observe the strictures of their house - with regards for instance to ignoring the prayer bell and staying out all night without their superior's permission - and indulged themselves in gluttony and - given the Gascon wine - drunkenness. Since Dunbar had been a member of the Order in question, it would seem reasonable to assume that he spoke from first hand experience, and was not merely trying to entertain his monarch. That he so chose farce to put his points across may thus be explained as advisable caution, for his work would have been examined - as well as enjoyed - by a court headed by a king who - after all was said and done - still favoured the objects of such derision. That Dunbar nevertheless felt he had genuine grievances to air however, may be seen in the somewhat more serious piece which he wrote to describe his own behaviour whilst a member of the Franciscan Order, for in *How Dunbar Wes Desyrd To Be Ane Freir*, the author not only condemned the Order itself, but went on to admit that he had used every trick, wile, falsehood and piece of flattery at his command to "begyle" all whom he met in his wandering life as a friar. [4]

Equally cutting remarks were levelled at the Franciscans in turn by the poet George Buchanan, whose poem *Somnium* proved to be identical in tone to Dunbar's *How Dunbar Desyrd To Be Ane Freir*. In both works the authors are visited in dream by St. Francis himself who entreats them to don the garb of his Order. Both, significantly, turn him down since they felt they were morally better off outwith the ranks of his followers. Stronger criticism still however was to follow, for in Buchanan's *Palinodia*, - two short poems - the author defended himself against his Franciscan "persecutors" in a speech which contained the following damning lines:

> "So may your seraphic Order flourish under even more glorious auspices. So may the ignorant and the stupid join your tribe in flocks; and may never an old woman be wanting for you to gull. May the mob never discover your lies, nor see through your imposters...."

Even these slights however were to pale in comparison with those within the later - c.1560 - piece entitled the *Franciscanus*. Here, Buchanan set out to systematically destroy any semblance of piety which might be attached to the Order in question. In the first instance he defined those who were likely to join the Order; amongst them he identified criminals, gamblers, the physically and mentally afflicted, the immoral and such men so otherwise ruined who would hitherto have committed suicide. Following their admission to the Order, Buchanan claimed, the new recruits were then put through a meticulous training programme which would enable them to deceive the laity to their true nature. Significantly, as in Dunbar's piece on the friars of Berwick, Buchanan emphasises the importance of their being able to eloquently dupe, and intimidate an audience, through the use of Latin, which gave the impression of gravity and knowledge of matters outwith the ken of the average layman, and through the use of fear of the ultimate punishment which awaited the sinner in the life to come. The author even went so far as to state that the friars were instructed in the type of audience which they should aim at for the best return; the "rich matron", and the rural populace since they lacked the wit of their urban equivalent! [5]

Thus it would appear that immorality, dishonesty and a flair for flattery and cunning were essential elements in the make - up of any of the friars, who it would seem, were more involved in the ways of the world than either Dunbar or Buchanan thought fitting.

In turning now to the question of whether such criticism were warranted or not, perhaps the best point at which to begin would be with the concept of their being overly involved in the affairs of the world. Here, it is possible to identify a number of examples which would indeed

suggest that the friars were occupying their time in a variety of tasks which had little to do with a spiritual mission. The Franciscan friar John Strang of Aberdeen for example had exercised his skill as a glazier at the Order's houses in "Perth, Ayr, Elgin and Aberdeen". [6] Friar Andrew Lisouris of the Dominican Order - albeit a lay brother - was a skilled carpenter who served in the king's artillery train, both in the construction, servicing and transporting of these engines of war; perhaps his most prestigious task in this field ensuring that the "Great Bombard" - Mons Meg? - arrived to take part in the siege of Threave castle in 1455/6. That he was also employed in a less warlike capacity may be seen for example in his involvement in construction work at the collegiate foundation of the Chapel Royal in Stirling. [7] Other late fifteenth century Franciscan examples such as friars John and Walter Leydes, and John Thomson, all carpenters, and the early example of the Grey Friar, John the Carpenter - who served as a soldier and as a military engineer may in turn be added to similar cases from the ranks of the Blackfriars. In this Order, such examples as the friar who mended the town clock of Aberdeen, and that of the Edinburgh Dominican John Cor who received royal reward for his talent in whisky distillation, would indeed seem to suggest that the charge of being overly involved in the world was one which was based on fact. Such an idea becomes more credible still when the involvement of the mendicants in the world of finance is considered. Here, frequent references can be found to members of the laity holding business meetings within the confines of a friary, of the friars themselves witnessing the deals thus struck and thereafter acting as holding houses for the money involved. Thus the friars and their houses were recognised - as indeed were many parish churches - in effect as an integral part of the commercial and social life of many communities. [8]

That such an involvement in society could be less edifying still, may be seen in the frequent references in the records of fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland to mendicant involvement in litigation. The town of Aberdeen for example provides numerous ready examples of such behaviour. On 10 July 1452 for instance, Friar David Craig, minister of the Trinitarians within the town, became embroiled in a dispute with Robert Gillespie over the amount due to the friars from the estate of the late Robert Gillespie senior. On 12 January 1505/6 the same Order pursued a debt due from the estate of Andrew Lammington, a similar claim pressed on 4 April 1513 for the sum of 10/ - from the estate of William Buchan. [9]

Equally active were the Carmelite brethren, as witnessed by the case fought between Friar Andrew Brown and William Lammington over the disputed sale of a house. Sterner action still was witnessed on 9 January 1484/5 for on this day the friars repossessed land in lieu of payment of debts of 6/ - and 8d, and 20d respectively. Later still, on 15 April 1504, Prior Andrew Storour

appeared in a case over a debt of 13/ - claimed from the estate of the deceased David Strachan, whilst on 22 April 1532 the Order secured a favourable outcome to an action they had raised relating to the disputed occupancy of priory property by Henry Leslie. Some ten years later - on 9 January 1541/2 - they were to feature again in the pursuit of a series of debts, in two instances from the estates of the deceased David Patrick and - as above - Robert Gillespie. [10]

A similar enthusiasm for litigation may also be traced in the activities of the Domincan Order, for they too were to appear in the legal records of Aberdeen on a number of occasions. On 29 April 1454 pursuing an outstanding annual rent, a similar reason featured in a case of 5 October 1461. On 26 May 1467, a notarial instrument recorded the more direct action of the Dominican Prior himself, for it related how he had gone to the "mansion house of Wardres and sought from Alexander Leslie an annual of 40/ -", and having failed in this objective had taken himself off to seize the lands from which the sum was owed. Equally interesting, an entry in the burgh court books of Aberdeen dated 10 March 1476/7 which referred to a clash between William, Abbot of Deer, and the Friars Preacher over lands alienated to the mendicants. Later still, on 5 July 1496 Prior David Anderson sought to evict William Porter for failing to meet the terms of his tack, in October of the same year he pursued debts owed from the estates of two deceased members of the laity, whilst on 11 March 1498/9 he faced Andrew Murray, a burgess of Aberdeen, in a dispute over a croft. [11] In all of these instances, perhaps especially those which saw the friars pursue a debt from a deceased's estate, it is likely that the mendicants engendered resentment in the lay community. Yet arguably even such instances as those examined above may be said to pale into insignificance in the face of the belligerent actions of Friar Patrick Pulty, Prior of the Friars Preacher of Ayr who went personally to hunt out John Crawford the laird of Kerse, over a debt of 50/ - annual rent. Failing to find the laird, the bold Prior in frustration, "finding on the ground.... certain cows.... began to lead them away with him, in default of payment". Only the timely intervention of John McKee, the laird's servant, prevented the Prior's own brand of justice from being carried out, for he "dispatched the said prior, and led them [the cows] back with him...." [12]

That it was not merely the mendicant Orders who were engaged in such activity may be seen from the equally abundant evidence which relates to the regular communities of c.1450 to 1560. On 12 January 1496/7 for example, David Lichtoun, Abbot of Arbroath appeared before the Lords of Council to plead his case against Thomas Fife, burgees of Aberdeen over the latter's debt to the abbot of £5 annual rent. Earlier still, for example, - 9 April 1434 - the Abbot and convent of Arbroath sought papal approval of their rights in the vicarages of Inverness (?) [Innerness] and Aberdour (?) [Abyrkerdour] in relation to those of the diocese of Moray, and - on 17 January 1438 -

to be allowed to exercise their "powers of jurisdiction in their lands equal to those of the king in his lands...." On 21 October 1441, Abbot Walter of Arbroath petitioned for stronger powers still to protect the rights and property of this house, for he spoke of his need to be able to "terrorise all and sundry of whatsoever dignity or estate who [offered] violence or loss to the monastery"; this through the faculty of "excommunicating by apostolic authority" all offenders. The community of Arbroath therefore, would appear to have been quite capable of defending what it saw as its rights. [13] Similarly, in 1432, the Abbots of Dunfermline were seen to clash in court over the possession of a "meadow in Pitfirrane", and "the marches betwix Petfurane and Abercrumby". That the competitors in question were serious in their intent may be assumed from the fact that they were still seeking a settlement to their dispute in 1537. [14]

Other similar cases abound; in the Baron Court Book of Glenluce for example, in 1556, Abbot Walter Malyn can be seen to have pursued a case against one of the abbey's tenant's, Janet McDowell, for "disponyng of hir rycht and kyndes" of abbey lands without first seeking the permission of the abbot and chapter. [15] In the border house of Jedburgh, the community possessed in the figure of John Hume an abbot who was no stranger to litigation at the highest levels. On 1 and 5 September 1524 for example, Hume successfully defended his case to be allowed to retain his hold on Coldingham Priory in the face of a challenge mounted by Patrick Blackadder of Tulliallan. Later still he showed an equal determination to cling to his possession of the place and lands of "Colbrandspeth" in a prolonged conflict with Henry, Lord Methven, which spanned at least a ten year period from c.1529/30 to 1539/40. These cases should in turn be considered alongside, for example, the action which Hume, as the Commendator of Restenneth, raised against the Sheriff of Forfar on 14 December 1541 to force him to pay the dues he owed to the Priory. [16] Equally revealing in the present context, the actions of James Stewart, Commendator of the Abbeys of Kelso and Melrose, in his pursuit of Hugh Campbell of Loudoun - on 8 February 1548/9 - for "his tacks of the kirk of Mauchline....", and those of for example Abbot Robert Reid of Kinloss in his clash with Alexander Dunbar over the fishing rights of the river Findhorn. [17]

Of litigation in the regular and mendicant ranks therefore there can be little doubt, but what of the charges of scheming and the use of flattery to secure positions of privilege, of dishonesty for reward, could they equally be justified? As seen above, both William Dunbar and George Buchanan had shown themselves to be strong critics of mendicant failings in these and other areas, and in this they were not alone, for arguably more biting still were the words of Sir David Lindsay. In *The Testament Of The Papyngo* for example, the hypocrisy, greed and dishonesty which the poet saw in the actions of contemporary religious were exposed for all to see.

As the "Parrot" lies on her death bed, the religious gather to seemingly administer succour to ease her passing. The "Magpie" however, a canon regular, informs the hapless parrot that she should make provision for her soul not only by making a full confession but handing over all of her property, for he informed her, he had the power to grant her "full remmission". The tone of the verse leaves no doubt that the canon's primary concern lies in securing a hold on the patient's wealth. The canon was not alone however, for he had competition in the form of the "Raven", a black monk, and the "Buzzard", a friar. In both cases the spiritual comfort they offer is again a mere sham, mounted to secure a right to the property of the dying parrot. The friar for example demands that she make over her wealth to the Church to secure the services of himself and his co - conspirators the canon and monk. In anger, the parrot calls him a hypocrite, and tells him that he would have neither her goods nor her corpse; in the event however, no sooner was the parrot dead than the religious present began to struggle like scavengers over the corpse, each seeking to outdo the other over possession of her estate. [18] Other cutting verses still may attributed to the pen of Lindsay. In *The Fourth Buke Of The Monarche* for example, the author would seem to mitigate the effects of the above mockery when he stated that amongst those to be saved at the Last Judgement would be a:

> "Small nummer of Monkis, and Freris, Off Carmelites, and Cordeleris, That for the lufe of Christ onlye, Renuncit the world unfenatlye."

That he addressed what he saw as a small minority however he made equally clear when he addressed all "Brethren of Religioun" at a later stage in the same work, for he told them that their ecclesiastical costumes, their tonsures, would not excuse their part in using superstition, idolatry, flattery and hypocrisy to achieve their own selfish ends. A view echoed by the author of *The Gude And Godlie Ballatis* who also maintained that the two main tools of the friars were flattery and superstition.

In *Ane Satyr Of The Thrie Estates*, Lindsay further ridicules the religious of his day in the actions of "Dissait", "Falset" and "Flatterie", the courtiers who - fearing discovery by "Gude Council" and "Correctioun" - decide to disguise themselves to avoid censure. Flattery suggests using clerical attire, to so appear as if they were "new cum out of France", Falsehood concurs with this idea and dons a "hude" to imitate the garb of the religious. Flattery for his part states his preference for assuming the role of a mendicant, and when his fellow Falsehood reminded him of his inability to preach, he replied that since he was able to both flatter and cajole he had every chance of

becoming the king's confessor; this foul image of the character of a mendicant further developed in the later character of the "Pardoner" who claimed he learned his craft from a friar named "Hypocrisie".

In Flattery's eyes therefore, "pure freirs" were "free at any feast", able to mix in the highest company, for they befriended the bishops who employed them to preach on their behalf. In addition, they were always sure of maintaining a secure position in society through their favour with the "gudewyfs" of the diocese, their intimacy with this group such that they were privy to information denied the partners of the women thus beguiled. Thereafter, significantly, Flattery dons the cowl of a friar of Tullilum and looks for a prayer book to complete his disguise; this done he announced that he now felt safe for:

> "Friars [were] exemplit fra the king, And Freiris will reddie entries get Quhen lords [were] haldin at the yet".

Later still it is Flattery who warns the "reverent fatheris of the Spirituall stait" to beware of "Dame Veritie", and it is he and the "Persone" whom the "Abbot" suggests should be the agents of her downfall. When reform nevertheless seems imminent, in discussing the coming storm with his associates, it is Flattery's stated intention to enter a cloister and keep a low profile until the worst of the trouble was past. In light of these events, John the Common - weill's remarks regarding the friars were to provide a blanket condemnation of the mendicant Orders in general:

> "great fat freiris, Augustenes, Carmeleits and Cordeleirs, And all uthers that in cowls bene clad, Quhilk labours nocht and bene weill fed - I mein nocht laborand spirituallie, Nor for thair living corporallie, Lyand in dennis lyke idill doggis, I thaim compair to weil - fed hoggis."

Thus it was that "Spiritualitie", when brought to task over his abuses of office, blamed the friars for his downfall since it was they who convinced him it was enough to have them preach in his place, and thus Flattery himself admitted that he:

> "begylde all the Thrie Estaitis With [his] hypocrisie. Quhen [he] had on [his] freirs hude All men beleifit that [he] was gude Now judge ye gif i be...."

Further, he stated that it was possible to take a man corrupted by all manner of vices, yet place him in the habit of a friar, and womankind would defend him as if he were "ane verie saint!". "Quhat halines is thair within" he asked, "Ane wolfe cled in ane wedders skin?". That the problems thus described were not merely confined to the rank and file of the Church's servants, Lindsay made clear in *The Third Buke Of The Monarchie* when he had the character of "Experience" describe the higher echelons of the religious thus:

> "My lord Abbot, rycht venerabyll, Ay marschellit upmost at the table; My lord Byschope, moste reverent, Sett abufe Erlis in Parliament...."

So he continues, referring to the privileges accorded to the higher ecclesiastics of his day, right up to the most exalted individual of all, the pope, who is placed above the Emperor himself. [19]

Earlier criticism still of the lifestyle of those professing to serve the Church may be seen in the verses of *The Thre Prestis Of Peblis How Thai Tald Thar Talis*. Here, although the characters who form the subject of the piece cannot be assigned to either the regular or mendicant Orders, or indeed [with any certainty] to a collegiate foundation, it is possible to suggest in terms of popular imagery at least - that to the laity they represented the type of wholly unsuitable individual foisted on to a parish through the widespread practice of appropriation, normally by an abbey, or, increasingly in the late fifteenth to early sixteenth century a college. Thus, the negative aspects of the behaviour of the subjects of this piece could easily have unfavourably biased the way in which the laity viewed the subjects of this thesis; for the tone here is one of rich excess, the three sitting "full esely and soft....", making "gud chere" with a table supplied with "caponis on a speit" and sundry other delicacies, all set before a warming fire. The whole picture therefore was one of ease and comfort as the three, having "Drunkyn about a quart, decide the order in which they would relate their tales. [20]

Thus the charges levelled by William Dunbar and George Buchanan concerning the scheming, flattery and dishonesty employed by the religious of their day to ensure a life of ease, must surely have been given added apparent validity in the eyes of the laity by the views of Lindsay, and in the earlier description of religious laxity in the work of the anonymous author above.

These views in turn however were seemingly supported by more reliable sources still. In terms of a life of ease for instance, in 1533 the Cistercian General Chapter ordered an investigation into the Abbeys of Melrose, Newbattle and Balmerino. In these houses it was discovered that the inmates were not only receiving their portions, but allowances to buy food, clothing, and the liberty

to enjoy their own private gardens. Challenged over this apparent excess, the inmates of Newbattle and Balmerino agreed to submit to the commissioners reforms on the condition that their mother house Melrose first change its ways. Such was the determination of the monks to maintain what they claimed were long established rights, that in the event the reforms put forward were of a mild nature. The monks were to be allowed to retain their individual gardens provided they were of a uniform size and recognised as belonging to the abbeys in question as opposed to individual monks. Any produce or profit of these gardens was to be used for the benefit of the community as a whole as opposed to the individual, similarly any excess profit from the monks portions was to be given to the poor. In future, money destined for the monks to provide for their clothing was to be kept to the basic minimum necessary to meet their needs. Thus although an attempt was made to improve the lifestyle of these servants of God, the long established nature of the privileges concerned and the strength of the opposition mounted by the monks against any change however mild, would suggest that the problem of laxity in monastic circles was fairly well entrenched, and that certain requirements of the Rule of St. Benedict had long been ignored.

In terms of the charge levelled at some religious for attempting to curry favour with society's leaders, it should be noted that James IV for example was a strong supporter of the Observantine branch of the Franciscan Order, not only founding their house in Stirling but appointing the first warden of the foundation as his personal confessor. Thus Lindsay's comment above, that a friar could rise to the honour of being the king's confessor was indeed borne out in fact. [21] Additional evidence of privilege in the mendicant ranks may be seen in the favour shown to the Dominicans by James IV in his support for the Order's commendatory hold on the Trinitarian house of Failford.[22]

Of dishonesty, equally there can be little doubt that such behaviour was indeed suggested outside the works of contemporary authors. In terms of Trinitarian Failford, James II voiced his disapproval of this house in 1459, this for the claimed decadent behaviour of the inmates. Similarly, in the same reign the community of Trinitarians at Peebles had faced charges of having ignored their spiritual responsibilities, and more seriously still, of having sold off the valuables of their house, including pieces of the relic cross they possessed. [23] On 3 August 1440, no less than a figure than the Prior of the Augustinian house of St. Andrews, James Haldenston, was under investigation for simony and for the alienation of Church "goods and property". The following year, the Abbot of Paisley, Thomas Morrow, was under investigation for having "stirred up many rapes, seditions, wars, homicides and other scandals" among the inhabitants of the diocese of Glasgow; further, that he "alienated, sold, dilapitated and distrained many of the moveable and immovable goods of the

monastery...." On 30 September 1444, the papacy received a report of the numerous misdemeanours of the inmates of Kelso Abbey, who it would seem had withdrawn "from the monastery of their own temerity and lived very dissolutely in the world as apostates", one of them apparently even going so far as to instigating the "spoilation of the monastery". Later still, - 24 October 1444 - a priest, "John de Camera" was under investigation for the murder of "John Blak, layman,.... in the city of Florence", whilst on 17 April 1445 a monk of Paisley - John de Lychew [Lithgow] - was under suspicion of being either a "public fornicator or a common player at games or dice". A more disturbing case emerged the following year - 9 May 1446 - for in serving a summons on Patrick, Abbot of Holyrood, to appear to explain his "innumerable crimes" at the papal court, John Keis, a canon of the house in question, was imprisoned by the resentful abbot. This despite Keis having been commissioned by the papacy to undertake the task, and while the latter was under pain of excommunication. [24] In terms of further behaviour which questions the honesty of the religious of the period, what would appear as the case of a member of the Aberdeen Trinitarians giving "a chalice of silver, fourteen ounces in weight" to Agnes Lawson and John Abercromby, her husband, in payment of a debt he owed. [25]

A plentiful supply of cases existed therefore to support the works of such authors as Dunbar, Lindsay and Buchanan, and their claims regarding overwordly and dishonest religious. Furthermore, as stated in previous chapters these men could draw on a traditional reservoir of similar ammunition. In terms of the present chapter for instance they could look back on the above mentioned example of the fourteenth century Grey friar, John the Carpenter, who not only constructed and deployed engines of war, but also took a leading part in the defence of Dumbarton castle during the Wars of Independence. [26] Similarly, in terms of dishonesty, they could draw on such examples as the intervention of Pope John XXII [1316/34] on behalf of the Franciscans of Roxburgh and Berwick, to recover the books and valuables which had been stolen from their houses at the apparent bidding of the inmates of Kelso Abbey. Thus the view expressed by James I, on 17 March 1424/5 to the heads of the Benedictine and Augustinian houses in Scotland, that they were bringing the religious life into disrepute by the example they set, would appear to have been overly restrained, for as seen above the problem was more widespread still. [27]

In turning now to examine the charge that many members of the religious Orders were not only morally defective but also physically and mentally handicapped, again history would indeed seem to support the detractors case. In terms of the mighty Cluniac Order, as early as the Customary of the monk Ulrich, - written c.1083 - the popularity of the Order had caused a rapid increase in the numbers flocking to embrace the Clunaic existence. The problem however even at

this early period was that not all these recruits were of a suitable nature, thus Peter the Venerable remarked that:

> "Yokels, children, old men and idiots have been taken in such numbers that they are now near to forming a majority...."

This somewhat depressing view was supported in part by the monk Ulrich, who observed that such processions as were involved in the Mass, and for the Kiss of Peace and Communion were taking an unusually long time on account of the high numbers of aged and infirm within the community. A further draw back, in terms of monastic recruitment in general, was the established practice of the nobility using religious communities as a dumping ground for either surplus, idiot or crippled offspring. In one author's opinion at least, the presence of the latter group proved by archaeological evidence. [28]

In terms of criticism regarding the educational failings of the religious of the period under study, an act passed in the reign of James V on 14 March 1540/1, held that many members of the Church were deficient in wit, knowledge and manners, whilst in 1541 Archibald Hay had remarked, regarding priests, that many were so "obscured all round with the darkness of ignorance", that they "hardly [knew] the order of their alphabet". Such views found a sympathetic hearing in the Council of Church leaders which met under Archbishop John Hamilton in 1549, for amongst the problems which it identified in the Church was the "crass ignorance of literature and of all liberal arts" amongst many of its servants, particularly those serving on the ground in the parishes. A similar condemnation of the rank and file of the Church followed the Council of 1551/2, Archbishop Hamilton on this occasion announcing the introduction of a "Catechism" to enable such men as the rectors and curates of the parishes to carry out their duties without leaving themselves so open to ridicule as they had been in the past. That such concern could be expressed in terms of the regular Orders may be seen by reference to the nunneries of Elcho and Haddington respectively. In the former community, it would appear from a charter drawn up on 2 March 1539/40 that whilst the Prioress Eufeme Lesley could sign her name, her nine sisters within the same house could not. In the latter house of Haddington, it would seem that when called to witness a charter relating to a grant of land belonging to the house - on 14 October 1560 - neither the Prioress or her nine sisters were capable of appending their names. [29]

Finally, in turning to the question of immorality, it is perhaps fair to say that in this area more than any other, contemporary critics of the religious in the period c.1450 to 1560 could find a

wealth of material to support their claims. It should be remembered for example that in the introduction to the present work, reference was made to the *Panegyricus* of Archibald Hay, wherein the author referred to "the riotous living of those who, professing chastity, [had] invented new kinds of lusts...." That he was not alone in such a jaundiced view of contemporary religious may be seen in the description provided by John Spottiswood, the seventeenth century Archbishop of St. Andrews, of the character of William Gordon, the Bishop of Aberdeen:

> "Some hopes he gave at first of a virtuous man, but afterwards turned a very epicure, spending all his time in drinking and whoring; he dilapitated the whole rents by feuing the lands, and converting the victual duties into money, a great part whereof he wasted upon his base children, and the whores their mothers...."[30]

That such an example taken from the ranks of the episcopate was not an isolated incident, nor merely one of a man outwith the subjects of this study, the regular Orders and their secular counterparts in the colleges, became all too apparent upon further investigation. In beginning with the Order of St. Augustine, Abbot Robert Carncors [31] of Holyrood for example laid claim to three offspring, John, Andrew and Isabel, whilst John Hume, Abbot of Jedburgh, sought recognition of his three sons John, Alexander and Matthew, and his daughter Margaret. [32] Alexander Stewart, the Bishop of Moray, for his part sought recognition for his son Alexander, at a time when he could also lay claim to being the Commendator of the Augustinian houses of Inchaffray and Scone; [33] similarly, the later Abbot of Scone, James Abercromby sought recognition of his daughter Agnes. [34] The link to this house was later maintained by Patrick Hepburn the Bishop of Moray, Commendator of Scone, the past Prior of the Augustinian house of St. Andrews, who also applied for letters of legitimation for his daughters Janet and Agnes, and for his sons, Adam, Patrick, George, John and Patrick junior. [35]

Moving to the Benedictine houses within Scotland, the Prior of Coldingham, Adam Blackadder, acknowledged the existence of three sons Patrick, William, and Edmund, [36] whilst the Prior of Pittenweem, John Rowle, sought the legitimation of his sons John, James, William and Ninian. [37] George Dury, whilst Commendator of Dunfermline applied for letters of legitimation for his sons Peter, George, John and Henry, [38] the Prior of Pluscarden, Alexander Dunbar, similar recognition of his sons Robert, John and Patrick. [39]

Cistercian connections to this sorry picture may also be identified, the Commendator of Glenluce for example, Cuthbert Baillie, Royal Treasurer of James IV, acknowledging the presence of a son, Bernard. [40] More prolific still, Robert Forrester, Abbot of Balmerino, who laid claim to two sons - John and Alexander - and a daughter - Janet -. [41] Donald Campbell, Abbot of Coupar Angus, for his part seeking letters of legitimation for his son, Archibald. [42]

Other examples which can be related to the religious Orders of the day include John Hamilton, past Abbot of Clunaic Paisley, seeking a similar boon for his son, John. [43] A connection can be made here between this individual and David Beaton for both were to hold the office of Archbishop of St. Andrews. Beaton in turn was to maintain close links with the Tironensian Abbey of Arbroath, and he like the others already mentioned was to seek to have his offspring recognised in law; their names, George, Elizabeth, Margaret, James, Alexander, and John. [44] Other examples still from the Tironensian Order include that of Abbot Alexander Hamilton of Kilwinning who sought recognition of his son Alexander, and Gavin Hamilton the later Commendator of the same house who acknowledged the existence of a son, Gavin, and a daughter, Margaret. [45] Finally, in terms of this brief summary, even in the small outpost of Premonstratensian Fearn, the abbot of this house, David Dunune, sought a similar right for his sons William and David. [46] Thus all of the major monastic Orders within Scotland could be seen to have been included in one way or another in this roll call of shame.

At this point it also significant to note that the collegiate houses who form part of this thesis, had little room for complacency. On 7 January 1529/30 for example, Alexander Buchan, canon of the collegiate Chapel Royal in Stirling, achieved legal recognition of his offspring Andrew, Alexander and Jasper, [47] whilst a later inmate of the same foundation, Alexander Scott, on 21 November 1549, acknowledged the presence of two sons, John and Alexander. [48] Other examples still from the collegiate ranks include the chancellor of the Chapel Royal, Michael Disart and his offspring, Duncan, Andrew, John, Oliver, and Agnes, [49] and the past Provost of the collegiate kirk of Lincluden, William Stewart, - by this time, 25 September 1542, the Bishop of Aberdeen - who sought recognition of his son John Stewart, the Treasurer of Aberdeen. [50]

Such material as that examined above however relates to the elite of the Church, and before moving on it is proposed to briefly glance at some of her less prestigious servants. Here, an account of the visitation made by John Winram, sub - prior of St. Andrews, to the Priory of Pittenweem raised several serious issues, among which were the need to reinforce statutes relating to the exclusion of women from the confines of the priory. Of a more direct nature still, the material regarding the nuns of the Scottish realm. Perhaps the most damning piece, a letter sent by Cardinal

Sermoneta to Pope Paul IV in 1556, its contents a resume of the correspondence sent to the Cardinalate by Mary, Queen of Scots concerning the perceived failings of the female religious within Scotland at this time. According to these observers:

> "All nunneries of every kind of religious women, and especially those of the Cistercian Order.... [had] come to such a pass of boldness, that they utterly [scorned] the safeguards of chastity. [For] not only [did] they wander outside the monastic enclosures in shameless fashion through the houses of seculars.... they even [admitted] all sorts of worthless and wicked men within their convents and [held] with them unchaste intercourse...." [51]

Evidence of how such a charge could be seen to be justified may be taken from the protocol book of Mr. Gilbert Grote - 1552/73 - and his reference to the experiences of Alexander Blair, the procurator of Patrick Hepburn, Bishop of Moray. Acting on the instructions of his master, Alexander sought one Patrick Congiltoun at his house, and failing to find him at home went:

> "to the monastery of the nuns at Haddington where he heard the said Patrick generally dwelt with the prioress thereof, and where he was informed by some women who dwelt therein that he [Patrick] was within or not far from the monastery...." [52]

Earlier material to suggest that Lindsay was accurate in his barbed comments concerning the morality of female religious may be seen in the earlier instance of the suppression of the Benedictine house of Lincluden at the instigation of Archibald, Earl of Douglas in 1389. In granting the Earl's petition, Pope Clement VII, citing Archibald's letter, stated that the house was to be suppressed because:

> "the Prioress and nuns of the same monastery for a long time since have lived and live so shamefully and irregularly that the said monastery cannot be called a place of religious women but of women living disgracefully...."

So the damning list of sins continued covering the inmates sloth, and their desire for a comfortable life for both themselves, and their offspring! [53] Further support for Lindsay's observations could be

taken from Continental sources too, for in the early decades of the sixteenth century, some of the stories which circulated amongst the reforming elements within society spoke of infanticide in monasteries as nuns disposed of their unwanted offspring. Such rumours of infanticide may well have been no more than just that, but the notion of immorality amongst nuns was one which received clear confirmation in the words of Cardinal Gasparo Contarini. Raised to the Cardinalate in 1535 by Pope Paul III as part of the papal desire to reform and revitalise the Church, he was to preside over the General Council of the Church called in Rome in 1537. Thus, when no less a figure than this man remarked:

> "Another abuse troubles the Christian people with regard to nuns under the care of conventual friars, where in very many convents public sacrilege occurs with the greatest scandal to all...."

he effectively destroyed much of the moral credibility of both the female religious of the period, and that of friars. 54

Perhaps the most telling evidence that men such as Lindsay might have been accurate in painting so unwholesome a picture of contemporary religious however, came from the Church Councils convened in Scotland in the sixteenth century. Among the topics covered as early as 1549, the "recalling of apostate monks [and] nuns", the "corruption of morals, and profane lewdness of life in churchmen of almost all ranks...." and the prohibition of concubinage. In all of these, and other, moral reforms it was stressed that members of the episcopate should lead by example. That the problem was a deep seated one however, may be seen in the later council convened in 1558/9, for it repeated calls for the episcopate to act as an example for the lower ranks of the church to follow, and further demanded that religious did not use their position within the Church to further the welfare of their offspring, either by admitting them to religious office, or marrying them off to the nobility. [55]

Here, it could be said that far from silencing their critics, the roll call of such councils displayed an irony which would not have been lost on contemporary observers. The leader of these select gatherings for example, John Hamilton, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Commendator of Paisley, was a known pluralist, and in terms of his moral standing it has been suggested that he fathered at least three sons, William, John and James, and a daughter, Margaret, through his liaison with Grissel Sempill - the ex-wife of James Hamilton of Stonehouse -; this in addition to rumours of other children and mistresses unspecified. [56]

Of those members of the Church who served under him, William Gordon, the Bishop of Aberdeen would seem to have fathered at least five sons - William, Walter, Alexander, George, and John - and three daughters - Margaret, Matilda and Elizabeth. [57] In addition, when considering this individual's character, it is important to remember that Archbishop Spottiswood had condemned him for drunkenness and whoring. [58] Similarly, as seen above, the character of another of Archbishop Hamilton's fellow Council members, Patrick Hepburn, the past Prior of the Augustinian house of St. Andrews, present Bishop of Moray and Commendator of Scone, was open to condemnation, for one author attributed as many as fourteen or fifteen illegitimate children to this one individual. [59] Of a similar nature, Andrew Dury, the past Abbot of Melrose, now the Bishop of Whithorn, head of the collegiate Chapel Royal, a man condemned by Knox for his lecherous character; he appeared alongside William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, a man censured by Archbishop Spottiswood, and thought to have fathered some ten to twelve children, two of whom - Helen and Janet - he married off to John Buchanan and Sir James Stirling of Keir, thereby ignoring the 1549 directives concerning providing for ecclesiastical offspring. [60] In this he was far from alone, for a more influential individual still, Cardinal David Beaton, the Commendator of Arbroath, set an equally unedifying example. He planned for example the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth to a son of the Laird of Panmure in the neighbourhood of Brechin, and although this failed Beaton went on to secure a more prestigious match still for his daughter Margaret, paying some 4, 000 merks in dowry to the Earl of Crawford on her marriage to his heir David Lindsay, the Master of Crawford. It is important to note that the sum agreed was the equal of that given by the Regent Arran on the marriage of two of his daughters in 1545 and 1555, and that the population at large would have known of the equal grandeur of the Cardinal's match, for there was seemingly little expense spared in the ceremony and festivities surrounding his daughter's marriage. [61]

Thus far the emphasis has been mainly on the leading lights of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the bishops, commendators and abbots of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but as stated above these men were merely a part of the Church as a whole, and the question remains as to the effect of their example on her other servants. Here, the character of John Bonar, provides just such an example of the type of individual whom Lindsay had in mind when he had the character "Solace" advise the king to ask the monks of Balmerino if lechery were sinful, for on 30 August 1553 this monk of Balmerino sought legal recognition of his son James. [62] More damning evidence still however can be seen in the successful supplication of canon John Crawford of Holyrood Abbey to the papacy on 19 May 1435, for a dispensation to excuse the defect of his birth as the son of a monk and a nun. [63] Other similar cases still may be seen such as the monk of

Paisley, John de Lychew [Lithgow] who was condemned on 3 April 1445 for "wandering as a vagabond outwith the monastery", for keeping "a public concubine or housekeeper" and for leading "such a dishonourable life for several years.... that it [could] no longer be hidden with a clear conscience, since it [was] to the greatest danger to his soul and a pernicious example...." [64] The same year a canon of Holyrood, William Mornenyn [Moran?], was "accused publicly of having a mistress by whom he had offspring", whilst the following year no less a figure than Richard Clepham "chaplain and familiar" of King James II sought a dispensation for his being the son of a priest and an unmarried woman. [65] At this point it might be argued that so few references to monks and nuns, and the seeming total absence of members of the mendicant Orders, would prove that the problem was almost wholly one of the upper echelons of the Church, the commendators, abbots and priors, and that the rank and file were by and large attempting to follow the demands of celibacy which their offices demanded. Here however it should be remembered that such individuals had little or nothing in the way of money or possessions to leave any offspring they may have had, thus there was no incentive to undergo the expense involved in having their children recognised in law, lest they lost their inheritance to the crown by virtue of their "defect of birth". Viewed in this light therefore, it is possible to argue that there were many more children of such parents who went unrecorded.

In summing up the evidence presented to justify the charges levelled in the introduction to this chapter, it would indeed seem that there was no shortage of material from which the authors of the mid fifteenth to the mid sixteenth centuries could draw to substantiate their cutting observations on the servants of the Church, for such examples they were perhaps personally acquainted with, could be supplemented by similar evidence coming in from England and the Continent. [66] Thus, at a first reading, it is entirely feasible to argue, as in the introduction to this chapter, that men such as Buchanan and Lindsay were justified in maintaining many religious within Scotland in the period in question could indeed be said to have been immoral, illiterate, worldly, physically and mentally flawed. The task of the following chapter therefore, will be to see to what extent - if any - such a damning series of indictments may be mitigated.

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3.) R. Lyall (ed.): *Lindsay*, 9, l. 265 - 68; 43, l. 1212 - 13; 43 - 44, l. 1235; 44, l. 1256 - 59; 45, l. 1261, 1264; 107, l. 2965, 2968 - 70; 131, l. 3638 - 86.

4.) R. Lyall (ed.): *Lindsay*, 9, l. 261 - 2; 167, l. 56 - 8.

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5.) P. Hume Brown: *Vernacular Writings Of George Buchanan*, (Edinburgh, London, 1892), Introduction, xvii - viii.

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6.) W.M. Bryce: *Sc. Grey Friars* Vol 2, 318, 3330.

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J Stuart and G Burnett (eds.) and others: *Exch. Rolls Scot.*, Vol. 5, 534 - 35; 6, 200, 295; 7, 294.

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8.) W. M. Bryce: *Sc. Grey Friars*, Vol 1. 180 - 1, 186 - 9, 191, 203, 484 - 6.

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9.) P. J. Anderson: *Aberdeen Friars*, 34, 64, 71.

10.) P. J. Anderson: *Aberdeen Friars*, 35, 48, 62, 79, 82.

11.) P. J. Anderson: *Aberdeen Friars*, 35, 37, 39, 44, 56 - 8.

12.) *Ayrshire And Wigtonshire Archaeological Society: Vol 12, Charters Of The Friars Preachers Of Ayr*, (Edinburgh, 1884), 50 - 1.

13.) *Acts: Civil Causes*, Vol. 2, 1496 - 1501, 47.

A. I. Dunlop, D. MacLauchlan and I. B. Cowan: *Calendar Of Scottish Supplications To Rome*, Vol. 4, 1433 - 1447, Nos. 125, 436, 827.

14.) W. Angus (ed.): "Inventory Of Pitfirrane Writs, 1230-1794",, in, *Sc. Rec. Soc.*, (Edinburgh, 1936), Nos. 20, 23, 25, 27.

15.) R. C. Reid: "Some Processes Relating To Glenluce Abbey", in, *Trans. Dum. and Gall*, (1936-8),Vol. 21, 292, 304-5.

16.) *Acts: Public Affairs*, 1501 - 1554, 207 - 8, 319, 432, 446, 485, 501.

17.) *Acts: Public Affairs*, 1501 - 1554, 580 for James Stewart; 496 - 70 for Robert Reid.

18.) D. Hamer (ed.): *Lindsay*, Vol. 1, see for example, 75 - 77, l. 647 - 70, 679 - 81, 692, 709, 719, 723; 89 - 90, l. 1144.

19.) D. Hamer (ed.): *Lindsay*, Vol. 1, 337; 367, l. 5684 - 87; 371, l. 5850 - 372, l. 5875.

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20.) T. D. Robb (ed.) *The Thre Prestis Of Peblis How Thai Tald Thar Talis*, 2, l. 11 - 29.

21.) J. Campbell: *Balmerino And Its Abbey, A Parochial History* (Edinburgh, 1867), 110 - 12.

James Morton: *The Monastic Annals Of Teviotdale*, 240.

For an example of the way in which these houses were ignoring the monastic ideal as laid down in the Rule of St. Benedict, see:
J. McCann: *The Rule Of St. Benedict*, 85, Ch. 33, *Whether Monks Should Have Anything Of Their Own.* In terms of private ownership this directive states: " This vice especially ought to be utterly rooted out of the monastery. Let no one.... have anything of his own, anything whatever.... for monks should not have even their bodies and wills at their disposal ". The Rule describes any contradiction of this directive as " the most wicked vice ".

22.) *Letters: James IV*, 75, 77 - 9.

23.) I. B. Cowan and D. E. Easson: *Med. Rel. Houses*, 109 - 10.

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25.) A. Ross: *"Notes"*, in, D. McRoberts (ed.): *Essays*, 211.

P. J. Anderson: *Aberdeen Friars*, 93.

26.) W. M. Bryce: *Sc. Grey Friars*, Vol. 1, 35 - 6.

27.) W. M. Bryce: *Sc. Grey Friars*, Vol. 2, 2.

J. N. D. Kelly: *Popes*, 214 - 6.

D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 69.

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28.) N. Hunt: *Cluny Under St. Hugh, 1049-1109*, (London, 1967), see for example: 32 - 3, 36, 52 - 3, 69, 82 - 3, 85, 87, 105, 202.

L. J. R. Millis: *Angelic Monks And Earthly Men, Monasticism And Its Meaning To Medieval Society* (Woodbridge, 1992), 62 - 3.

29.) D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 42, 49, 84, 86, 97.

A. P. S. Vol. 2, 370, c.4.

D. Patrick: *Statutes*, 84, 110, 143 - 44, 146, 175.

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30.) D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 44.

J. Spottiswood: *History*, Vol. 1, 210.

31.) D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 549, Robert Carncors.

R. M. S. 1513 - 1546, No. 1712, 2 September 1537.

32.) D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, John Hume, 551, 557, 560.

33.) D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, Alexander Stewart, 554, 558.

R. M. S. 1546 - 1580, No. 452, 30 April 1550.

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34.) D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 556.

35.) D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 558, 568.

R. M. S. 1546 - 1580, No. 460, 14 May 1550.

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36.) D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 549, 551, 563.

R. M. S. 1513 - 1546, No. 1898, 11 January 1538 - 39.

37.) D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 551, 553.

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38.) D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 553, 558.

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40.) D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 546.

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41.) D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 549, 555, 556, 562.

42.) D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 561.

43.) D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 555.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 88 - 91.

44.) D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 547, 550, 554.

45.) As Above, 548, 551, 561.

46.) " ", 551.

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50.) " ", 552.

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52.) A. Ross: "Notes", in, D. McRoberts (ed.): *Essays*, 229.

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57.) D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 55.

58.) J. Spottiswood: *History*, Vol. 1, 210.

59.) D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 56 - 7.

60.) D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 57.

D. Laing (ed.): *Knox*, Vol. 1, 261.

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61.) D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 62.

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Chapter Six

Unworthy Servants Of A Redundant Piety, Or Vibrant Symbols Of Spirituality In A Climate Of Change: The Regular Orders And The Collegiate Clergy In Fifteenth And Sixteenth Century Scotland.

"Contrar tyll Christis Instytutioun, To thame that deis in habit of ane Freir, Rome hes thame grantit ful remissioun, To passe tyll hevin straucht way, withoutin weir, Quhilk bene in Scotland usit mony ane yeir...."

[D. Hamer: *Lindsay*, Vol. 1, *The Third Buke Of The Monarche*, 342, l. 4827 - 31.]

Introduction

In chapter 5 a wide variety of criticisms were levelled at the members of the religious orders of the period in question, principally at the higher ranks of the Church, the bishops - many of whom were past abbots, priors or provosts of collegiate communities, thereafter episcopal commendators - and the abbots. In terms of the lower ranks of the Church, monks and nuns were seen to have come under equally unfavourable scrutiny, but perhaps the most heavily criticised of all, as witnessed by Lindsay's observations above, were the mendicant orders. Not only were the charges of immorality driven home with even greater force against the members of this group, but they were also subject to equally forceful accusations regarding dishonesty, and the widescale manipulation of the laity to achieve their own base ends.

On examining contemporary events, it became apparent that there was indeed a wealth of material capable of substantiating many of the charges levelled at all of the above servants of the Church. Furthermore, it is equally true to say that material relating to other members of the Church, - such as the parish clergy - regarding for example low standards of education and immorality, would have added weight to the case against the subjects of this thesis, for all were members of the same edifice, the Church of Rome, and all would therefore have shared in the demerit accrued by any individual grouping within the structure of the Church as a whole, particularly in light of the widespread practice of appropriation, whereby the monastic houses and colleges were themselves responsible in many instances for the appointment of the parish incumbent. At this point however, the most obvious question which springs to mind, is if the subjects of this thesis were so hopelessly

dissolute and generally flawed, why should the above quote from Lindsay suggest that even in his day, the very garment of one of these groups, the cowl of a friar, was still perceived as having the ability to secure a favourable reception in the life to come for its wearer?

In light of this doubt, might it not be possible to suggest, that despite the evidence which the authors of the period could draw upon to justify their critical observations, sizeable sections of the laity from all social levels, were prepared to tolerate such - in many instances long entrenched - behaviour, in the belief that members of religious orders and collegiate kirks were still nevertheless the most efficient means whereby society could maintain the crucial intercessionary link between man and God. Foremost perhaps amongst the questions which arise here therefore, are to what extent ~~to~~ would it have been possible for the laity to have viewed the actions of the subjects of this thesis in a more favourable light, and to what degree was there a voluntary movement towards reform, by the seemingly hopelessly corrupt members of these orders themselves? In short, were contemporary critics so incensed by the abuses they saw, that they perhaps wilfully ignored the merits of the individuals involved, concentrating instead on finding evidence to justify their critical observations?

In this chapter therefore, an attempt will be made to determine the degree to which members of the religious orders made a positive effort to maintain acceptable standards of religious life in the period in question, and to what extent, if any, it would be possible to provide a more favourable interpretation of the actions of the relevant sections of the Church's personnel. It should be noted at this point, that matters relating specifically to the collegiate houses of Scotland, and the part they played in shaping lay perceptions of contemporary religious, will be dealt with in detail in chapter 8.

In the introduction to the present work, the reader was asked to bear in mind several points, among them the fact that Scotland was no isolated backwater, cut off from external influences. Rather by the period in question the kingdom should be seen as having long enjoyed an established place in the spiritual and political life of western Christendom. Thus in opening the present chapter, it is proposed to examine, albeit briefly, some of the measures being suggested for reform at the highest levels within the Church, that is within the cardinalate of Rome and the papacy itself.

Such a prominent example may be seen to have emerged from the work of the fifth Lateran Council which met for the first time on 3 May 1512. Of the recognition within the Catholic hierarchy of a need to address the pressing issues of reform there can be little doubt, for in passing

the bull *Supernae dispositionis arbitrio* - on 5 May 1514 - the ninth session of the Council sought to tackle many of the issues which had so damaged the reputation of the Roman Church.

In the opening stages of the bull for example, the Council decided that "since there [was] nothing more injurious to the Church of God than the promotion of unworthy prelates to the government of the churches....", in future only those who possessed the character and experience necessary for such positions of responsibility were to be so promoted. Here, it should be remembered that in chapter 1 of this thesis, most of these men were seen to have been not only bishops, but the commendatory heads of religious houses appointed for their abilities to serve the crown as opposed to the Church. Further, in chapters 2 and 3, that they showed an equal ability to act as castellans, and as men of war in both battle and in personal feuds. In chapter 4 many clearly demonstrated an insatiable appetite for collecting lucrative monastic houses, whilst in chapter 5 immorality was clearly a problem. Thus it would appear that the above legislation was indeed introduced to deal with a long - standing problem; equally, like the requirements of both the Benedictine and Augustinian Rules on morality, it would appear to have been ignored.

Significantly, the Council also laid down clear guide lines as to necessary age of those seeking appointment to the position of abbot or bishop:

> "Should it happen that vacant bishoprics and abbeys are filled with persons who have not yet attained the thirtieth year of age, dispensations may be granted in the case of the former to those only who have completed their twenty - seventh year, and in the case of abbeys to those only who have completed their twenty - second year."

Here again however, ample evidence can be produced to prove that this restriction was openly flouted. In a letter sent by James V for example, [dated 16 December 1538] the king asked Pope Paul III to grant the monastery of Holyrood in commendam to his illegitimate son Robert Stewart, who was only five years old; the king justifying his request by stating that the proposed commenda enhanced the authority of the ecclesiastical order. Two subsequent letters of the same month went on to suggest that if Robert's age should prove to be a stumbling block for the papacy, the pope might consider Robert's elder brother John for the same position, for he was then seven years old! John was also to benefit in other ways; in seeking the promotion of Robert Reid, the Abbot of Kinloss, to the Bishopric of Orkney on 5 April 1541 for example, the king asked for a pension of 800 merks to be reserved to his son John. A few months later the king gained the additional reward of

the Priory of Coldingham for this same individual. Earlier, [1537/8] James V had written to Paul III with a series of proposals, asking that the Prior of St. Andrews, Patrick Hepburn, be promoted to the see of Moray and the Commenda of Scone, and that James Stewart, his son, be permitted to hold the Priory of St. Andrews in commendam despite his illegitimacy and the fact that he was only seven years old. That James V met with little difficulty in securing his requests may be seen in a letter dated 5 June 1540 which thanked the pope for the appointment of his sons James and Robert to the above positions. Further examples still of the above legislation being ignored, include the appointment of James IV's illegitimate son James Stewart, the Earl of Moray, to the Commenda of Arbroath when he was only about sixteen or seventeen years old, and the appointment of John Hamilton, "monk of Kilwinning, and natural son of James, Earl of Arran to the position of Abbot of Paisley". To achieve this request however, Pope Clement VII had to overlook both Hamilton's illegitimacy and his age, for he was only fourteen years old.

The Council was also clear in its condemnation of commendatorships, because monasteries suffered "grave losses both in spiritual and temporal affairs.... partly through the negligence and partly through the greed and carelessness of those to whom they are entrusted...." as a result of this the Council observed, "now and then opportunity is given, especially to laymen, to criticise and speak ill of the practice...." Henceforth, only those competent enough to supervise a religious community were to be appointed abbots, commendatorships were only to be granted under such circumstances as benefited the Church, not the recipient. Again however, the comprehensive examination of these individuals activities in chapters 1 [regarding offices held] and 4, [regarding the financial benefits of such offices] showed that such malpractice continued unabated, as indeed did the criticism levelled by contemporary observers of the religious. Other relevant measures still, in terms of the Scottish situation, regarded the limiting of dispensations for plurality, the strict enforcement of clerical chastity and an end to simonical activity. Once more, these rules were ignored in Scotland in the period c.1450 to 1560. As witnessed in chapter 1, plurality continued unabated with the acquiescence of Rome; clerical chastity, [as seen in chapter 5 in the numbers of illegitimate children credited to the religious] was also a non - starter, as indeed [as seen in chapter 4] was the idea that an individual should not purchase office within the Church, for there were many examples of individuals securing possession of religious houses, [normally in commendam] to tap into the widely criticised wealth, power and influence of the Church by just such means, sometimes with the express permission of the crown. [1]

A mere two years after the Council's findings, a layman, Gasparo Contarini - a future ambassador of both the Emperor Charles V [from 1521 to 1525] and the papacy [from 1528 to

1530] before his appointment to the cardinalate in 1535 - produced a manual on the ideal character of a bishop. In it he stated that he should be "of lofty spirit and adorned with all the virtues....", that he should possess "a far greater perfection of soul.... than [a] prince, both because he must guide the people of whom he has care toward the highest end.... and because, since no one is equal to bearing so great a burden by himself, he who girds himself for such a task must have a most purified soul and one worthy to receive divine illuminations". [2] When the career of, for example, David Beaton the Commendator of Arbroath is considered - in terms of chapters 1 to 5 - such advice once more may be said to have fallen on deaf ears.

This demand for perfection in the episcopate was in turn shared by the reforming Bishop of Verona, Gian Matteo Giberti, [1524 to 1543] in his *Constitutions* - published in 1542 - which laid down clear standards of conduct for the religious of his diocese. According to Giberti, those who held office within the Church had a duty to lead exemplary lives, for if they did not their sins would in turn lead the laity astray. The religious therefore were to avoid venturing abroad at night, acting in an unseemly manner or attending public functions. Drinking to excess was expressly condemned, and the religious were not to enter taverns unless "forced by travel or some other compelling reason", this prohibition applying in particular to the religious of rural areas since the author felt that many had been "seduced by the allurements of the innkeepers, procurers and prostitutes tarrying there...." Above all however, the "cohabitation" of members of the Church and women was expressly forbidden. [3] Here, a reference to chapter 5 suggests that much of this legislation was prompted by actual cases.

William Dunbar's *Friars of Berwick* for instance displayed most of the above faults, whilst immorality was clearly a failing of the religious whom he mentioned in *Tidings From The Session*, where youthful monks in particular attracted his attention. Similar failings were highlighted by David Lindsay in his *Three Estates*, wherein he accused prelates of maintaining numerous whores, and has an abbot say that his "paramours [were] als fat and fair as ony wench into the town of Air". Above all, as stated in chapter 5, the fact that few children of the rank and file of the religious appear in the requests submitted for letters of legitimation, may well have more to do with their parents lack of wealth than to their non - existence. That lecherous conduct on the part of the religious continued unabated after the above guidelines were completed, may be proven from the continued efforts on the part of religious to have their children recognised in law.

Continued papal concern for the spiritual health of the Church, led Pope Paul III to call a Commission of nine Church leaders to meet under Gasparo Contarini - by now a Cardinal - in 1536. Their recommendations presented to the Pope in early March of 1537, in the form of a report

entitled the *Consilium Delectorum Cardinalium Et Aliorum Prelatorum De Emenda Ecclesi*, represented what was perhaps the harshest indictment of the Church to date. So explosive was its nature, that no less a figure than Luther was to use a copy of its findings in support of his own campaign against the failings of the Roman Church. In addition to the crimes of the papacy itself - which will be examined in some detail in the final chapter of this thesis - the report highlighted what it saw were the most common failings of the Church of the day. "The first abuse in this respect [was] the ordination of clerics.... in which no care [was] taken, no diligence employed, so that indiscriminately the most unskilled, men of the vilest stock and of evil morals, adolescents, are admitted to Holy Orders and to the priesthood...." Again, such evidence as seen above for example in relation to immorality, [chapter 5] and simony [chapter 4] proves that papal desires were once more ignored. Of particular concern to the Council was the practice of awarding individuals with livings within the Church - especially bishoprics - and of allowing the same individuals to profit further by permitting them to reserve the income of such a benefice on their retirement. Both acted as a strong incentive to enter the Church on financial as opposed to spiritual grounds, the practice concerned seen for example in the career of the past Abbot of Holyrood, George Crichton. When he resigned his hold on the see of Dunkeld to his nephew Robert Crichton, he did so in the hope that he would be allowed to enjoy the "benefice, frutis, rents [and] placis tharof" in his retirement "within the burgh of Edinburgh".

Other demands for reform included ending such practices as swapping, and holding incompatible benefices - that of cardinal and bishop - resigning benefices in favour of relatives to ensure that the position remained within the family, and the need for residence. In terms of swapping benefices, Robert Reid, the Abbot of Kinloss, had gained the Priory of Beauly by just such an agreement with its holder, James Baudoven. The latter individual receiving the vicarage of Grandtully in the diocese of Moray from Reid, in exchange for his handing over Beauly. In terms of holding incompatible benefices, as seen in chapter 1, David Beaton performed the dual role of Cardinal of Scotland and Archbishop of St. Andrews, at a time when he also held the office of Commendator of Arbroath. With regards to the practice of resigning a benefice in favour of a relative, in addition to the example of George Crichton above, it should be remembered that David Beaton received the Abbey of Arbroath in just such a fashion from his uncle James Beaton, the Archbishop of Glasgow.

Perhaps more controversial still however was the statement made with regards to religious orders, that many had become so "deformed" as to be "a great scandal to the laity....", and should therefore be "abolished". Friars were to warrant a special mention in the summary of the Council for

they were to be examined as to their suitability to be preachers and confessors. Further, "with regard to nuns under the care of conventual friars...." the members of the Council were of the opinion that in "very many convents public sacrilege [occurred] with the greatest scandal to all." In terms of more general observations, the Council again raised the perennial issue of simony, calling for an end to the practice of allowing individuals to purchase "absolution from punishment" and thereby "retain the benefice which they [had] purchased." [4] In terms of abolition, it might be said that the female religious of Scotland were a prime target for such a remark. Lindsay, as seen in chapter 5, had little doubt as to their general immorality, and in combining such criticism of nuns with that levelled at the friars by Dunbar and Buchanan, again contemporary critics would seem to have been in tune with the Church's own concerns over areas for reform.

Finally, in terms of a European drive for reform within the ranks of the Church itself, perhaps the enduring nature of many of the above issues may be seen in the decrees of the Council of Trent. In the fifth session of the Council for example - in June, 1546 - bishops were charged to only appoint men capable of carrying out the remit of the benefices which lay within their dioceses, further, it was decreed that inmates of monastic houses should have instruction in the Scriptures, as should the inmates of the houses of the other regular Orders. Such instructors were themselves to be examined to ensure that they possessed the necessary qualifications and morality to carry out the task appointed, their remit also including the instruction of the laity in "public gymnasia". Having made provision for the raising of the Church's representatives educational standards, the Council then turned its attention towards the duties involved in various offices. All bishops, archbishops, primates, and all other prelates of the Church it declared, were "bound personally, if not lawfully hindered, to preach the Holy Gospel of Jesus Christ". If they could find a genuine reason for failing in this requirement, they were to "appoint competent persons to discharge.... this office of preaching...." Similarly, those who held "parochial and other churches" which held the cure of souls, were required on Sundays and solemn festivals to minister to their flock, if not in person, then by means of a stand in. The aim being to impart the message of Salvation to the people, tailoring their message to suit the ability of their audience. Where a church was subject to the authority of a monastery, it was the responsibility of the head of that house to see that the above directives were carried out. Every regular moreover, who intended to preach, whether to the laity, in the church of their own Order or that of another Order, had first to secure the permission of their superior, and the bishop of the diocese in which they intended to work. Were the individual to subsequently offend the bishop in question, he could be removed. Later still the Council tackled the perennial problem of non - residence. Henceforth, bishops were to reside in

their churches, anyone "who by title or in commendam [held] any ecclesiastical benefices that by law or custom...." required personal residence, would "be compelled by their ordinaries to reside therein...." Only "temporary permissions and dispensations were to be granted" to excuse such behaviour and then only on "true and reasonable grounds". With regards to those appointed, no one was to govern cathedral churches unless they were "born of lawful wedlock", were of mature age and possessed the necessary character and learning, moreover no bishop was to hold the charge of more than one cathedral church. Holders of incompatible benefices were to be deprived of office, and "ecclesiastical benefices having the curia animarum.... united or annexed to [a] cathedral, collegiate or other church, or to monasteries.... were to be subject to yearly visitation by their local bishop [who] was to ensure that the curia animarum was properly maintained...." [5] Since many of the bishops within Scotland in the period in question were also the nominal heads of religious houses as commendators, since many of the royal offspring had overcome the barriers of illegitimacy and age, and since individuals such as David Beaton and Andrew Forman had indeed managed to combine more than one see apiece, along with their ties to Scottish monastic houses, all of this legislation was of the utmost relevance to Scotland.

In terms of how far the leaders of the Scottish branch of the Church of Rome were in tune with the Continental drive for reform, it should be recalled from chapter 5 that the Scottish Church Councils had all but voiced the same concerns over, for example, the lack of education of the Church's servants, the appointment of unsuitable and inadequate personnel and their widespread immorality. The resultant concern over these issues prompting the Archbishop of St. Andrews, John Hamilton, to issue his *Catechism* in the early 1550's. In summary therefore, it would seem that all of the above legislation was indeed falling on deaf ears, for if the evidence presented in the first five chapters of the present work is considered, authors such as Lindsay were perhaps fully justified in their jaundiced views of contemporary religion.

Here however, it possible to suggest that since there was no apparent shortage of religious willing to both identify and suggest remedies for the faults they perceived around them, then equally it could be supposed that there might be evidence to show that others still were willing to actively pursue such courses of praiseworthy action. Similarly, if such a favourable climate did exist, then it should equally be possible to provide in some instances, a less damning explanation for some of the behaviour seen in the above chapters. It is to these two issues which the present work will now turn.

In terms of reforming heads of houses, the Cistercian Order may be said to have led the field. The Abbey of Kinloss for instance was under the control of first Abbot Thomas Chrystall, then

Abbot Robert Reid. The former for example had undertaken the reform of Kinloss Abbey principally through his own resident example, as a result of which the numbers within the house increased during the time of his headship, from under 14 inmates to over 20. It is also true to say that he took his responsibilities to the Cistercian Order as a whole equally seriously, for he "visited" both the Abbeys of Deer and Culross, and in the case of Melrose he was apparently responsible for the removal of Abbot William Turnbull from office. Needless to say therefore he was a strong supporter of Thomas Fashington, the individual charged with visiting the Order's houses within Scotland in 1506. They, along with an initially resentful James IV, would seem to have instigated a pattern of reform which harked back to the earlier ideals of a more austere lifestyle, emphasising prayer, and the cultivation of study in the life of the monks; Chrystall himself responsible for example for the fine library which the abbey possessed under his tutorship. Among the books he supplied were copies of the Books of the Old and New Testaments, numerous works of his guiding light, St. Jerome, two volumes of the work of St. Ambrose, one each of St. Augustine, St. Gregory and St. Bernard and a few works of St. Thomas Aquinas. Anxious to ensure that the inmates of his house should be able to benefit from this bounty, he sent two monks - James Pont and Walter Methon - to Aberdeen where they studied under no less a figure than the Blackfriar, John Anderson.

Greater efforts still may be attributed to this individual, for he took on board the above demand that prelates accept responsibility for the physical well being of the buildings entrusted to their care. Chrystall therefore embarked on a prodigious rebuilding campaign at Kinloss. This covered the refurbishment of St. Jerome's chapel and the construction of three altars. Two were erected in this chapel, one to St. Jerome, the other to St. Anne, whilst the third was established in the foundation's mortuary chapel. Chrystall also provided two clocks to help regulate the day of the brethren, along with three great bells dedicated to St. Jerome, St. Anne and St. Mary respectively. Further embellishments to his house included his purchasing silverware and vestments from France and Flanders, all of these pieces apparently of a high standard of craftsmanship. In terms of the work carried out at Kinloss, particular care was taken to enhance the chapel of the Virgin, and Chrystall's private chapel; both painted and adorned with carvings. The latter chapel of particular beauty perhaps, for its centrepiece was the abbot's own finely wrought tomb. The abbot's enthusiasm moreover did not end with his own foundation, for it extended to the repair and decoration of two churches appropriated to his house, Ellon and Avoch - where the abbot himself was also known to take the Mass and to the wider lay community in the form of Chrystall's generosity to the poor. Thus practical examples of the type of qualities sought in the religious by the above reformers, were clearly evident in this man's character.

Further evidence of the healthy nature of the Kinloss community, emerges from the record left by the Italian humanist Giovanni Ferreri. He it was who provided the above details of Chrystall's career, and in his work it emerges that similar care was expended on the community of Beauly Priory, a dependency of Kinloss. A friend of Abbot Robert Reid - whom he met at Paris university - Ferreri returned form the Continent with the abbot in 1528, to spend some three years at the royal court in Edinburgh. Thereafter he undertook the education of the communities of both Kinloss and Beauly, documenting both the lectures he delivered and the books used therein, many of which he had acquired during his days in Paris and at the court in Edinburgh, and which he subsequently gifted to the library at Kinloss. Among the works mentioned, those of classical authors such as Aristotle and Cicero, and more importantly perhaps - in terms of the relevant analysis on the doctrine of Purgatory in chapter 8 below - St. Augustine's majestic *The City Of God*. Equally important were Ferreri's comments that whilst at Paris he had studied the works of other spiritual greats such as St. Ambrose, St. Basil and St. Gregory; his pupils therefore would have been well acquainted with the ground rules necessary to lead the ideal monastic existence.

Of the efforts of Reid to maintain the life of his community, the abbot's erection of a fire proof library in 1538 bear's further witness to his commitment to education. Additional construction work saw the proper maintenance of the buildings of the Kinloss community, as did Reid's engaging the painter Andrew Bairnhum - as examined in chapter 10 below - to decorate the interior of his house. As with Chrystall above, this enthusiasm was not merely confined to Kinloss, for under Reid's abbacy the Priory of Beauly was restored, and both these religious communities and the public at large were to benefit from his engaging a French gardener, who not only tended the gardens of the religious, but also doubled as the local surgeon!

At this point it is also important to remember that Beauly Priory had long provided an equally useful service to the surrounding lay society, for from the fourteenth century it had provided a means whereby the more fortunate members of the laity could acquire an education. In such an emphasis on education therefore, Chrystall and Reid were not alone, for Chrystall himself, had attended the grammar school at Culross, instigated by the monastic community of the same name, and in 1486 the Abbot of Arbroath, David Lichton, saw fit to employ a school master, Archibald Lamb, to instruct new comers to his house. [6]

Another name which must be considered in any defence mounted on behalf of the religious of c.1450 to 1560, would be that of Walter Malyn, the Abbot of Glenluce. Here was an example of a university educated man who at first glance might be said to have gained the office of abbot purely for his service to the Governor Albany, for he functioned as his secretary. His

subsequent actions however, were such as to negate any criticism which might have been thus levelled.

On 15 January 1530/1, King James V wrote to the Abbot of Citeaux and the Chapter General to have them appoint an agent to reform the Cistercian houses within Scotland. The following year the king wrote to the French monarch, Francis I, expressing his delight at the arrival of Simon, Abbot of Chalis, and of his enthusiasm for the forthcoming correction of the houses within his realm. By 1 March 1531/2 however, the king was evidently highly alarmed by the actions of the Abbot of Chalis, for on this date he wrote to the Abbot of Citeaux complaining that the Commissioner, "taking his task seriously.... [had].... failed to ask himself whether he was dealing a blow at the country and custom by his expedients hastily imposed to alter the immemorial manner of monkish life...." The king therefore asked "that the chapter should empower the Abbot of Melrose and the Abbot of Newbattle, king's chaplain and almoner, or one of them....", in effect to undertake a milder programme of correction, one which would allow the Scottish abbots to comply within the bounds of their "country and custom". The king therefore, despite his earlier pious comments, was quite satisfied with the present state/monastic relationship, and had mistakenly seen the Abbot of Chalis's arrival as a means of controlling Malyn. Thus, in addition to his above complaint, a mere six days later he wrote to the Abbot of Chalis and to the General Chapter excusing the Abbot of Melrose - Andrew Dury - from failing to comply with their demand that he "appear before the chiefs of the Cistercian Order" to answer for his conduct. The reason given by the king was that the perilous location of Dury's house meant that he could not absent himself from the brethren of Melrose for such a prolonged period; the duplicity of such an excuse exposed in chapter 1 above, where it is plain that the king did not wish to lose a valuable member of his court. If the king had cause to feel that his problems were all but over on the departure of the Abbot of Chalis, he was to discover his error, for in 1534 the General Chapter of the Cistercian Order empowered Walter Malyn - appointed to the office of visitor general of Scotland in place of Andrew Dury in 1530 - to undertake the reform of Melrose, and to inform its abbot, Andrew Dury, that failure to comply with the spirit of reform would entail his deposition. Thus the letters of James V above, excused Dury from what would have been a wholly unpleasant visit to the mother house of his Order! That Malyn was serious in his intent may be seen from a letter sent by the king to the Primate of the Cistercian Order on 28 March 1534. In it, the king related that he was "daily troubled with Cistercian complaints.... some [doubtless a reference to Malyn's activities].... demanding reform, others [presumably Dury] that they [could] follow the traditional manner and rule of life...." The king's purpose in writing therefore, was to ask "that innovations be avoided as far as circumstances

[would] permit". Of the problems which the Abbot of Glenluce created for his fellow Cistercians therefore, there can be no doubt, for as evidenced in chapter 5 above he forced at least a measure of reform onto the extremely reluctant abbots and communities of Melrose, Newbattle and Balmerino. Hence the king's references to Cistercian complaints over the threat to abolish long held monastic customs, such as those enjoyed in these houses. Further evidence emerges in the business of the Lords of Council, for earlier still, on 21 January 1530/1, Dury had challenged the powers granted to Malyn in the royal letters he had received. The latter however pressed his case in the face of mounting opposition, cited Dury to appear before the Cistercian General Chapter, and enforced his right - on 26 January 1530/1 - to have "ane officer of armis pas with him" as he carried out his unpopular duties as Cistercian Commissioner under the auspices of the papacy. Later that same year, - 31 January 1530/1 - he clashed with the Archbishop of St. Andrews, James Beaton, the latter indignantly stating that Malyn had no rights of visitation regarding nunneries in the diocese of St. Andrews. In the event, the Archbishop won a concession which effectively barred all representatives of the Cistercian Order from checking on their female religious within the aforementioned see. Finally, in terms of Malyn's persistence in seeking to maintain acceptable standards among the religious of his day, it should be remembered - from chapter 2 above - that he mounted an equally spirited resistance against the machinations of Gilbert, the 3rd. Earl of Cassillis, regarding his own house of Glenluce. In view of all of the above therefore, it is of little surprise to find that when Ferreri wrote of Malyn, he praised him not only for his "courtesy" and "learning", but also for his "plentitude of virtues." [7]

That the wealth of legislation detailed in the opening stages of this chapter was not wholly ignored, as might be suspected from the work of contemporary observers, can also be seen in a number of other instances. The Abbot of Cambuskenneth, Patrick Panter for example, was - as stated in chapter 1 - also the master of the hospital of the Blessed Virgin Mary near Montrose. That he took the responsibilities inherent in this office seriously, may be assumed from a letter sent by the Governor Albany to Pope Leo X on 18 May 1517. In it the Governor related how Panter had repaired the fabric of the building, staffed it and restored its property all from his own pocket. Thereafter, he assisted the Governor in placing the house under the auspices of the Dominicans, and helped secure the spiritual welfare of the districts inhabitants, by feuing its remaining lands to pay for a vicar to serve their devotional needs. Panter's successor at Cambuskenneth, Alexander Myln likewise showed an awareness of contemporary calls for improved standards among the country's religious. In a letter to the Abbot of St. Victor in Paris, dated 15 June 1522 for example, Myln asked his French counterpart for his aid in reviving the observance of the Rule of St.

Augustine at Cambuskenneth, a desire already expressed by his predecessor Panter. It was Myln's desire therefore that novices from Cambuskenneth be trained and educated at St. Victor's in both the Rule and sacred letters, so that they would be able to provide an example to their brethren at Cambuskenneth and be better equipped to carry out the divine offices of the house in question. Further evidence of his desire to observe monastic strictures came in his opposition to James V himself. As stated above, the king secured the Priory of St. Andrews and the Abbey of Holyrood for his sons James and Robert. In so doing he had installed Myln as administrator of the houses in question until his offspring were old enough to assume sole control. The plan to thus exploit the revenue of these houses however had hit a stumbling block, for in a wrathful letter to Pope Paul III, dated 5 June 1540, the king revealed that Myln was refusing to allow their wealth to be leased out in the names of two commendators who were little more than boys. Even the infamous Cardinal David Beaton would seem to have paid at least token respect for the need to cover at least some - however inadequately - of the spiritual demands of his weighty offices. On 4 May 1540, for example James V wrote to Paul III informing him of Beaton's intention to employ master William Gibson to meet the pastoral duties which Beaton was forced to neglect on account of his work for the king. Thus the seemingly wholly black image of the character of the leading religious of the period may be mitigated in numerous instances; through the intentions of the Scottish Church Councils and the way in which they mirrored contemporary European calls for higher standards, and in the actions of prominent religious themselves. [8]

At this point it should be noted that such good intentions were not merely confined to the leading elements of the enclosed Orders, for similar attempts at reform were also being promoted by the leaders of the mendicant communities.

In terms of the Dominican Order, the appointment of John Adamson to the office of Provincial in 1511 showed that the mendicants were still a vibrant force in contemporary religious life. Regarding his character, Adamson received the highest praise from his fellows on attending the general chapter of the Order in Rome in 1518. Such indeed was his piety, that he not only chose to walk to the conference in question, he also insisted on observing the strictures of his Order in terms of diet and general demeanour. As to his educational capabilities, Ferreri referred to him as "a notable doctor of scholastic theology", a comment that was well justified for Adamson was to hold the post of professor of theology at Aberdeen University. His character at this time may be further judged in the comment of the principal of the university, Hector Boece, who remarked that:

> "by his devout and religious character he [deserved] to be set as an example among the foremost members of his order.... [for through his efforts].... there are many learned, pious and religious men of the order to be found among us, who expound, practise and preach the scriptures. It is indisputable that all this is to be attributed to the pious exertions of John...."

In terms of his activities within the Scottish branch of the Dominicans, he sought to encourage the maintenance of high educational standards coupled to a genuine piety in the ranks of the friars. It was Adamson for example, aided by the dean of Dunkeld, George Hepburn, who established a niche at St. Andrews University for five to six members of the Blackfriars; the Order's house at Cupar closed and that of St. Monan's reduced to help support the new community.

Of his sincerity in these enterprises again there can be little doubt for Adamson - like Abbot Walter Malyn above - pressed ahead in his work in the face of what was at times open hostility. At the Dominican reform conference of 1511 held in Aberdeen for example, the friars apparently were forced to call on James IV to intervene on their behalf. Adamson furthermore possessed strong links with the Continental reform movement, for his outlook was influenced by the Congregation of Holland, indeed it was from the Vicar General of Holland that the unpopular Dominican reformers in attendance at Aberdeen had come. That he could answer, furthermore, those critics who condemned any association between the mendicants and female religious, may be seen in his support for the inmates of the prestigious convent of St. Catherine of the Scienes near Edinburgh. That Adamson's work was successful, may be seen from the fact that amongst the first friars of the Scottish Province to achieve a degree in theology was friar John Grierson, Adamson's successor. In turn, it would seem that this individual shared the same desire for uniformly high standards among the brethren committed to his care. An ex - pupil of Adamson whilst he lectured in Aberdeen University, the high educational standards of this individual may be seen in his rise from the ranks of the Aberdeen friars to the office of prior of the house in question; thereafter, he rose to become professor and dean of the faculty of theology at St. Andrews.

Specific examples aside, there was much that could be said about the friars to suggest that mendicant ideals were not being ignored. The emphasis which these orders placed on preaching was clearly still important, for both Franciscan and Dominican friars were engaged by Bishop George Brown to carry the Church's message to the Gaelic speaking peoples of his diocese, moreover they served the same communities in the crucial role of confessors. That their services were not merely confined to these outlying rural communities, may in turn be seen for

example in the actions of Edinburgh town council, who hired both Franciscan and Dominican friars to preach to the denizens of the city, and in the episcopal sanction of their activities in the sees of Aberdeen, Glasgow, Moray and St. Andrews. Even such a critic as the author Lindsay therefore, was forced to concede that:

> "War nocht [for] the preching of the beggyng freris", Tynt war the faith amang the Seculeris". [9]

Stronger evidence still emerges to defend both the regular and mendicant communities, and indeed the members of collegiate communities, in terms of literacy. Regarding the ownership of books for example, there is a wealth of evidence to be added to that seen in relation to the community at Kinloss above. Furthermore, it should be remembered that only a fraction of the books possessed by these individuals and their communities, were to survive the attention of the reformers; thus it may be assumed that literacy levels were relatively high. In terms of the Blackfriars for example, there is ample evidence to show that these communities possessed a range of works brought in from a variety of European cities such as Antwerp, Basle, Louvain, Lyons, Paris and Venice. In terms of the books thus amassed, most may be seen to relate to the above mentioned provincials Adamson and Grierson, and included works by such early greats as St. Augustine, St. Basil, St. Bernard and St. Gregory the Great, alongside more recent works such as those of Aquinas, Cajetan and Erasmus. Significantly, in terms of the contemporary religious climate, the last two authors were particularly important, for Erasmus's *Notes On The New Testament* and Cajetan's *Commentary On The Gospels*, point to mendicant awareness of increasing lay demands for access to the Scripture, and of the need for the Church to meet this demand. Similarly, the possession of such early authors Augustine, Gregory and Aquinas provide proof that the issues surrounding the doctrine of Purgatory, as examined in chapter 8 below, were equally relevant to the period under study.

Further works which can be traced to Dominican owners include, amongst others, those of St. Gregory the Great held by Andrew Abercromby [professor of theology at Aberdeen University and prior of the Dominincan house within the town at the Reformation]; those of Erasmus, by James Crichtoun [the Edinburgh friar who served James V as a diplomat]; those of Aquinas, Eusebius and Johannes Eck by Andrew Macneil [bachelor of theology and Prior of Stirling at the Reformation]; those of St. Jerome by Alexander Seton, [Prior of St. Andrews in 1531] and Bernard Stewart [Prior of St. Andrews at the reformation] and a copy of St. Augustine's *City of God* which

can be traced to the Dominican community at Ayr. In terms of the Franciscan Order, the Provincial Alexander Arbuckle for example, held those of St. Augustine [*The City of God*] and St. Bede; those of Aquinas and - perhaps - Augustine held by John Tullideff [theologian, and warden of the St. Andrews community].

In terms of the regular Orders, in addition to the above references to Kinloss, the Prior of Scone, John Clerk, had access to at least the work of St. Augustine, whilst James Ogilvy, Abbot of Dryburgh, possessed a minimum of a copy of Gratian's *Decretum*. John Hepburn, Prior of St. Andrews, showed a familiarity with the works of St. Augustine and St. Gregory the Great, whilst Patrick Hepburn, the future Prior of St. Andrews, Bishop of Moray and Commendator of Scone, was familiar with the work of the Franciscan philosopher John Duns Scotus - (c.1266/7 - 1308).

More impressive however were the works possessed by James Stewart, the child Prior of St. Andrews, which suggest a familiarity with the ideals of Ambrose, Aquinas, Augustine, Erasmus, Eusebius, Jerome and even the reformer John Calvin.

In terms of the collegiate communities of mid fifteenth to mid sixteenth century Scotland, this impressive picture is maintained. Alexander Anderson for example, the sub - principal of King's college Aberdeen, was acquainted with the work of Duns Scotus alongside volumes from the works of Bede, Gregory the Great, Erasmus and Eck; the Principal of the same foundation, William Hay, sharing in the reforming element present in his obvious familiarity with the work of Erasmus.

John Annand, principal of St. Leonard's college possessed works of St. Augustine, - including *The City Of God* - and Bede. Patrick Cockburn, who taught theology at St. Leonard's, showed a familiarity with St. Eusebius, whilst the Principal of St. Leonard's at the Reformation, John Duncanson, - who conformed to the Protestant faith - was familiar with the works of Augustine, Eusebius, Gregory the Great, and the more recent views of Calvin.

In St. Salvator's college, Provost William Cranston, a professor of theology, may be seen to have possessed a knowledge of - among other authors - the work of St. Jerome. Archibald Crawford, Provost of the collegiate church of Our Lady and St. Anne in Glasgow, had among other authors the work of Erasmus, Thomas Dickson, Provost of the collegiate church of Guthrie, possessed at the least a copy of St. Eusebius's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, whilst John Steinston, one time Provost of the collegiate church of Biggar, Rector of Glasgow University and Senator of the College of Justice, showed an interest in the work of Philip Melchanton. At this point, it is interesting to note that works such as those detailed above were popular even outwith the groups under examination. Robert Danielston, who became Parson of Dysart in 1547 for example, was an ex - student of St. Leonard's, and it was here perhaps that he acquired his first acquaintance with the

works of St. Augustine. Robert Erskine, the dean of Aberdeen, later parson of Glenbervie, possessed work by St. Basil, whilst Alexander Galloway, canon of Aberdeen and parson of Kinkell, - later a student at Aberdeen University - possessed among others, copies of works by Augustine, Bede and Gregory the Great. William Hay, canon of Aberdeen and parson of Turriff, displayed an equal leaning towards early theological works in his possession of St. Ambrose's *Methodus Confessionis*, and to contemporary religious thought through the work of Johannes Eck, whilst John Watson and Alexander Simson - the former a licentiate in theology, the latter an ex - student of St. Andrews University and parson of Monymusk - showed equally early interests with the works of St. Basil and St. Jerome. This emphasis on early writers may also be witnessed for example in canon David Wauchope of Dunkeld Cathedral holding a copy of St. Augustine's *City Of God*, a similar taste in theological works expressed by such differing sources as Adam Mure, a schoolmaster in Edinburgh, - who served the Beaton clan in a similar capacity - John Greenlaw, vicar of Keith Humbie, - past student of Glasgow University - who also favoured the *City Of God*, - alongside the contemporary *Compendius Tractive* of Abbot Quintin Kennedy - and in the library of St. Leonard's college in St. Andrews.

Here, the reader may question the inclusion of what would seem to be individuals outwith the strict remit of the present work. In answer to this query, the following points should be kept in mind; firstly, such references help to establish a picture of how widespread literacy was in the ranks of the Church in general, secondly, that many early works were still obviously in current use alongside the reformist literature which was coming into Scotland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The latter point in particular should be borne in mind, for it is of crucial importance in reaching an understanding of the highly relevant issues surrounding the doctrine of Purgatory which as stated above, will be examined in detail in chapter 8 below. [10]

From the above references to members of the religious Orders and the colleges as past students or members of staff at the leading educational establishments of the period, further evidence may be gleaned to defend the religious of the period in question from their detractors. In terms of Scotland's universities, all were founded by churchmen; St. Andrews by Bishop Henry Wardlaw in 1412, Glasgow by Bishop William Turnbull in 1451 and Aberdeen by Bishop William Elphinstone in 1494/5.

Of the obvious importance of such institutions to such men, it should be noted that in many instances they were just as anxious to have their coats of arms appear on the walls of these buildings, as they were to see them on their religious foundations, their castles and their tombs. Thus, for example, in St. Andrews, the colleges which sprang up in association with the university -

St. Salvator's 1450, St. Leonard's 1512, Blackfriars 1515 and St. Mary's 1538 - tended to bear the arms of their benefactors. St. Mary's college for example displayed the arms of Bishop Henry Wardlaw and those of Archbishop John Hamilton, past Abbot of Paisley. At St. Salvator's, the arms of Bishop James Kennedy adorn both the exterior of the college and the canopy of his ornate tomb within, where they appear in the company of the royal arms. At the Blackfriars, what appears to be the arms of John Hepburn, whose initials [re - inserted in modern times] also appear on the exterior of St. Leonard's college. In Aberdeen, the same pride may be seen in the presence of the arms of Bishop William Elphinstone on a buttress of the king's college. It is possible to say therefore, that just as the higher echelons could act as poor examples for the regular Orders and the collegiate clergy to follow, so too, in some instances, they behaved as favourable role models who took on board the criticism levelled by contemporary authors and by reforming church councils and ecclesiastics. Equally, that the Scots had long enjoyed access to higher education outwith their own country, may be seen for example in the existence of the Scots college in Paris, founded by Bishop David Murray c.1326, and in the foundation of Balliol college at Oxford by Devorgilla Balliol, in the late thirteenth century. Evidence of the effects of this long tradition may be seen both in the above evidence relating to monastic and mendicant reformers, and to the libraries of the day. Also it may be seen in the references to the religious who served these institutions. The Observant branch of the Franciscan Order for example, possessed a school for philosophy and theology in their Edinburgh foundation, this in addition to a seminary for training novices in the town of St. Andrews. Moreover the mendicant presence in the university towns was recognised in the friars being seen as the most popular confessors among the students. Nor were the mendicants merely satisfied with serving the needs of these centres of education, for there is ample evidence that they featured prominently in the graduate roles of the period.

In terms of the Blackfriars for instance, a study of the year 1525 revealed an impressive list of those so honoured. Among those who appeared, Alexander Barclay, an exemplary individual who served as the Prior of Wigtown, thereafter as Prior of Montrose, thence Aberdeen, this in addition to his position of lecturer in theology which he held at the Dominican house in Elgin. Other examples which suggest the mendicants were men of letters, include the first prior of the Scottish Province, friar John Mure, a bachelor in theology, and friars John Grierson, Andrew Macneil and Robert Lile who all obtained degrees in Theology in 1518. Here, it is further possible to show that these high standards were applied to the mendicant rank and file during their training. The Dominicans for instance possessed a long established and highly structured educational programme for their members. This began in the Conventual schools where the new recruits

received their basic training, the second step involved Provincial or Secondary schools, the "Studia Solemnia", under the Provincial master, thereafter, presumably for those who showed enough initiative, entry into a university college in pursuit of a degree.

Even yet however the process of acquiring knowledge, and of constantly seeking to hone their skills as preachers was not complete. Each mendicant house had, by the Dominican Constitutions of 1228 to 1236, to possess a Doctor of theology, whose task it was to provide regular lectures for the inmates of the community. All, including the prior himself, were compelled to attend unless employed in other designated tasks, the importance of the role of the doctor such that he had to have completed at least four years study in theology before being considered suitable for appointment.

Further, any doctor who possessed greater academic qualifications than his prior, and this was no mean feat for the prior himself was required to be a skilled preacher and reader of Latin - was to be accorded precedence in the community. Other provisions still for education included additional classes for the novices, under the Master of the novices, and separate classes for the adult friars, under the Lector or Lector "Principalis", devoted as a rule to grammar and rhetoric.

Thus, when bishops employed mendicants to preach in their diocese, they were engaging a body of highly articulate, dedicated individuals. In turn, that such professionalism was not merely confined to the larger membership of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders, may be seen in the sponsorship of Friars Musch and Pareis of the Carmelite house of Tullilum, by Bishop George Brown in 1518 to enable them to study at Aberdeen University. Similarly favourable examples may be drawn in the career of Friar David Balbirny, who, supported by Bishop Brown of Dunkeld, became Prior of Greenside, and in Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen's support of Friar William Shewan who served as the scribe to William Hay, the subprincipal of King's college. In terms of the vitality of this Order as a whole, it should be noted that the Scottish Carmelite, William Gregory became the Vicar - General of the Congregation of Albi, and in the decades immediately preceding the Reformation, the bitter struggle between the rival Scottish Provincials, William Stob and John Malcomson, proved beyond doubt that the Carmelites were no spent force in the religious arena, for the former - ultimately successful - individual was a strong advocate of reform. [11]

In all of these positive examples, the monastic brethren should not be forgotten, for in addition to the praiseworthy behaviour already examined, there was ample other evidence to suggest that they maintained a prominent place in the life of the nation. By the era of the Reformation for example, the traditional image of the Church as the educator of the nation was long established. Each diocese held its share of monastic houses and friaries, and each of these units,

along with the cathedral schools themselves, acted as a repository of knowledge for the surrounding lay community. Examples to bear in mind here, include many of the names which will appear or have already appeared in the present thesis. The see of Ross for example held Premonstratensian Fearn and the Priory of Beauly [under Cistercian Kinloss], the see of Moray contained Cistercian Kinloss and the Benedictine house of Pluscarden along with the Dominican house in Inverness, the see of St. Andrews contained the monastic houses of Augustinian Holyrood, Pittenweem, Restenneth and Scone, Benedictine Coldingham and Dunfermline, Cistercian Balmerino and Newbattle, Premonstratensian Dryburgh and the Tironensian houses of Arbroath and Lindores. In addition the see could boast such mendicant communities as the Carmelites at Linlithgow, the Dominicans at Cupar, St. Monance and of course St. Andrews itself where they shared the town with a house of the Observant branch of the Franciscans. Similar shared towns within the same see included the Dominican and Conventual Franciscan houses in Dundee, and the Dominican and Observant Franciscan houses in Perth.

In terms of the see of Glasgow, a similar array of foundations may be seen; Clunaic Crossraguel and Paisley, Cistercian Melrose and Sweetheart and Tironensian Kelso and Kilwinning appearing alongside the Carmelite house of Irvine, the Observant Franciscan community of Ayr and the Conventual house of Lanark. Thus all of these houses offered to some degree or other educational benefits not only to their inmates but to the surrounding community; the undoubted contribution made by the numerous collegiate kirks the subject of chapter 9.

At this point it is also important to remember that both cathedrals and monastic houses required at least a modicum of learning from the brethren, so that they could participate in the liturgical round of their community. Although the principal intention therefore may have been to provide the Church with able servants, it would be inadvisable to suggest that there would have been no associated benefits for the wider community at large, for the monasteries in Scotland were inextricably linked to the provision of village or parish schools at a local level, through to the burgh or grammar schools of the larger towns, from which the more able individual might hope to progress to university. Also of importance arguably, the schools run by the monasteries for the abler members of the poorer classes from which they hoped to draw new recruits.

Here, perhaps the best indication of the success of this educational framework - outwith the examples of literacy and university education as seen above - may be found both in a defence of the parish clergy of the period c.1450 to 1560, and in the output of monastic scriptoria. In terms of the former, there is ample evidence that many priests performed a variety of public services, appearing as teachers in local schools, and performing a wide variety of other tasks such as

compiling local records, - regarding for example marriages, births, deaths - and drawing up legal documentation in connection, for instance, with land grants and other legal business of the burgh. All of this achieved through the educational network maintained in no small part by the regular Orders and the collegiate foundations. [12]

At this point it is perhaps appropriate to turn to analyse another perceived area of abuse within the ranks of the regulars, financial greed. Here, as with so many of the above charges it is possible to offer a more lenient interpretation of the behaviour of the Orders concerned than that proffered by many of the contemporary observers, for it is possible to argue that such behaviour was dictated by circumstances outwith the control of the individuals concerned.

The reader is asked to consider for example the observation by Anthony Ross that "in Scotland not one decade had been free from trouble since 1286 and there had been several foreign invasions between 1536 and 1560, during which some of the great abbeys and priories had suffered severely." [13] If such a grim picture of religious life in Scotland could be justified therefore, and the normal decay of these buildings was being greatly exacerbated by war, the seeming greed of many of the country's leading religious, as witnessed in chapter 4, could be justified by a desperate need to secure funds for rebuilding. The following section of this chapter therefore, will attempt a brief analysis of the problem thus described to determine the degree to which such an argument can be trusted.

In beginning with the *Register Of The Great Seal*, numerous examples can be found of individuals seeming to aid monastic houses for just these reasons. During the commendatorship of John Stewart at Coldingham Priory for example, there are several references to his granting land in return for aid in repairing his house which had been damaged by the English. These were made to William and Alexander Brown, to George Hume, and to Alexander Hume, his wife Elizabeth and their son Alexander. [14] At Culross Abbey, three examples may be used to show that here too land was granted in return for repairing the monastery. In all three cases the charters following a similar format, James V confirming charters granted by William Colville the Commendator of Culross, John Colville the abbot, his community, Robert Reid Abbot of Kinloss and Donald Campbell Abbot of Coupar Angus assisting. [15]

In Campbell's own house of Coupar Angus there are numerous references to such grants being made of the abbey's property in return for an individuals making good the ruinous condition of his foundation. [16] Similarly, George Dury, Abbot of Dunfermline showed his appreciation in the form of a land grant for a variety of favours including the repair of his monastery. [17] Military damage was claimed as the reason for the parcelling out of lands belonging to the Abbey of Holyrood by the

Commendator Robert Stewart; [18] equally warlike reasons appearing in the grants of land issued by James Stewart, Commendator of Kelso and Melrose, for protecting the monastery in time of war, and repairing fire damage inflicted by the English. [19]

Turning to the Abbey of Kilwinning, the Commendator, Gavin Hamilton also issued several such grants, again for aid in repairing the house in question. [20] In the career of John Hamilton, it will be remembered from chapter one that this individual held a variety of titles. Thus he may be seen to have granted land in the *Register of the Great Seal* as the Bishop of Dunkeld and Abbot of Paisley, in return for monetary aid, and for a similar reason in his capacity as the Archbishop of St. Andrews and Commendator of Paisley and in his other role as the Archbishop of St. Andrews and Commendator of Paisley, Legate. [21]

James, Abbot of Newbattle made grants of Church lands to repair the damage caused by the English as did his successor, Commendator Mark Ker, [22] whilst at Scone Abbey, Patrick Hepburn, in his capacity as the Bishop of Moray and Commendator of Scone, also granted land in return for financial assistance in repairing his monastery. [23] At first glance therefore, it would indeed seem that the heads of these religious Orders were attempting to raise funds to meet the undoubtedly high maintenance costs involved in supporting these communities. Indeed, this was a problem which was to be officially recognised by the Church; on the 15 July 1550, the papacy directed John Thornton, Prothonotary Apostolic, Precentor of Moray, "to encourage and promote the letting and feuing of church lands, destroyed or unproductive through the long continued wars between Scots and English...." [24] The question remains however, as to just how comprehensive such damage really was.

In beginning with the example of Balmerino Abbey, this house may be seen to have suffered at the hands of the English in 1547, and again in 1559 at the hands of the Reformers. [25] In terms of Coldingham Priory, as seen in chapter 3 this religious house became something more of a military frontier post in the war between Scotland and England. As a result of its strategic importance, it was damaged on a number of occasions, arguably during the firing of the town of Coldingham in 1532, certainly during the Earl of Hertford's invasion of 1542, and again both in its capture by the English in 1544, and in the Scots subsequent attack to expel their enemies. In 1545 it again attracted the unwelcome attention of an invasion force under Hertford, and by 1547 its condition had deteriorated to such an extent that the Scots themselves proposed its demolition. Despite subsequent reports of even further decline however, the Priory still held some six religious at the time of the Reformation. [26]

At Dryburgh Abbey, religious life suffered on a number of occasions through military activity; beginning in the fourteenth century and continuing up to the troubled period of the 1540s' it was to be fired on at least six separate occasions. [27] At Dundee, the Dominican and Franciscan Conventuals houses were attacked by reformers in 1543, doubtless suffered further damage in the English sack of the town a mere 5 years later, and in the late 1550s' both would have attracted the attention of the reformers, and the English. Again it should be noted that as with the house of Dryburgh above, the Franciscans of the town had experienced hardship at the hands of the English as early as the fourteenth century. [28] In Edinburgh, the Dominican house within the town was fired by the English under Hertford in 1544, surviving only to be destroyed by the reformers 15 years later, a similar sorry picture emerging for their neighbours, the Observant Franciscans. [29]

In nearby Haddington, the Conventual Franciscans first saw their house burned by the English in the mid fourteenth century, thereafter again by the same enemy in the upheaval of the 1540s'. That they did not suffer alone, may be seen from the damage inflicted on the prestigious collegiate kirk of St. Mary during the siege of Haddington in 1548. Equally at risk in this region, the Abbey of Holyrood; attacked by the English in the fourteenth century, it was to be rebuilt in the fifteenth century, only to be ravaged again by the English in the expeditions of Hertford [in 1544] and Somerset [in 1547] in the sixteenth century. Here, it should be borne in mind that the coastal defences of the Forth were strengthened against such aggression by the presence of islands, which could be held against enemy forces approaching by sea. Thus the religious life of the Abbey of Inchcolm suffered as early as the fourteenth century when the English held it, again in 1547 during Somerset's campaign, and in 1548 during the garrisoning of the island by the French. [30]

Moving on alphabetically, the town of Jedburgh saw its Observant Franciscan friary suffer at the hands of the English on a number of occasions, in 1523, 1544 and 1545, a similar fate befalling the monastic house of the same location. [31] In nearby Kelso, the abbey's precarious location was the subject of a petition to Rome in 1420, the concern voiced not unfounded for it was fired by the English on a number of subsequent occasions; for example in 1523, 1542, 1544 and 1545 respectively. [32] At Melrose, a similar picture unfolds of a long history of abuse at the hands of invasion forces from south of the Scottish border. In the fourteenth century for example the abbey was repeatedly attacked in the hostilities of the period, the pattern again repeated in the sixteenth century[33] Newbattle Abbey provides a similar historical sketch, suffering in the fourteenth century and again in the sixteenth century[34]

Moving on alphabetically, the Trinitarian house of Peebles suffered at the hands of the English in the sixteenth century, although not to the extent of the Conventual Franciscan house of

Roxburgh. It was not only burned by the English during the hostilities of the 1540s', but subsequently converted by them into a military command post, to dominate the river crossing at this point. [35] All of these examples show that there must have repeated damage inflicted on the religious foundations of Scotland over a period of many years, but arguably the stronger evidence still may be seen in contemporary accounts of the devastation inflicted in the campaigns of the 1540s'. In an eye witness account of the expedition mounted by the Earl of Hertford in 1544 for example, a picture of systematic destruction emerges. The village of St. Monans for instance, situated on the Forth, proved to be an early victim, and in all probability the Blackfriars house at this location would have suffered along with its lay neighbours, for in the subsequent attack on Edinburgh, the English, finding the castle too strong to assail, vented their frustration both on the town, and on the nearby Holyrood Abbey. Indeed, in the careful record which the anonymous author of this account provided of the army's activities, there can be no doubt that there was scant attention paid to any ecclesiastic immunity from the horrors of war. Similarly, in the expedition mounted by Sir Ralph Eure in the same year, and in that led by the Duke of Somerset in 1547, the systematic destruction of lay property was accompanied by the spoilation of religious foundations. Thus violent action long plagued the lives of the men who form the focus of the present work, [36] and this not merely from the old enemy south of the Scottish border. In the records of the Privy Council for the year 1546 for example, the Council announced measures to combat those Scotsmen who sought to plunder the wealth of the Church, a clear instance of this seen in the charges levelled against George Sinclair, Earl of Caithness, by the Bishop of Caithness, Robert Stewart in 1549. The Earl it would seem treated Church property as his own, and countenanced violence against her servants by refusing to apprehend those who harmed them. [37] Similarly, it should be appreciated that the sex of the occupants of such foundations mattered little to the aggressor, for an examination of the houses of nuns in the period under study provides an equally depressing picture of religious life. The Cistercian house of Berwick for example suffered badly in the fourteenth century as a result of cross border warfare and never truly recovered thereafter.

Similarly, the convent at Coldstream suffered in the wars of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and in the period in question, was burned by the English in 1542 and 1545. At Eccles Priory, the English commander Dacre threatened in 1523 to burn the foundation if the nuns did not "cast down.... all walls and dithches of any strength". In 1543 the community saw its corn crop fired by the English, in 1544 a contemporary report spoke of an attack on the town and the nunnery in which 80 men - "mostly gentlemen of head surnames" - perished. Whether as a result of this action or not, the nunnery itself was burned by the English in the following year. At Elcho the community

fared little better for it was burned by the English in 1548, surviving only to be attacked again in 1559, in the first instance by the English, on the second and final instance by the Reformers. At Haddington the nuns suffered their share of the destruction inflicted on the town - as described above - whilst at St. Bothan's the community saw their house fired by the English in 1545. [38]

At this point however it is necessary perhaps to pause and consider the evidence accumulated thus far. In terms of the religious houses that lay in the Border region separating Scotland and England, there is little doubt that they would have been seen as fair game to any invasion force. Similarly, those foundations on the east coast, where an army might march northwards, or land from any number of vantage points in the Firth of Forth for example, would be equally open to abuse as the enemy closed on the main centre of government in that region, Edinburgh. Yet such actions would hardly have effected those houses, such as Kinloss, Beauly, Pluscarden and others in the far north east, nor for that matter such houses as Paisley, and Kilwinning, and indeed Iona in the west of the country.

Equally noteworthy is the fact that even in dealing with those foundations which were undoubtedly attacked, it is important to remember that many survived as practising religious entities until the Reformation. It follows therefore that such damage as was inflicted, must in many cases have been limited to the furnishings these buildings contained, and that the idea of their being wholly destroyed - as would seem to be suggested in some of the above sources - was more the result of war time propaganda than accurate observation. By association therefore it is possible to call at least some of the grants of church property in return for supposed aid into question, as being no more than straight financial deals, executed for profit by the heads of religious houses under the cover of calls for the restoration of religious houses. [39] In turning once more to the *Register of the Great Seal*, such a claim can be borne out in many instances. An entry in the above source for example reveals that David Panter, acting as the Bishop of Ross and Commendator of Cambuskeneth Abbey, made at least three grants of abbey land to his brother and his heirs. At Coldingham Priory, Commendator John Stewart would seem to have favoured the powerful Hume family when making grants of Church land. Was this through necessity, or was this son of James V securing Hume support for the crown in a volatile region, - as seen in chapter 7 below - in a way which drained the Church and not the state? More suspicious still however were the grants made by William Colville, the Commendator of Culross, and John Colville, the abbot of the same house, of Church lands to John Lord Erskine, Edward Bruce and Simon Wade, for the reason given was that the foundation's buildings were ruinous and falling down. In light of the evidence presented in chapter 4 above, which saw Culross Abbey in the midst of a thriving commercial centre, the idea of

the abbey falling down is open to question. In the Abbey of Coupar Angus, similar claims were made as to the dilapitated state of the building in numerous of the charters which gave church land to the laity. Others however refer merely to land being granted in return for money - a highly questionable action - for financial aid to maintain the foundation and for good counsel, perhaps the most vague of all explanations. Further doubt may be cast on the nature of these transactions when it is seen that in numerous occasions the recipients were linked to the powerful Campbell dynasty, from which the abbot, Donald Campbell, himself came, a similar bias seen in the actions of the Commendator of Deer Abbey, Robert Keith and his granting land to Alexander Keith for favours rendered. In Dunfermline Abbey, the Commendator George Dury granted church land to the widowed Janet Beaton and her son, in return for favours rendered, monetary aid and repair of his monastery. In reality however, it might be more accurate to assume that he was merely recognising the links which existed between the Beaton dynasty and the Dury family, for George was cousin to the mighty Cardinal David Beaton.

At the Abbey of Holyrood, the Commendator Robert Stewart could also be seen to have granted monastic lands in return for what would appear to have been simple monetary payments; indeed, in one instance the recipient was his brother, Laurence Bruce. Thus at Holyrood, the exchange of monastic property in return for cash towards repairing military damage would appear to have taken second place to the desire for mere profit. At Inchmahome Priory, the Commendator John Erskine granted land to Alexander Erskine in a charter dated 8 July 1555; at Melrose, Abbot Andrew Dury might be said to have used the monastery's land - holding as a means of rewarding the "familiar servant of the king", William Hamilton, whilst the Commendator of this house and nearby Kelso, James Stewart, an illegitimate son of James V, could also be seen granting land to the powerful Border families of the Hamiltons of Sanquhar, and the Scots of Branxholme; the latter arrangement also involving the Beaton clan through marriage.

Arguably, here Stewart could be seen to be attempting to maintain support for the Scottish crown in two powerful factions, in the notoriously complex web of Border politics and family loyalty - as seen in chapter 7 below - significantly he appeared to be trying to achieve this through the use of the Church's wealth as opposed to that of the king.

In Kilwinning Abbey, Abbot Alexander Hamilton saw fit to grant monastic lands to a member of his own house, Andrew Hamilton, whilst his successor Commendator Gavin Hamilton, granted even more wide ranging favours in return for monetary gains. In a charter dated 19 May 1552 for example, he granted Hugh, Earl of Eglington and his heirs the power to hold the offices of Justiciar, Chamberlain and Bailiff of the monastic lands, further that the Earl should have the power

to hold a court of law with the power to create his own officials subject to the commendator's approval. In return the monastery was to receive such benefits as an annual income of £40 from the lands and barony of Beith, a fixed payment of silver annually, and the Earl's assurance that in every case he would defend the interests of the aforesaid monastery. That other charters were granted on the grounds of the monastery's supposedly ruinous condition therefore may be strongly challenged, especially as again they mentioned financial aid, and in one instance the commendators own house of Hamilton. Moving on again alphabetically to the monastery of Kinloss, the commendator of this house and of the Priory of Beauly, Walter Reid, made a grant of land to his mother in return for the sum of £2, 000 and summary other favours which he said she had performed for his abbey; again personal and financial considerations would seem to have resulted in the loss of monastic property. James, Abbot of Newbattle could be seen to have made grants of land in return for aid in repairing his monastery, but these were few indeed in comparison with those issued by his successor Commendator Mark Ker. During this individual's control of the property, no fewer than ten grants of abbey land may be traced in the *Register of the Great Seal*, ranging from 11 January 1558 to 1574. In the majority of cases the explanation given is the repair of the monastery from war damage, but in light of the time scale involved it is perhaps reasonable to wonder if all the money thus raised was applied to this cause.

In the Abbey of Paisley, "Abbot" John Hamilton - in this entry under the Great Seal he bears the additional title of Bishop of Dunkeld - like others above saw fit to grant land to William Hamilton of Sanquhar in return for monetary aid and other favours in a charter dated 14 August 1547. More questionable still a charter dated 20 March 1560 which concerned a grant of abbey lands to Gavin Hamilton, the Commendator of Kilwinning, and his son and heir, Gavin, in return for large sums of money towards repairing Paisley Abbey and for further favours rendered. In light of the nature of the recipients of these favours, it would seem that the other transactions involving this individual were motivated by a similar desire for profit.

In the figure of Andrew Forman, the Priory of Pittenweem possessed a commendator who saw nothing amiss in granting priory lands to his sister Christian Forman and her husband. Moving north to the Priory of Pluscarden, Prior Alexander Dunbar could be seen to have used priory lands as a means of rewarding two valued "servants", William Cook and James Gibson. At Scone Abbey, the Commendator Patrick Hepburn, who also commanded the Bishopric of Moray, could be seen to have made grants of land in return for money to repair his abbey. Again however, as with so many other examples covered this far his motivation is suspect, for anyone who held the palace of Spynie as his residence was obviously a wealthy and powerful individual who had little need to sell off

Church lands to maintain Augustinian Scone. Of an equally materialistic nature the activities of James Stewart, another of King James V illegitimate offspring, who held the commendatorship of the Augustinian house of St. Andrews. There is little doubt from the charters contained in the *Register of the Great Seal* that this individual saw his charge as a means of increasing his own wealth, and of rewarding valued servants. [40]

In summary therefore, it is possible to question many of the supposed grants of land in return for financial aid to maintain the fabric of the buildings involved and thus the spiritual services they offered. However, as with so many of the issues examined up to this point, it is necessary to exercise a degree of caution, for there is no doubt that many buildings had been damaged by warfare, and even where they had not funds would still have to have been found to see to their routine maintenance. That people gave willingly to support such schemes there can be little doubt, for the Church had long offered indulgences to encourage people to give towards the cost of erecting and maintaining her houses. That they did so through a belief in the efficacy of the spiritual services on offer is again beyond doubt. [41] At this point therefore, it is perhaps necessary to turn to other possible explanations for the seeming desire of most religious to extract the maximum profit from their positions within the Church's hierarchy; in so doing it is proposed to begin with the topic of taxation.

Here it might be said that the ecclesiastics of the sixteenth century were subjected to a series of heavy financial demands. In the first instance they faced paying the "Old Tax", the Church's contribution to state finance.

Secondly, they paid what was known as the "Tax of the Three Teinds", levied by Pope Clement VII on 17 July 1531, due from all Scottish benefices worth over £20 annually, it was to be paid each year for a period of three years. It was issued in response to a state demand for an annual levy on the Church of £10, 000 Scots, to aid the crown in financing the defence of the realm. Thirdly, they faced the "Great Tax", imposed by Clement VII on 13 September 1531, its purpose to raise the sum of £10, 000 Scots annually from the prelates of the realm, both to finance the foundation and maintenance of a College of Justice, and again to aid in funding the defence of the realm. Combined, it has been estimated by Dr. Margaret Sanderson that the prelates faced paying out "more than a quarter of their incomes" over the following three years.

Horrified by the prospect of the last named tax in particular, the prelates offered a marginally less painful compromise, a lump sum of £72, 000 Scots payable over a four year period, plus the promise of a permanent annual payment of £1, 400 thereafter. This agreement, despite its inclusion in a bull issued by Pope Paul III to cover the erection of the College of Justice on 10

March 1535, proved equally unpalatable for the prelates, and they reluctantly agreed to yet another compromise, to pay the sum of £72, 000 Scots in a series of eight instalments to end in 1536, and to contribute the annual sum of £1, 400 Scots from the benefices within their remit. Nor should it be thought that after James V' death in 1542 the Church gained a respite from crown taxation, for in 1555 and 1556 for example, Mary of Lorraine sought papal permission for the imposition of a tax of two tenths on the income of the Church to strengthen the nation's defences. In the latter year she went a step further by demanding a quarter of all clerical income for the claimed purpose of restoring the fabric of monastic and other religious foundations. In terms of financial demands however, the damage inflicted by James V was perhaps the most serious of all. In his pursuit of a French bride for example, examined in chapter 1, the king's greed was plain to all. David Beaton for example, acting as the king's agent in these matters, was instructed in 1533/4 to negotiate - among other terms - a "tocher of two hundred thousand crowns of weight", from which his proposed bride Madeleine was to receive an "annual profit for life". James also conceded that he would provide her with "lands and lordships to the value of 25, 000 francs" plus an additional sum - if the above were seen as "owr sobir" - of 5, 000 francs, with the further possibility of the lands of Strathern with the customs of the royal burghs and ports! The French king countered with an offer of an alternative bride, Mary, the daughter of the Duke of Vendome, and the sum of 100, 000 crowns, to which James answered with a demand for "the collar of St. Michael and an annual pension of 20, 000 livres" along with the return of Dunbar and more favourable trading arrangements with France. In the event however James secured a short lived match with Madeleine, thereafter another with Mary, daughter of Claude, of Guise Lorraine, Duc d'Aumale. The point to note here is that in all this long and expensive business, the king was driven by his extremely acquisitive nature, financing this "project" in no small measure by milking the revenue of the Church under such guises as the above mentioned taxes. [42]

That the crown was serious in its intent to raise this money may be seen from a variety of sources. In the *Register of the Great Seal* for example, numerous charters mention grants of land being made in return for aid in meeting such state demands. At Coupar Angus Abbey for example, Abbot Donald Campbell expressed his thanks for such aid, as indeed did Walter Reid of Kinloss, and Mark Ker of Newbattle; in addition it is perhaps fair to say that many of the other financial donations examined above were also put towards meeting such commitments. Further evidence of the extreme pressure being applied may be seen in the records of the Masters of Works. Chaplains for example were commissioned to travel the countryside collecting the money due from the various religious houses, the geographical extent of their remit seen in an entry for 1537/8 relating to Sir

Robert Simpson, Sir Patrick Jameson and Sir Charles Brown who were charged to visit Coldstream, Dryburgh, Haddington, Brechin, Cupar, Dunkeld and Glasgow in pursuit of taxes; such industrious examples were by no means uncommon. The Abbey of Coupar Angus could be seen to have paid at least some of the money sought, as indeed did Culross Abbey. As to the nature of the taxes collected, Dryburgh Abbey may be seen to have paid towards both the "Gret Tax" and the "Ald Taxt", and the tax to the "prelattis". Elcho Priory paid towards the "Gret Taxt", Inchcolm made its contribution towards "taxes" levied as indeed did Inchmahome and Iona. Jedburgh may be seen to have paid towards the Great Tax and to summary other tax demands, as did Kelso, Kilwinning, Kinloss, Lindores, Melrose, Paisley and Soulseat. In terms of amounts being handed over, an entry under the Register of the Privy Seal for the year 1535 reveals the sums of money being handed over to Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, and the master of work at the royal palace of Linlithgow, Sir Thomas Johnston. Patrick Hepburn, Prior of St. Andrews, and Alexander Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning, for example handed over the sum of £38 whilst further sums mentioned in the same entry refer to religious parting with some £1475 2/- and 6d, the following year, equally heavy demands were being made of the same individuals. Nor should it be thought that such demands were merely the result of the reign of James V, for James III in 1472 had sought to raise £5, 000 from Church and state to fund an army of 6, 000 men for Brittany, whilst James IV displayed a similar enthusiasm for collecting money in relation to the work he commissioned at Stirling Castle for example. Further, it has been estimated that within 4 months of the arrival of the Governor Albany in Scotland May 1515, his expenditure had put the crown budget at least £412 in the red. This crisis paled however when set against the bill for Albany's last stay in Scotland from October 1523 until May of the following year. On this occasion, although it has been estimated that the crown's income from its lands totalled some £7, 700 in the period 1522/4, by March of 1524 the treasury faced a shortfall of no less than £4, 708. During the Governorship of Arran, the income drawn by the crown from those monastic houses held by royal offspring, was maintained, to meet his costs, which it was said, were more than those of the late king, James V.

Further details of financial demands being placed on the religious of the period appear from a number of other sources. In the *Register of the Privy Council* for example, an entry for the month of August, 1545, records payment for the carriage of artillery from Edinburgh castle to the Borders and back, being exacted in the first instance from the purse of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, David Beaton, Commendator of Arbroath. He in turn was to be recompensed by the Abbot of Paisley, John Hamilton, then Royal Treasurer, from the proceeds of the Great Tax.

In December of the same year, money was again raised from the purse of Cardinal David Beaton, on this occasion to aid George, Lord Hume in his defence of Hume castle on the borders. The following year an entry records a protest on the part of several churchmen, among whom were John Sinclair, the Dean of Restalrig, and John Scot, the Provost of Corstorphine, over their being wrongfully taxed - as members of the College of Justice - to fund the Governor's pursuit of Cardinal Beaton's assassins. In this instance, although the plaintiffs were freed from any financial demands, and the threat of being put to the horn, the Governor demanded that the resultant financial shortfall be made up from the pockets of the remaining prelates.

In 1547, the Council was again seeking to raise money for the war effort, and on 1 July announced that the Archbishop of St. Andrews, John Hamilton, "would direct his lettres of cursing upon the prelattis and kirkmen" who failed to meet the Council's fiscal demands. Moving on in time to the year 1550, the Council sought to raise the sum of £4, 000 from the "prelattis and clergy" of the realm to strengthen the nation's defences on the west border with England; on this occasion with the promise that if the sum were paid quickly they would be excused from such demands for the year to come.

Opposition to such demands were widespread; both David and James Beaton for example were loath to pay the dues owed from the Archbishopric of St. Andrews and the Abbey of Arbroath. Equally, George Dury, Abbot of Dunfermline, named amongst those charged to fund the college of justice on 17 January 1535/6, was complaining on 18 May 1547 about being hounded for money since he claimed he had paid all his current contributions. Nevertheless, both he and the Abbot of Coupar Angus, Donald Campbell, were being called to task before the Lords of Council for just such a failing the following week. On 16 May 1538, the same body announced "letters to poind Holyrood, Treasurer in 1529", for payment of a debt of £5 6/- and 8d; this referring to Robert Carncors, past Abbot of Holyrood, then Bishop of Ross, Commendator of Fearn as of 21 October 1541. On 17 July 1540, Master John Scrimgeor, Master of Works at Falkland Palace, called Abbot Andrew Dury of Melrose to task over non - payment of taxes towards this building, whilst on 29 March 1541 the same man took action to exact "the gret tax of the thre teyndis and the tax grantit to [the] soverane king in France", from a number of individuals. John Hume, Abbot of Jedburgh and Commendator of Restenneth for instance owed £399, Robert Forrester, Abbot of Balmerino £40, John Stewart, Prior of Coldingham £137 13/- 4d and Alexander Colville, Abbot of Culross £140.

On 30 January 1545/6 a more comprehensive list still appeared of the contributions owed towards the College of Justice. Of the numerous houses mentioned, Arbroath for example owed £84, Scone, Coupar, Lindores and Cambuskenneth £35, Holyrood, Kelso along with the Priory of

Lesmahagow owed £56, Balmerino £11 4/-, Newbattle and Dryburgh £28, the Charterhouse at Perth £14, Torphichen £21, Coldingham £28, Pittenweem £8 8/-, Restenneth £11 4/-, Fearn £5 12/-, Beauly £4 4/-, Dundrennan £21, Glenluce £14, Inchaffray £21, Culross £12, Paisley £56, Kilwinning £28, Crosraguel £11 4/-, Holywood £9 16/-, Sweetheart £14, Jedburgh £21, and Melrose £51.

In light of such figures, the pursuit of debtors was a relatively common occurrence. In the mid sixteenth century for example, James Stewart, Commendator of Kelso and Melrose, appears to have owed £800 towards the support of the college of Justice, the Lords of Council informing him that they would settle for the sum of £550. On 15 March 1547/8, the Treasurer, John Hamilton - then Bishop of Dunkeld, Commendator of Paisley - appeared before the Lords of Council, citing the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, Alexander Myln, for non - payment of taxes. Earlier still - 25 May 1547 - the collectors of the tax for the College of Justice announced their intent to take action against Patrick Hepburn the Bishop of Moray, Commendator of Scone for failure to keep up his payments. Shortly afterwards - 30 July 1547 - the Lords ordered him to "pay his annual contribution of £28 and £35 for Moray and Scone during 8 years from June 18 last...."

At this point therefore, when the cost of securing such a prize as a monastery is considered - as in chapter 4 above - alongside the outlay involved in running such a "business", such as the payment of bailies, chamberlains, their serjeants and officers appointed to assist them, the paying of pensions, a possible explanation emerges of the seeming greed of the religious in securing positions of authority within the Church, financial necessity. Furthermore, it should be remembered that the sixteenth century was a period of high inflation, one source determining that the value of the Scots pound "in terms of Sterling" dropped from 5/- to 1/- 8d during this time. Thus the Scottish crown was at pains to manipulate the religious houses of the day, to extract the greatest profit possible, the pressure from this area going some way towards explaining why these communities could indeed be viewed in such a negative way by contemporary authors, whilst in practice their behaviour was being largely dictated by factors outwith their control. [43]

In terms of sustaining such a defence of contemporary religious, the reader is asked to briefly consider evidence relating to four state building projects, the palaces of Falkland, Linlithgow and Stirling, and Kinneil house, the main residence of James Hamilton, 2nd. Earl of Arran, Governor of Scotland from 1542 to 1554. In terms of the first, work began on the creation of a suitably grand royal residence in 1501 under the auspices of James IV; the final stages of the work dated to his reign the completion of the main hall and the palace chapel, c.1511/13, immediately prior to his death at Flodden. The next major changes came on the marriage of James V to

Madeleine de Valois in 1537, continuing after his second match to Mary of Guise. Here, a glance at the list of craftsmen employed bears witness to the king's intention to create a grand residence which would reflect his ties with the French crown, regardless of cost. Four master masons were employed along with an impressive list of support staff, evidence of their work seen for example in the remodelling of the interior of the east range, and in the brooding mass of the palace's gatehouse.

At Linlithgow, work began on the palace as early as 1425, continuing over a period of many years until the completion of the present building in the early seventeenth century. Again the intention was one to create a suitably prestigious symbol of royal power. The mason Nicholas Jackson, hitherto employed in the creation of the royal collegiate house of Ladykirk, engaged in the work in the early sixteenth century, while during the period 1534 to 1541 Thomas French, the master mason who also saw service at Falkland, was in control of operations. Here, features such as the massive defensive structure which marks the original entrance on the east side, the grand courtyard with its fountain, the chapel, great hall and minstrels gallery, all show that the intention of creating a prestigious residence was maintained throughout this building's construction.

At Stirling, the palace has been described as "not only the most imposing building in the castle, but.... also one of the finest Renaissance buildings in Scotland." Here, such a statement may be supported alone by the well preserved remains of the numerous figures which decorate its exterior, where, amongst numerous other subjects appear the figure of James V, and an impressive depiction of the Devil himself.

Finally, at Kinneil house in Lothian, the Governor Arran attempted to create his own palace in answer to the royal examples above. Here the earliest building of the 1540s forms the centre of the present complex, the gun - loops to the rear baring evidence, to the Duke's martial qualities. To the north of this structure, his palace of 1553, the imposing exterior matched by the surviving tempera decoration of some of the ceilings within. All had to be paid for, and as shown above the Church was expected to contribute in no small way. [44]

Of the determination of the crown to see that its income was maintained, no better example than James V can be had. Testimony of this individual's greed and the way in which it manifested itself with regards to the Church may be derived from a number of sources. In terms of his treatment of the nobility, the religious of Scotland could look to the execution of Lady Jane Douglas in 1537 on a charge of plotting to murder him; a mere five days later the Master of Forbes was put to death for a similar crime. Perhaps more accurately however, Lady Jane might be said to have been executed

more for her having been the sister of the Earl of Angus than for any supposed plot against the king, whilst the Master of Forbes had made the mistake of marrying the Earl's niece.

Such action could perhaps be said to have been motivated by revenge rather than greed, but his habit of selling pardons to members of the nobility to escape "justice", his act of revocation of 1537 which was used to force payment of large sums of money from the nobility, his harassment of the Earl of Morton until in 1540, having no heir he in effect made over his lands to the king, and the profit James derived from the execution of Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, were all obviously motivated by a desire for money. That such actions were relatively commonplace, may be seen for example in the Lords of Council announcing on 15 January 1542/3 their readiness to consider claims of wrongful dispossession and seizure of property, titles and land made by James V for his own profit, and their intention to reinstate the plaintiffs in such cases. Further references to the activities of this body show that it was still thus employed some eleven years after the king's death.

Should the religious still have doubted the king's determination, they could look to his imprisonment - as examined in chapter 7 below - of such leading figures as his Chancellor James Beaton, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Commendator of Arbroath, and Gavin Dunbar, the Bishop of Aberdeen. Similarly, they could look to the actions of his uncle Henry VIII, and such comments as James' stated intention to send what he termed as the six proudest churchmen in his realm to England, to have Henry deal with them.

This threat must have caused particular alarm among Scots ecclesiastics, for in a period of as little as ten years, Henry had stripped the Church in England of all but a remnant of its former wealth and power. Briefly, in 1529 they had seen the removal of Cardinal Wolsley on a charge of having breached fourteenth century legislation on laws regarding Praemunire. In 1530 Henry announced his intention to prosecute other Churchmen in relation to the same legislation. The following year the religious decided to pre-empt the king's action by agreeing to pay substantial sums of money to obtain royal pardons; the clergy in the archdiocese of Canterbury agreed on the sum of £100, 000 whilst those under York offered £18,840. The independent legislative nature of the Church was also challenged as early as 1529 by the Supplication of the Commons against the Ordinaries, its principal thrust against the independent nature of ecclesiastic laws, and courts, and the way in which these were perceived as being used by the Church to perpetuate religious misdemeanours and the control of the laity. In 1532 this legislation was given fresh impetus by the king who again complained - as he had done with regards to perceived infringements of the laws of Praemunire - that Churchmen paid allegiance to the Pope as opposed to their king. On the 15 May 1532 the Convocation submitted to royal pressure, issuing the Submission of the Clegy, a

document which ceded authority to the crown in all legislative matters outwith doctrine. The Act in Conditional Restraint of Annates of 1532 was followed by the Act in Restraint of Annates of 1534. It not only removed papal rights to the first fruits, but forbid anyone from seeking papal approval - as opposed to the crown's - of an appointment to a bishopric. Henceforth those nominated by Henry were to be appointed; refusal on the part of English ecclesiastics to observe this legislation left them open to the laws on Praemunire. More important still however, the Act in Restraint of Appeals of 1533 saw Henry as the supreme authority within his kingdom, and thereby subject to no man's authority, by clear inference, that of the Pope. In 1534 the Act of Supremacy was passed, its content the recognition of the king as the head of the Church in England, empowered to conduct visitations, discipline religious, right any errors which he perceived in the work of contemporary preachers, pursue heretics and effectively control canon law. In 1539 the Six Articles Act recognised the king as the ultimate authority in matters of doctrine.

Other measures destined to weaken the Church still further included the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* a detailed report on the income of all churchmen from the episcopate down. This report in turn was instrumental in the introduction of the Act of First Fruits and Tenths, 1534, in which the crown demanded the first fruits of all bishoprics and the lesser offices of the Church as well. In addition it asked for an annual tax of a tenth to be levied on their net income. In 1536 the crown began the process of transferring the landed wealth of the Church to the laity, one source estimating that in the following 60 years no less than 25% of ecclesiastic land was lost to the state in this way. Finally - in terms of this brief summary - in 1539 the crown passed an act which recognised its right not only to those lands which had been thus recovered, but also to those lands which it sought to claim in the future.

The religious in Scotland therefore could draw numerous parallels between their own situation and that of their opposite numbers in England. The Indult of 1487 for example, granted by Pope Innocent VIII to James III, had empowered the crown to nominate candidates to bishoprics and monasteries for up to 8 months after they became vacant. The crown in the meantime moreover was allowed to enjoy the income of the office thus vacated. Subsequent rulers were to assume this privilege extended to themselves also, further they saw it as applicable to all elected benefices. Thus when Pope Leo X pressed his claim that the Archbishopric of St. Andrews be ceded to his nephew, Cardinal Cibo, the Governor Albany countered with a series of demands that the Scottish crown's rights - as contained in the Indult - be reaffirmed. On 5 January 1518/9 Leo X acquiesced, the ultimate stage in this process reached on 7 March 1534/5 when Pope Paul III empowered James V to "levy the temporalities of vacant prelacies [Clunaic, Cistercian and

Premonstratensian abbeys included] to which he [had] by the indult right of nomination for one whole year after vacancy.... and to use them at his discretion...." Although James V was never to breach with Rome as his uncle had done therefore, he virtually enjoyed an officially sanctioned free hand in the running of the Church within his realm. When James remarked that he would send the six proudest prelates in his realm to his uncle in England, few Scots religious would have taken his remarks humorously, particularly in light of Henry's advice that James make the same use of monastic wealth as he himself had done. Although Henry advocated keeping such plans to a trusted circle of advisors, as seen in chapter 1 this would undoubtedly have included the heads of religious houses. The alarm thus caused would doubtless have been exacerbated further, for in 1543 Henry was advising the Governor Arran regarding "the extirpation of the state of monks and friars...." [45] Control of religious houses therefore was a matter more of finance than of spirituality, a feature clearly seen in the dominance which leading families - royal and otherwise - achieved over the monastic communities of the period in question. It is to this phenomenon that the present work will now turn in this defence of seeming "ecclesiastic", misdemeanours.

In terms of royal manipulation of the religious houses of the period under examination, ample evidence has already been provided above to show that the problem was widespread. Briefly, for many of these individuals careers have been examined above in much greater detail, especially in chapter 1 - Alexander Stewart, son of James IV, held numerous offices within the Church, namely as archdeacon of St. Andrews, later Archbishop of St. Andrews, Commendator of Dunfermline and Coldingham, and appeared in the business of both the Great Seal and the Privy Seal on many occasions in the guise of being one of the leading religious of the day. James Stewart, again a son of James IV, the Earl of Moray, Lieutenant General, who held the Abbey of Arbroath yet was an equally familiar figure at court. The name James Stewart occurs again, on this occasion in relation to two sons of James V, the first, the Prior of St. Andrews, later Earl of Moray, the second to the Commendator of Kelso and Melrose. John Stewart, another son of James V held the Priory of Coldingham, whilst a fourth son, Robert Stewart, held the Abbey of Holyrood. [46]

Beneath the level of the crown, Scotland's leading families were not slow to follow the royal example of manipulating monastic houses. Again, greater detail of the offices held by these individuals will be found in the preceding chapters, especially chapter 1 above, the intention here being to provide a brief resume for the reader.

In the Abbey of Arbroath for instance, the example of Abbot Bernard Linton, Chancellor of James I, brother to Robert Linton, who served in the household of the queen, Joan Beaufort, daughter of the Earl of Somerset. Later, the example of Abbot George Hepburn, brother of John

Hepburn the Prior of St. Andrews, a familiar figure at the royal court; the Hepburn family link to the religious communities of the period also seen in the form of James Hepburn the Abbot of Dunfermline, and Patrick Hepburn, one time Prior of St. Andrews before promotion to the see of Moray and the Commendatorship of Scone.

Maintaining the link to the Abbey of Arbroath, the example of James Beaton [1st.], one time Abbot of Dunfermline, he was to hold the Archbishopric of Glasgow, and that of St. Andrews, this in addition to his control of Arbroath and Kilwinning. Equally relevant in this summary, his nephew David Beaton who received control of the Abbey of Arbroath from the hands of his uncle, and who in turn handed it to his nephew James Beaton, providing his son with the income of the appropriated churches of Monifieth and Abernethy at the same time; lastly the figure of John Hamilton, Commendator of Arbroath, the second son of James, Lord Hamilton. [47]

In the example of the Priory of Beauly, the Reid family may be seen to have this benefice along with that of the Abbey of Kinloss first under Robert Reid the Bishop of Orkney, thence under his nephew Walter. [48] In the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, the example of Abbot Patrick Panter was followed in time by David Panter - a man whose career also saw him hold the Priory of St. Mary's Isle and the office of Royal Secretary to Mary Queen of Scots -, who would appear to have been his son. David moreover could claim to be the offspring of Margaret Crichton, the illegitimate daughter of king James IV's youngest sister, and William Lord Crichton, a relationship recognised by James V when he recommended to Pope Clement VII that David assume control of Cambuskenneth. Further relevant family connections include one Alexander Panter, a prebendary of Trinity church near Edinburgh, and William Panter, [alias Lamb] nephew of Abbot Patrick who appeared in the *Register of the Great Seal* as a canon of Moray, parson of Conveth, and as a Lord of Council. [49]

At the Priory of Coldingham, the foundation became the focal point of a struggle between James III and powerful members of the nobility, principally in its initial stages, Sir Alexander Home, Lord of Dunglass, and his rival, his uncle, Sir David Hume of Wedderburn and their adherents. The king sought its suppression to fund the chapel royal of St. Mary at St. Andrews, only to find his wishes balked by two rival claimants to the priory, Patrick Hume, the archdeacon of Teviotdale and John Hume, son of Alexander Hume, the first Lord Hume, Dean of the chapel royal at St. Andrews. Compromises suggested included Patrick Hume being made dean in the proposed collegiate church of Coldingham whilst John was to receive part of the revenue of Coldingham. Stalemate resulted, Patrick claiming to be the Dean of Coldingham whilst John clung with determination to the priory itself. The history of the priory therefore was one of powerful rival noble claimants, the

incentive money as opposed to a desire to serve the Church. Thus, from around 1489 to 1503 John Hume clung to the office of prior, from 1505 to 1508, Ninian Hume held the foundation, around 1509 the name John Hume appeared again, although the following year Alexander Stewart - as seen above - the illegitimate son of James IV took over, holding the foundation until his death at Flodden in 1513. Following his death, David Hume took office from 1513 to 1517 in which year he was murdered. His successor Robert Blacadder was to hold the priory for only a year before he too was slain. William Douglas, the brother - in - law of David Hume of Wedderburn, brother to the Earl of Angus was the next incumbent. He was to hold the priory from 1519 to his death in 1528 whence the Blackadder family reasserted its claim in the form of Adam Blackadder. Although it was agreed that John Hume, the Abbot of Jedburgh, should have the house in return for the Hume family's expulsion of the Earl of Angus, Blackadder seems to have hung on until the appointment of John Stewart, an illegitimate son of James V, who held the priory from 1541 to 1563. Thus the image of this foundation in the period under study was largely dictated by a series of men who had little interest in the regular life of a prior. [50]

At Crossraguel Abbey, William Kennedy, the brother of the 2nd. Earl of Cassillis held the house from 1520 until his death in 1547. Thereafter his nephew Quintin held the house until his demise in 1564. [51] At Culross Abbey, the Colville family established a virtual monopoly of the house in the form of William, John and Alexander Colville. It is significant to note that Robert Colville of Oxingham, knight, married Christiana Crichton, thus establishing a link between the Colvilles and the Crichtons which saw the former gain William, Lord of Crichton, Chancellor to James IV, as a doubtless valuable contact. [52] Moving on, Coupar Angus Abbey possessed in the form of Donald Campbell the second son of Archibald, 2nd. Earl of Argyll. [53] In Dryburgh Abbey, Abbot James Ogilvy could claim William Ogilvy of Strathearn, king James V treasurer, as his brother, whilst a later abbot, James Stewart was described in one source as being "of the Lennox family and related by blood to very many of the Hebridean nobles...." From the appointment of Thomas Erskine to the control of the abbey on 6 April 1541, Dryburgh remained in the possession of the Erskine family until long after the Reformation, as indeed did the Abbey of Cambuskenneth - gifted to John Lord Erskine after the death of David Panter on 1 October 1558 - and the Priory of Inchmahome - held in commendam by the same individual. [54]

In turning to the Abbey of Dunfermline, the Beaton family connection has already been seen in the figure of James Beaton, as indeed has the royal connection in the form of Alexander Stewart, the illegitimate son of James IV, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Commendator of Dunfermline and Coldingham. The figure of James Hepburn in turn has been considered in connection with

George and Patrick Hepburn, whilst that of Andrew Forman as seen in chapter one refers to a renowned pluralist, associated not only with Dunfermline but with a wide range of offices including that of the Archbishopric of St. Andrews. George Dury in turn could be seen to lay claim to being the Commendator of Dunfermline and the archdeacon of St. Andrews, whilst his brother Andrew held the wealthy house of Melrose before moving on to the see of Whithorn and control of the chapel royal in Stirling. Both in turn could claim blood ties with one of the most powerful men in sixteenth century Scotland, Cardinal David Beaton, and with the earlier figure of Robert Beaton, Abbot of Glenluce, promoted to Melrose on 19 June 1507, with permission to retain his old house. [55]

At the Abbey of Holyrood, in addition to the privileged position of Robert Stewart as seen above it is important to consider a number of other individuals. The long career of George Crichton for example was notable not only for his possession of the joint offices of Abbot of Holyrood and Keeper of the Privy Seal, thereafter the Bishopric of Dunkeld, but also for his being the nephew of Gavin Crichton, brother of William Lord Crichton. William Douglas, his successor, could also be seen to have been associated with the Priory of St. Mary's Isle, which he swapped with Adam Blackadder for the Priory of Coldingham in 1527; a transaction doubtless aided by the fact that William was the brother of the Earl of Angus. Finally, the reader should remember that Robert Carncors, successor to the above also held the monastery of Fearn and the see of Ross, his powerful position in the Church doubtless responsible for his being permitted to pass on Fearn to a relative, James Carncors. [56]

The house of Inchchaffray in turn may be seen to have belonged to Alexander Stewart of Pitcairn, son of Alexander Stewart the Duke of Albany, and Katherine Sinclair, the daughter of the Earl of Caithness. This favoured background saw him achieve the see of Moray and the Commendatorship of both Inchchaffray and Scone. Gavin Dunbar may also be mentioned in the context of Inchchaffray and the charge of nepotism, for the success of his career as the Archbishop of Glasgow, Commendator of Inchchaffray, royal chancellor and Lord Regent was arguably in no small part due to patronage of his uncle, also Gavin Dunbar, who was the Bishop of Aberdeen. It is further interesting to note that this Commendator of Inchchaffray was himself accused of nepotism, in a case involving his nephew Archibald Dunbar and Thomas Hay, and that in a letter dated 24 January 1541/2, David Panter, the successor to Patrick Panter at Cambuskenneth, called on his assistance not only on the grounds of Dunbar's authority within the Church, but also on account of their "kinship". [57]

Moving on to the Abbey of Newbattle, it should be noted that the Commendator of this house in the later sixteenth century, Mark Kerr, was brother to Walter Kerr of Cessfurd, Warden of the "Middil Merchis", one of the foremost powers in the Border region between Scotland and England. It should also be noted that the Kerr family's control of this house was strong enough to survive the Reformation, for Mark Kerr handed the abbey over to his son - Mark Kerr - on 7 April 1567, the house erected into a temporal lordship in favour of this individual in 1587. [58]

At Paisley Abbey, family interests may be seen to have played a part in the running of the house in the abbacies of George Shaw, the Royal Treasurer, and later that of Robert Shaw, son of the laird of Sauchie. Of greater import still, the Abbacy of John Hamilton, son of James Earl of Arran, Lord Hamilton. Despite the astonishing array of titles which this individual amassed in a career spanning both Church and state, he maintained a hold over Paisley until the provision of his nephew, Claud Hamilton, to the house on 5 December 1553. [59]

In summing up the evidence presented thus far, it would be fair to say that in most instances the reputation of the monastic houses within Scotland in the period in question, was being determined largely by either commendator bishops appointed by the crown and the nobility, or by similarly appointed abbots who saw their present station as but a stepping stone to greater reward still. Appointment to the above honour of a bishopric and/ or the committal of additional monastic houses to their care, foisted on the religious of these houses in the manner condemned by such authors as Lindsay and the anonymous author of *The Three Priests of Peebles How Thay Tald Thar Talis* careerists in the main with little in the way of a religious calling who looked upon the monastic houses committed to their care as a source of exploitable wealth, in the first instance for themselves, in the second for their family, as witnessed by the not infrequent examples of nepotism.

Thus the crown held through its illegitimate offspring the houses of Coldingham, Dryburgh, Kelso, Melrose and St. Andrews in commendam. In the commendatorship of Melrose under James Stewart - who also held Kelso - the debt accumulated by this individual towards the College of Justice alone stood at £800 in 1555. Amongst the measures employed by him to raise money from the abbey were the sale of lead supposed to be set aside for the maintenance of the fabric of the building, and his subsequent threat to withhold the hard won concessions of the sub prior of the house - Thomas Mercer - from the monks should they refuse to rubber stamp documents which he wished them to sign. On his death in 1558, the Cardinal of Lorraine took over control of the house, which by then faced a drain of £1, 070 from its income in terms of pensions owed. In the face of such behaviour it is to the credit of the monks that any opposition was mounted at all, for despite such creditable examples of behaviour from such men as Walter Malyn, Thomas Chrystall and

Robert Reid, the inmates of such houses could look to other examples such as the monks of Dryburgh who were prosecuted by Master William Wishart, the king's advocate, and apparently imprisoned in 1518, in St. Andrews castle, for having the temerity to appoint one of their own house as abbot. Similarly they could look to the actions of the Earl of Huntly who forcibly placed his cousin, Alexander Gordon in charge of the see of Aberdeen, "the canons not daring to refuse.... [all] gave their consents". That he was described as "a very epicure, spending all of his time in drinking and whoring...." reflects rather on the means of his selection, as opposed to the religious compelled to comply with his appointment and serve under him. [60]

An explanation therefore may be found for many other cases of suspect behaviour on the part of the religious in Scotland in the period c.1450 to 1560. In terms of litigation for example, even the infamous pluralist, Andrew Forman may be excused to a degree, for in an appearance before the Lords of Council on 10 February 1516/7, it emerged that Forman had no less than 11 actions in process for arrears due to him as Bishop of Moray. Similarly the exemplary careers of Abbots Thomas Chrystall and Robert Reid were marred by a series of necessary battles against unlawful encroachment on the rights and property of Kinloss Abbey, whilst in 1517 the Preceptor of Torphichen, George Dundas, took action against Patrick Knollis - his predecessor's son - to try and recover 40 oxen which belonged to the house but which the latter held illegally.

Equally involved in such apparently inappropriate activity were the mendicants. In chapter 5 for example, numerous instances of such behaviour were provided from the town of Aberdeen. On closer examination however the majority of friars involved were engaged in the legitimate pursuit of dues owed to their respective houses. Such examples can be multiplied again and again; in terms of the Conventual Franciscan house of Haddington for example, much damage was inflicted on the burghal tenements in 1548 during the siege of the town. The result? annual land rents payable to the friars were not forthcoming, they, being largely dependent on this source of income, were thus compelled to take legal action in an attempt to recoup their losses. In reflecting on the earlier examination of the damage inflicted on the religious houses therefore, it should be realised that such desperate examples were fairly commonplace, for the laity had also suffered and in some instances were slow to pay what they owed. In both enclosed and mendicant Orders therefore, simple necessity may be said to have prompted many instances of litigation.

Similarly, the idea of the mendicants leading a life of ease and plenty as suggested in chapter 5 above may also be seriously undermined. In many instances benefactions to the friars did not take the form of large sums of money, nor indeed did the friars themselves seek such riches. On their arrival in Scotland at the invitation of James I in 1446, the Franciscan Observants

led by father Cornelius of Zierikzee found their first house in Edinburgh to be too ostentatious for their simple needs. [61] Indeed, there is little to show that any of the mendicant orders within Scotland enjoyed such a life of wealth and indolence as suggested above in the works of such authors as Buchanan, Dunbar and Lindsay.

In terms of the Observant branch of the Franciscan Order in particular indeed, one author remarked that in "pre - Reformation records, not a single ground annual can be traced to an Observatine friary in Scotland". [62] Thus in criticising the mendicants it is necessary to distinguish between the different orders, and to further distinguish between the Observant and Conventual Franciscans, for the former strove to maintain a more austere life style, based on what they understood to be the original ideals of St. Francis, a factor recognised by both James IV and James V in numerous royal letters of the period. The Observants for example could not accept permanent incomes, nor could any individual friar accept an inheritance of money, property, even the house to which he belonged forbidden to pursue legal claims to property rights. To enable religious life to survive in the face of such strictures, money could be left to the house as a whole in terms of last testaments to secure their services for the world to come, but it was to be used strictly for necessities. Further benefactions such as the donation of books, or ornaments - such as the gift of a silver chalice worth £20 to the Aberdeen Observants by Elizabeth Barlow, Lady of Elphinstone and Forbes - handed to the friars as acts of piety by the laity, could also be accepted since they enhanced the ceremonial life of the Order without contributing to their personal comforts. In terms of income therefore, whilst the other mendicant Orders within Scotland drew monetary income from such sources as annual rents, royal alms and testamentary legacies, the Observants relied more on day to day charity in kind, worked for their food, or cultivated it themselves.

Evidence of this practice of receiving payment in kind may be seen in the later fifteenth century for example, when the Observatine friary in Edinburgh received "a weekly allowance of fourteen loaves of bread, beer, and kitchen provisions to the value of ten shillings" from James IV; in 1516, they were given "thirty bolls of barley" on the orders of the Governor Albany. In 1525, the crown contributed one chalder of barley and a half chalder of wheat, whilst in 1555 Mary of Guise gifted "one chalder of each kind of grain".

In terms of the income of the other Orders in Scotland at this time, the numerous references above show that ground annuals formed a sizeable portion of their income. In addition there were charitable donations of money, and pious gifts towards enhancing the ceremonial decoration on display within these houses. After 1543 for instance, perhaps in recognition of the hardships of the time, mendicant houses received what was known as the "Regent's Alms", a sum

of money varying from £5 to £20. Other state benefits included, for example, the confirmation by James III - on 5 October 1477 - of the rights of the Conventual Franciscan house of Roxburgh to an annual allowance of twenty merks from the burgh fermes, and their rights to the income from the fishing and ferry crossing at the Teviot Ford, whilst in 1490 James IV made a grant of "3 bolls of wheat" to the Conventual house of Haddington. In 1501 the king gifted the sum of £10 to help in repairing the Conventual house of Dumfries, in 1506 the same foundation receiving the sum of £20 6/- 8d from the royal coffers towards clothing the friars and maintaining its interior; a similar intention behind the king's earlier gift on 3 November 1504 to the Black friars of Aberdeen of ten French crowns to buy them "ane eucharist of silver". [63]

At this point it should be noted that one of the mendicants chief sources of income, testamentary legacies, point to a continued lay perception of the friars as a vibrant spiritual force well into the period under study.

In 1501 the Conventual house of Roxburgh was commissioned by William Douglas of Cavers to celebrate mass for the soul of king James II. In Conventual Haddington, numerous benefactions of a similar nature may be traced. Margaret Kennedy for instance made a gift of an annual rent of 7/- 6d to secure anniversary services, this on 8 August 1516. In 1514, John Sibbaldson and others gifted an annual rent to the value of 6/- 8d in expectation of a similar return. On 8 February 1534/5 the same house received an annual rent of 20/- from John Haliburton for the celebration of his obit. That the laity did indeed expect something concrete in return for their investment may be seen again in history of the same foundation. John Cockburn of Clerkington and Newbigging for example successfully reclaimed a grant of land made by James Cockburn, his grandfather, to the friary, on account of the house's failure to meet the conditions specified by James. Namely that the friars carry out various services to benefit the soul of James, his father and his descendants. Such entries are rare however, and far more typical is that of Walter Bertram, Provost of Edinburgh, who in 1494 granted an endowment of £11 12/- 8d to maintain "a secular chaplain at the altar of St. Clement within the friary church...." the friars Conventual of Haddington themselves benefiting to the tune of 10/-, their share in the proceedings.

Other such pious examples abound; the Conventual community of Dumfries for instance benefited in 1520 from the generosity of John Logan, parson of Knowen who granted two ground annuals to ensure they celebrated two masses annually for his soul. Greater generosity was exhibited earlier, by Beatrice Countess of Erroll, who in addition to numerous past gifts to the Conventual house of Dundee, promised that she would finance the erection of an altar within the friary in honour of the "Three kings of Cologne". In return the friars agreed to look to the care of the

souls of her late husband, herself and her son William. In 1502 a similar range of spiritual services was demanded of the Franciscan sisterhood for the founder of their house in Dundee, James Fotheringham. In the foundation charter, Fotheringham laid down a series of services which he wished performed for his parents, his wife Isabella and ultimately for himself. More poignant still, king James IV's request that the Observant community of Stirling celebrate a dirge and mass for the soul of Margaret Drummond. In Ayr, the services of the Observant community were much sought after to secure a favourable reception of the soul in the life to come. Amongst numerous such requests, typical examples of the sentiments involved may be seen in 1423 for example, in the action of Adam of Boure who left an annual rent of 4/- for the "weal of the granters soul, the souls of Ellen his wife, his parents and all the faithful dead....", and that of Isabella, Lady Glammis and Kennedy who secured prayers for the souls of "James king of Scots and Queen Margaret his consort,.... their children, predecessors and successors, for her own soul, those of her family, and all the faithful dead...." A similar popularity was enjoyed by the Observants in Edinburgh, where Alexander Inglis, dean of Dunkeld, archdeacon of St. Andrews and elect of Dunkeld, secured the services of the friars - who in turn were to enlist the additional help of "the people" - to intercede on behalf of his soul, and for that of his father and mother; this on 17 September 1483. Nor should it be thought that the Franciscans were the only recipients of such requests, - although the Observants would seem to be the most popular mendicant intercessors - for on 10 March 1451/2 for example, Andrew Sprinct made a grant of land to the Carmelites of Aberdeen "to found a trental of masses for the souls of his parents and others....", whilst on 28 July 1522 William Blinseill, burgess of Aberdeen, gave the Trinitarians "an annual of 13/- 4d Scots.... [for] the souls of himself, his wives, Margaret Chalmer and Annabel Scrogis, his parents, and others, especially those whose goods he had unjustly obtained...." ! Here it should be noted that these are but a selection of the many instances of such requests, perhaps even stronger evidence of a continued belief in the efficacy of the mendicants seen in the long established practice of seeking burial in the confines of a friary, - regardless of age and sex - and/or burial in the habit of a friar. Thus while Lindsay condemned the latter practice, even he was forced to admit to its undoubted popularity, a factor which may go some way to explaining why the mendicants were not so effected by the increasing popularity of collegiate kirks as were their monastic counterparts. [64]

Despite this popularity however, it would not be fair to say that the mendicants were wealthy. They too would have suffered the ravages of war, and in the close association which they maintained with the urban poor they would undoubtedly have been more susceptible to infection - a real fear in this period as witnessed in chapter 7 - than the inmates of a religious house. Hardship

may be seen in the lives of the Conventual house of Dundee for example, for in the famine of 1481 the friars of the house found it necessary to sell many of the books, chalices and ornaments of their church in order to survive. Beatrice Countess of Errol was moved by their plight, and in a series of benefactions to the friary gave them amongst other supplies, 4/- of meal, 30/- of malt, 2 marks of beer, a gallon of oil with 32 pence, and a small haddock worth 7 pence. In 1543 the friary was looted of its possessions, its desperate situation made still worse by the local magistrates withholding payment of the friars pensions until 1547. In 1557, in a last ditch attempt to salvage the situation in which they found themselves, the friars infeft David, 9th. Earl of Crawford with the whole of their lands. In return the Earl was to pay them a feu duty of 17 merks; in the event the sum was never forthcoming. In 1548, the Conventual house of Dumfries found itself in dire straits for the income which it derived form the surrounding area was slashed due to the English occupation of the region. Far from being wealthy therefore many of the mendicants in Scotland might perhaps be viewed as amongst the poor themselves. Here, a brief reference to the income of some of the mendicant houses of the period serves to further undermine such an assumption.

In Aberdeen for example, the Carmelite Order drew a yearly income of £96 at the Reformation, in Inverbervie the sum was £94, in Linlithgow £33, in the community at Tullilum £16. In the Dominican house of Aberdeen, the figure stood at £108, in that of Dundee £7, in Edinburgh £67, Elgin £251, Glasgow £73, Inverness £38, Montrose £107, Perth £93, and St. Andrews [with Cupar] £67. In the Conventual houses of the Franciscan Order, Dundee possessed an income of £52 at the time of the Reformation, Dumfries £34, Kirkcudbright £14 and Lanark £7; as stated above, the Observants were careful to avoid anything which could be described as a regular, permanent income.

Further evidence that the mendicants did not enjoy an excessive income may be seen in the evidence relating to both the modest architecture of their houses, and possessions. In terms of the Conventual houses of Inverkeithing and Dundee, simplicity would seem to have been emphasised, the most striking feature of the latter for example, seemingly the craftsmanship of the east window. In the Observant houses of Ayr and Aberdeen, again it would seem that the emphasis in terms of decoration lay in these foundations windows, the work of a member of the Order, friar Strang of the Aberdeen community. In the order's house at Elgin, although the building is much restored and serving as the Convent of the sisters of St. Mary of Mercy - the evidence which may be pieced together from a variety of sources suggests that the emphasis once more rested on the work of friar Strang and the decorative qualities of the glass which once graced its windows.

In terms of the Observant house of Stirling, royal favour ensured that the interior of the building must have been a wondrous sight indeed, for in addition to the glass which he purchased for this foundation, the king also installed "three candelabra weighing forty - nine and a half pounds each...." to aid the illumination of the altars, drapes and images within. In general terms however, there is little to indicate that any of the mendicant houses in Scotland were of a particularly ostentatious appearance, this suggestion borne out by the remains of the Carmelite house of South Queensferry, which, like the others refereed to above, seems to have concentrated its decorative force around the window of the east end. In terms of the theological significance of this emphasis on light, both natural and man made, the reader's attention is drawn to the detailed examination of such matters in chapters 10 and 11 below.

The idea of restraint shown above in relation to architecture it may be argued, was repeated in terms of the contents of the foundations concerned. In the attack on the Observant and Dominican communities of Perth in 1543, no less a figure than John Knox provided an account of the proceedings. Beginning with the Franciscans he stated that:

> "in veray deid the Gray Freiris was a place so weall provided, that oneles honest men had sein the same, we would have feared to have reported what provisioun they had. Thare scheittis, blancattis, beddis and covertouris wer suche as no erle in Scotland hath the bettir; thair naiprie was fyne. Thei wer bot awght personis in the convent, and yit had [eight large casks] of salt beaff,.... wyne, beare and aill, besydis stoare of victuallis effeiring thareto. The lyik haboundance was nott in the Blak Frears, and yitt thare was more than becam men professing povertie...."

Here, another contemporary account refers to the crowd removing "chandeliers and glasses" from the Blackfriars, thereafter of removing the friars cooking pot and carrying it about the town, - presumably to show how well the friars dined - as well as stealing the pewter dishes of the friars. A similar picture also emerges of the 1543 raid on "the Friars Preachers and Minorites" of Dundee. Here, no less than 190 men faced a variety of charges including "breaking and destroying the ornaments, vestments, images and candlesticks" of these houses. They were also accused of "carrying off the silverware of the altars", "stealing the bed clothes, cowls, [and] victuals" of the friars, which included "meal, malt, flesh, fish, coals, napery, pewter plates, [and] tinstoups".

Here it should be noted that Knox would have been at pains to show the friars in as poor a light as possible, yet all he has to work with - on his own admission - is an inventory of the

Franciscans bed linen and a range of basic foodstuffs. His palpable disappointment is even more pronounced in his reference to the Blackfriars, for here all he was able to do was suggest that they possessed "more than becam men professing povertie...." Here it might be suggested that he referred to the "chandeliers and glasses" highlighted in the second report examined, but these items were merely practical and theological means of illumination and would have no baring on the lifestyle of the friars. Similarly, the emphasis on the friars cooking pot might suggest they were well fed, but it is no real suggestion of gluttony - a charge more justifiable in relation to the higher echelons of the religious, as seen in chapter 7 below. Further, it should be noted that the Blackfriars "dishes" were made of pewter, and arguably therefore of the simplest kind. In the example of the raid on the friaries of Dundee, the pattern is the same, all of the items listed of material value refer to the ceremonial life of the foundations involved. Of the items listed which the friars used in their own lives, the emphasis again rests on their habits, bed clothes, and foodstuffs. Significantly, reference is made to their "pewter plates" and "tin stoups" [cups]; again therefore there is nothing to suggest that the inmates of these houses possessed anything in the way of personal belongings, wealth. At this point the reader might consider the inventory of conspicuous wealth contained in the will of Master Adam Colquhoun, canon of Glasgow and parson of Stobo. Since the contents of this document, and its significance in terms of how the laity perceived the religious of the period under study are dealt with in chapter 7 below, it is enough to say here that had Knox uncovered such wealth in the houses of the Franciscans and Dominicans in Perth, he would not have been forced to try and get so much mileage out of references to their bed linen and foodstuffs.

Despite the apparent drawbacks involved however, it would seem that people were still being drawn to this form of religious life in the mid fifteenth to mid sixteenth century. At the Conventual friary of Haddington for example, there were 8 friars and a warden in 1478, in 1539 and in 1543 the number had fallen to 6, by the period 1557/9 the figure was 3 friars and a warden. At first glance such figures would seem to disprove the above statement, however it should be remembered that Haddington had suffered badly in the cross Border warfare, the wonder therefore is that there were any friars willing to stay in a house located in such a war zone at all. In the Conventual house of Dumfries the community numbered 7 friars in 1548, whilst at Conventual Dundee in 1482 a charter bares witness to a community of 13 friars. In terms of the Observant branch of the Franciscans, the Minister of the Scottish Province, Father John Hay - albeit a bias source - wrote that in the aftermath of the foundation of the Aberdeen community in 1470 there were 24, and sometimes as many as 30 priests, within the house at any one time. Two years later on the foundation of Glasgow he claims a figure of 20 priests, the same number for Ayr in 1474.

Elgin he claimed had 24 inmates, whilst at Jedburgh, on its foundation in 1513, he states that no fewer than 30 priests lived within its walls. Other sources still state that in 1479 the community at Edinburgh numbered 12 friars including the prior, whilst the Perth community numbered some 8 friars at the time of its downfall in May 1559. In turning to the other main Order within Scotland, that of the Blackfriars, the Dominican house of Aberdeen held a community of 13 friars in 1503, whilst 8 friars can be seen within the community of Ayr as late as 1557. In Glasgow, 10 friars resided in the friary in 1557, the following year the number had fallen to 8. In terms of the Carmelite presence in Scotland, the community of Aberdeen numbered four friars at the Reformation, that of Linlithgow may be placed at 3 friars and a prior in 1544/5, whilst in 1560 the number had fallen to a prior and a single friar.

Thus it could be said that the mendicant communities were never large, and that their declining numbers in the lead up to the Reformation should in many instances be seen in the context of the nation's war footing with her southern neighbour, rather than as a sign of declining popularity. The figures quoted by Father John Hay therefore are perhaps on the high side, even for those communities such as Aberdeen and Glasgow which served universities, for, as will be seen below, they suggest larger communities than some of the leading monastic houses of the realm. This aside, it is nevertheless possible to say that the mendicant life continued to enjoy a fair measure of popularity even in the period in question. [65]

In returning to the earlier charges - in chapter 5 - in terms that the mendicants employed flattery to ingratiate themselves with the public, particularly the burgess class - bishops and royalty, that they were dishonest and immoral, several points should be borne in mind. In terms of flattering to gain favour, it should be remembered that friars required the permission of a bishop before they could preach in his diocese; further, that this permission once granted could just as easily be withdrawn. Of the charge that they courted royal favour, it should be remembered that both James IV and James V favoured the Observants in particular, not for services rendered to the crown as civil servants, as did so many of the heads of monastic houses - but for their exemplary spiritual lives. As to the idea of currying favour in the households of those of minor noble and burgess rank, several explanations may be proffered that show the friars in a somewhat less damning way. In terms of social origin for instance, in the later fifteenth century the Observant community of Aberdeen could number Alexander Merser, heir to the Laird of Innerpeffray and Alexander Lawson, an Aberdeen lawyer amongst their number, in St. Andrews Father Robert Crethy was the son of the Earl Marischal, whilst Father Jerome Lindsay of the Perth community was a son of the Earl of Crawford. Such examples might explain accusations of favouring the

higher stations within society with their company, since the friars were simply identifying with the groups from which they were drawn, moreover, in their origins, the friars had specifically targeted urban centres of population, particularly those serving as leading educational centres.

Such an explanation however may serve only as part explanation for the accusations levelled in chapter 5 above, and indeed it is more likely that in the hard times of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the friars did indeed seek the support of the more affluent members of society, especially as they were bound by their traditions to be largely dependent on the day to day charitable offerings of the laity to support themselves. Further, it should be remembered that the friaries were an integral part of the local community, their churches open to the laity, both male and female in a way denied by their monastic equivalent. Members of the laity could therefore eat, and live in common with the inmates of a mendicant house, enjoying a far greater element of interaction with the inmates therein than was possible in an enclosed religious community. This should in no way however be taken as an admission of the associated charges of immorality, for there is no proof that the mendicants left numerous illegitimate offspring in their wake as did many heads of monastic houses, as indeed did some of the provosts of collegiate kirks as seen in the preceding chapter.

Rumours of their being overly friendly with the wives of the burgesses therefore may be seen as just that, friendship, the enthusiasm of the latter an example of piety in the nature of those who sought burial in the habit of a friar, within their houses, or the service of friars as intercessors on their behalf in the life to come.

At this point it is relevant to note that much of this criticism had a long history behind it. Indeed, much earlier material was perhaps even more virulent in its attacks on the friars than even Buchanan had been in the Franciscanus. The explanation for such a long held hatred of the mendicants derived form a number of sources, many of them from within the ranks of the church itself. Perhaps the earliest example of such came in the work of William of St. Amour, Master of theology in Paris University who published a treatise in 1254 entitled *Concerning The Perils Of The Last Times*. In it, he identified the mendicants - although he never named them as such - as the "anti - Christs prophesied for the end of time, the false Apostles of the new law, and the Pharisees of the old law."

The reasons for such a bitter attack were arguably twofold, in the first instance the identification of the friars - especially the Franciscans - as the favoured heralds of the "Third Age" in a contemporary work entitled the *Introductorius Ad Evangelium Aeternum*, and the rapid rise of the Dominican Order within the academic circles of the university. In the latter case, the friars had

initially not been much of a threat since they taught no lay students; this changed however with their breaking an academic "strike" called in 1253, the subsequent appointment of three of their number as Masters of theology within the university and finally - though perhaps most importantly - their acceptance of members of the laity as students. Thus, to men like William, who accepted the idea of the imminent arrival of the end of time, the friars were not welcomed emissaries of a new age, but dangerous upstarts, nothing less than the false Apostles already foretold in Scripture.

The ideas thus established were to subsequently achieve additional authority in such works as *Omne Bonum*, - *All Good* - an encyclopaedia compiled by James Palmer, Clerk to the Exchequer in the reign of the English monarch Edward III [1327 - 1377]. In this work the author exhibited a clear familiarity with William's earlier writings, particularly a section which listed the ways in which such false Apostles could be identified. True Apostles for example, did not "penetrate houses and captivate silly women who [were] laden with sin", unlike their devious counterparts. False Apostles sought "letters of commendation", the "money or goods of those to whom they [preached], which [was] simony", moreover they laboured "to poke into others affairs so that they might be fed thereby, because their god [was] their belly" and therefore they "often came to eat at a strangers table". Lest there should be any doubt in the mind of the reader as to whom the author targeted, he stated that:

> "the Apostles of Christ did not beg but earned their food by pursuing a legitimate trade after taking up their apostolate, which is contrary to the way of life of the begging friars...."

This argument was in turn repeated by others such as the Primate of Ireland, Archbishop Richard Fitzralph who argued - c. mid fourteenth century onwards - that the original Apostles reserved enough in the way of possessions so that they did not have to beg. The friars claim to follow in the way of Christ, in imitation of his poverty was false therefore, in that the mendicants did beg. Their legitimacy he further denied through their late appearance in the Church, the way in which he claimed they usurped the alms which should have gone to the "real" poor, and the income which should have gone to parish churches through, for example, burial fees, and testamentary legacies. It was but a short step arguably, for such criticism to move from the academic arena of theology, to be taken, adapted to a more direct form still, and transmitted to the laity at large by writers such as John Wycliffe. Thus the idea of increasing numbers of idle, wandering, immoral, cunning and parasitic friars blighting the lives of the laity could gain wider circulation, and as time passed,

greater acceptance through the continued use of such relatively unchanging rhetoric as that seen above. Therefore, by the time such Scottish observers as Dunbar, Buchanan, Lindsay and Scot commented on the perceived errors of the friars, the picture they painted was one which had long since been etched in the minds of their audience by earlier works which drew on Scripture for authority. They were also aided by such open divisions in the mendicant ranks, as the agonies experienced by the Franciscans over identifying and maintaining the wishes of their founder in the face of ever increasing numbers, in particular with regards to such thorny issues as handling money and the ownership of property. The "Spirituals" [or Observants] demanding a complete renunciation of property and income, the "Conventuals" arguing that ownership of books was essential to obtain an educated brotherhood, whilst buildings and income were necessary not only to provide for the needs of the increasing numbers of friars, but to provide the churches and associated trappings necessary to both preach and administer to the spiritual needs of the laity. The claim that the initial outlook of the friars was being eroded therefore, was an opinion shared by members of the Franciscan Order itself, for on becoming Minister General of the Franciscan Order in 1257 for example, no less a figure than St. Bonaventure issued a letter to all Provincial Ministers listing ten points where he thought reforms were necessary.

Significantly, he talked of the "multiplicity of ways in which money was being obtained", "the laziness of the friars", "their wandering about", "their importunate begging whereby people [were] as fearful of meeting a friar as of meeting a robber", "the grandeur of their buildings", "their over friendliness with certain people [presumably the rich and influential]", "the unwise bestowal of office in the Order", the "greedy desire for burials [and] legacies", "changes from simple to sumptuous dwellings" and their "general luxuriusness of living". In the 1260 Chapter of Narbonne, and in his *Exposition of the Rule*, Bonaventure examined such problems and attempted a compromise between calling for the maintenance of the ideals of humility, simplicity, poverty and prayer, whilst allowing that the friars had to receive such necessities as enabled them to survive and continue their work. Despite his efforts however, the General Council of the Church called at Lyons in 1274, saw the mendicants charged with a variety of all to familiar offences. For example, that they usurped the authority and income of the parish priest by attempting to monopolise such services as the hearing of confessions, and the burial of the dead. Not even the subsequent declaration by Pope Nicholas III in 1279, that all mendicant property belonged to the papacy and not to the friars themselves, could, as seen above, stop the persistence of such charges up to the Reformation itself. Thus, in the charters held by the Friars Preachers of Ayr for example, there exists a copy made on 25 September 1515 of the bull of Clement IV, given on 12 February 1266, concerning the

right of the friars to hold temporal property, and a copy of the brief issued by Leo X on 26 June 1518 in response to a variety of charges levelled at the mendicants from within the ranks of the Church itself. Significantly, the latter document clearly reveals that the friars were still subject to the same "professional" jealousy as exhibited in the work of William of St. Amour. Despite repeated prohibitions against such behaviour, it emerged that "rectors of parish churches" were still "maliciously" withholding the "sacraments of the eucharist and extreme unction" from those who confessed to the friars. Further, that people who wished to bury relatives within a friary were being compelled to carry the body to the parish church. The clear message throughout this document therefore, is of a bitter campaign on the part of members of the episcopate and the parish clergy to protect what they saw as their monopoly of income derived from the services offered by the Church, in the face of what was undoubtedly lay favour of the mendicants. Thus for example, the scurrilous tale of the *Friars of Berwick* could find its supporters from within the Church itself - from men willing to see their rivals vilified - it could find support in historical precedent as seen above, and by the period under study in Scotland was so well entrenched, that Knox's comments on bed linen and foodstuffs would be taken by many as "proof" that all other mendicant "crimes" were similarly well founded. Thus could the Reformers discredit potentially the most able opponents of change. [66]

In terms of the monastic houses of the period under study, again it is possible to mount a similarly strong defence. As seen above, extreme pressure was being exerted by the crown on the heads of these communities to meet a series of financial demands. In turn therefore, many of these individuals sought merely to exploit the revenue of these houses, which as seen in chapter 4 above could involve considerable sums, particularly where several houses were held by one man. As seen in the example of Melrose however this did not mean that the rank and file shared in these profits, for it had long been possible for a monk to be poor, yet his house and Order to be wealthy, for on joining a monastic community it was common to resign your possessions to the Order in question. Personal, voluntary poverty therefore was the aim rather a poor order itself. Not all agreed with this interpretation however, thus as early as the eleventh century for example, St. John Gualbert had been at pains to stop what he saw as this stumbling block in the attainment of the true monastic ideal of poverty. Similarly, the wealth which a monastic house possessed was the cumulative effect of generations of donations by the laity and land deals on the part of the religious houses themselves. Such a complex weave of ecclesiastic/lay interdependence clearly seen in the expansion of the Clunaic Order in the tenth and eleventh centuries. As family influence in these foundations grew so too did nepotism, the bonds between the upper levels of lay society and the

monastic houses strengthened through the practice, for example, of both making and revoking gifts of land to such foundations. In effect, the same piece of land could be used repeatedly to bind an increasing number of family members to particular houses. Thus could a family's interests be developed in the Church and in particular monastic houses, such a phenomenon clearly seen above in relation to fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland. Monks therefore might live a relatively simple existence, but it was arguably the high profile existence of the heads of such houses, as examined in chapters 1 to 4 above, which the laity would note and comment on unfavourably. Thus the career of James Stewart, King James V's son, provides a good example, for while he held the joint income of the monasteries of Kelso and Melrose in commendam, the records of the Lords of Council on 28 April 1548 show that a monk's portion at Kelso was "half a chalder of wheat, a chalder of bear, and 28 merks money...." This moreover supposes that the portion was paid, which in this instance, and in the example of Melrose above was not always the case. In terms of the Rule of St. Benedict, although there is no hint of a monk being allowed a private financial income, and although gluttony was expressly forbidden, it is fair to say that there was ample allowance for a proper diet, for it stated that "for the daily meal.... every table should have two cooked dishes.... and if any fruit or young vegetables [were] available, [then] a third [should] be added". Moreover, if an individual's work were of a heavy nature, then the abbot had "the choice and the power.... to increase this allowance". [67] Thus it might have been possible - as will be examined in chapter 7 below - for some to have seen the monks as leading an overly comfortable lifestyle, for few if any would still have observed such Benedictine requirements as the need to "chastise the body", avoid "soft living", "love fasting", "avoid worldly contact", "be content with the meanest and worst of everything", perform "manual labour" and avoid leaving the monastic enclosure. However as will be seen in chapter 12 below, these were the ideals of a long distant past, and the religious houses they governed had been changing since their inception to fit in with the demands which society placed upon them. Thus the evidence relating to the monk's portion of Kelso suggests that, allowing for this state of affairs, the monks themselves, although not measuring up to the original strictures of their Rule, were nevertheless still attempting to follow a religious life, in keeping with its general sentiments.

Therefore, whilst it might be possible to suggest - see chapter 7 below - that numbers were kept low by the inmates of monasteries themselves to preserve the value of their incomes, and that those seeking entry to a monastery did so in the hope of achieving a better life than in the outside world, it could equally be said that numbers within the religious houses in Scotland had never been high, and that accusations of easy living were based on critics rosy perceptions - as

witnessed in chapter 12 - of long since redundant ideals, taken out of context and applied to the religious of a much later era. Thus in the confines of the present work, it will be assumed that people were still being drawn to monasteries through a genuine desire to follow a regular life, that evidence of infirm or aged brethren reflected the recognition of the presence of such individuals in a monastic community in the Rule of St. Benedict, and that the number of inmates within the religious houses of the period under examination reflected favourably in terms of the health of monastic communities.

In terms of Coldingham, this might not seem to be the case at first glance, for in January of 1438 the house would seem to have held only the prior and one monk, whilst in June 1446 the house contained merely the prior and 3 monks. Little would seem to have changed with the passage of time, for in Patrick Home's petition to gain control of the foundation from the papacy, - 6 August 1461 - he claimed the house held only 2 monks. Here however the reader should remember that Coldingham suffered badly not only in cross Border warfare, but from the fierce competition waged to secure its income. In Dunfermline Abbey, a more encouraging picture emerges, 26 monks appearing in 1520, 28 in 1555 and 25 as late as 1559. In Pluscarden, a prior and 8 inmates may be traced on 13 October 1508, on 16 December 1524 and 24 June 1548 the number had increased to 12 monks, whilst at the Reformation 9 monks and the prior remained. At Crossraguel, 10 monks appear in 1504, 8 in 1548 and 1552. At the Reformation, in addition to the commendator and sub - prior the house numbered some 11 inmates; in the Abbey of Paisley, this figure stood at no less than 16 monks.

In turning from the Benedictine Order to the Tironensian, Arbroath held 27 monks in 1512, 17 monks appeared in a charter dated 1527 albeit that the community at this time stood at least at 26 monks - 27 in 1543, 20 monks and the sub prior appeared in 1546, the number of inmates rising to 22 monks at the Reformation. At Kelso Abbey, in 1462 possibly 18 monks constituted the complement of the house, this figure rising to 21 monks in 1539/40, falling to 12 at the Reformation. Again however it is important to remember the effects of warfare on the members of this foundation. In Kilwinning, 16 monks appear in 1532, some 17 in 1544 the figure falling only slightly to 12 in 1557, 8 in 1560. At Lindores Abbey, 25 monks appear in 1532, 24 in 1538, 19 to 20 in 1546, again in 1552 and 1558, it being possible to add perhaps some 5 additional monks to this list.

In moving on to the houses of the Cistercian Order, a community of between 14 to 20 monks resided here in 1537, this number remaining reasonably stable despite English hostilities, some 16 monks dwelling within in the late 1540's. At Coupar, 28 monks may be traced to the house in 1521, 24 appeared in 1539, 20 in 1545 and in the period 1558/9. In Culross Abbey, in 1540, 16

monks appear in the company of the commendator and the abbot. In 1553, 15 monks and an abbot may be traced, in 1557 the number of monks had only declined to 10. At Dundrennan, a charter dated 9 May 1545 points to a complement comprising the commendator, the prior, and 9 monks; by the Reformation the number of monks had apparently risen to 12. In Glenluce, 13 monks appear to have been in residence at the Reformation, the figure perhaps as high as 15. In the Abbey of Kinloss, in the year 1229, the compliment of the house stood at 23 monks, an abbot and a prior. By 1537 this figure had fallen by only 4 monks, whilst at the Reformation the monastery could boast of no less than 18 monks. At Melrose Abbey, perhaps as many as 32 inmates may be traced to this house in 1536, this number falling to 13 in 1555, whilst in 1556 perhaps a further 4 inmates can be added to the list. At the Reformation the number seems to have levelled out at 17. Newbattle Abbey for its part held some 24 monks in 1528, the population dropping to around 15 monks by the Reformation; Sweetheart Abbey provides a similar role call as late as 1557.

In turning to the Augustinian houses of the period, Cambuskenneth may be seen to have held 19 canons as late 1559. Holyrood 25 canons in 1488, the number falling by a mere 4 bodies by the Reformation. At the small island house of Inchmahome, 11 canons appear to have been in residence at the Reformation, whilst in the prestigious foundation of St. Andrews, perhaps as many as 39 canons could be traced to this one house in the years immediately preceding the Reformation.

In terms of the Premonstratensian order, Dryburgh held around 17 canons in addition to an abbot in 1537/8, this figure falling by only 5 canons by 1558. Whithorn would seem to have held 20 canons and their prior around the year 1235, in 1408 this figure stood at only 12 inmates, but by 1508 numbers had risen again to include the prior and around 24 canons. This revival would appear to have been largely maintained since the house contained around 16 canons at the Reformation. [68]

With regards to many of the other charges levelled at the inmates of the regular Orders of the period, again as with the friars it is possible to reduce much of its apparent immediate impact. In terms of the Trinitarian Order, it will be remembered from chapter 5 above that James II sought the closure of Fail on the grounds of the inmates decadence. In the event no such action was taken, and it is perhaps more likely that the king sought its closure to help finance the new, royal Trinity college and attendant hospital. Similarly, despite charges in the mid fifteenth century of dishonesty against the members of the Trinitarian house of Peebles, this Order was still in residence at the time of the Reformation; presumably therefore the charges were like those in Fail, unproven or exaggerated.

In terms of a defence against charges of immorality, it should be remembered that almost all of the evidence available points to this being a problem of the higher echelons of the regular Orders, rather than that of the rank and file. Examples such as that provided in chapter 5, of John Bonar, monk of Balmerino seeking official recognition of his son James, are very much the exception rather than the rule. More typical by far were individuals such as Robert Forrester, Abbot of Balmerino, who exploited the wealth of his house, doubtless to the benefit of his son John, for whom he sought official recognition on 28 August 1536. Similarly, it should be remembered from chapters 1 and 3 for example, and indeed from the early sections of the present chapter, that the title "abbot" could often be used alternately with that of "commendator", and that appointment to the office of abbot of a particular house could result from a variety of factors which had nothing to do with satisfying any religious criteria. Thus critics might rail against the immorality of regulars, and could point to the scandalous case of Abbot John Forman and the charge levelled against him - as seen above - of abducting Sybil Galloway. Their case would have been further strengthened by Forman's own defence in this matter, for rather than try to deny all knowledge of the affair he stated that "the said Sybell come to me of hir awn free will and motive.... the quhilk Sybell in the tyme was nothir madene, mannis wiffe, nor wedew, bot as.... free to me as ony uthir man...." Such critics however would have to ignore the circumstances surrounding his appointment, for as seen in chapter 3, the previous incumbent, Abbot William Buncle had been the victim of a serious assault to try and ensure Forman's succession. Thus, like so many of the other "religious" examined in chapter 1, Forman had little in the way of spiritual qualities to recommend him to the post of abbot, or indeed commendator. To find ammunition against the regular communities in the actions of such men therefore is to ignore the fact that the vast majority had no monastic training or background.

In turning now to the female religious of the period, it should be noted that the poet Lindsay praised the sisters of the convent of St. Catherine of the Sciennes for their model lifestyle. In the *Testament of the Papyngo* he stated that the principles of the enclosed life - poverty, devotion, faith, hope and charity - were still to be found in their midst, preserved through such qualities as the sisters austerity, labour and abstinence, and their practice of choosing their heads by election rather than their wealth. Such praise was rare however, and more in keeping with his views on female religious were his comments on their failings. Thus in *The First Buke Of The Monarche* he remarked:

> "I thynk ane dirisioun To heir thir Nunnis and Sisteris nycht and daySyngand and sayand psalmes and orisoun, Nocht understandyng quhat they syng nor say, Bot

lyke ane stirlyng or ane PapingayQuhilk leirnit ar to speik be lang usage: Thame i compare to byrdis in ane cage...."

whilst in *The Three Estates* he has the character of the Prioress admit:

"Howbeit that nunnis sing nichts and dayis, Thair hart waitis nocht quat thair mouth sayis...."

As seen in chapter 5 however, in Lindsay's opinion, their ignorance of spiritual matters took second place to their perceived immorality. At this point however, as with so much of the criticism levelled at the mendicant and enclosed Orders, it is possible to mitigate the severity of such scathing observations. In terms of historical precedent, female religious, indeed womankind as a whole, had long been subject to a series of deeply entrenched prejudices. As early as the twelfth century for example, Abelard, dealing with women in the context of a religious life, stated that as women were the weaker sex they required the aid and supervision of their male counterpart. Thus he was:

"Surprised that the custom should have been long established in convents of putting abbesses in charge of women just as abbots are set over men.... for there [was] so much in the Rule which cannot be carried out by women, whether in authority or subordinate...."

More disturbing still, with such communities as that of Fontevrault in mind, he continued:

"In several places too, the natural order is overthrown to the extent that we see abbesses.... ruling the clergy who have authority over the people, with opportunities of leading them to evil desires in proportion to their dominance.... It was the first woman in the beginning who lured man from Paradise, and she who had been created by the Lord as his helpmate became the instrument of his total downfall...."

Perhaps even more damning yet, the comments of Marbod, [c.1035/1123] Bishop of Rennes in Brittany who noted that among the:

"Countless traps which the scheming enemy [had] set throughout the world's paths and plains.... the greatest - and the one scarcely anyone [could evade] - [was] woman...."

Warming to his subject he continued thus:

"Her sex is envious, capricious, irascible, avaricious, as well as intemperate with drink and voracious in the stomach.... To her nothing seems illicit if it is pleasurable.... Here gaping at wealth, there burning with the flame of lust, she is a babbler, and unreliable, and - on top of so much evil - arrogant...."

The result of such enormity?

"Armed with these vices woman [subverted] the world...." !

The idea therefore of the seemingly evil and inferior nature of womankind had a long history behind it, and was well established by the sixteenth century and Lindsay's observations. Indeed such an image was to continue in the period after that under study in the present work, for when Cardinal Sermoneta wrote to Pope Paul IV in 1556 concerning the faults which he perceived in the Church in Scotland, he paid particular attention to the immorality of nuns.

Clearly it would be possible to justify such accusations by pointing to the friendship between Patrick Congiltoun and the Prioress of Haddington, and no doubt abuses did occur, but it is the contention of the present work that they were of an exceptional nature. Here the reader's attention is drawn to the contemporary scene in England, so ably examined by Professor J. A. F. Thomson in his book *The Early Tudor Church And Society, 1485 - 1529*. In this work two examples may be taken to justify the stance of the present chapter. The first refers to the Priory of Littlemore, Oxfordshire, and to the Prioress and one of her sisters. Both had illegitimate offspring, the former using the wealth of her house to provide her daughter with a dowry on her marriage, the situation made still worse by the fact that the recipient's father was a chaplain, Richard Hewes. Clearly no defence can be mounted in this instance, and doubtless such material would have been eagerly paraded by contemporary detractors of female religious, but as Professor Thomson observed, such cases were exceptional. The second example illustrates just how easy it would have been however

for such detractors to create the impression that immorality was commonplace. In this instance, no less a figure than the Prioress of St. James convent, Canterbury, complained that

> "The sisters of her house were public prostitutes...."

As Professor Thomson observed however:

> "... the historian may be pardoned some scepticism when the record notes that their ages were 84, 80, 50 and 36. Commonsense suggests that the prioress was defective in charity rather than the sisters in chastity."

In light of these comments it is possible to perhaps explain what was perhaps the most infamous Scottish example of this kind, the suppression of the Benedictine convent of Lincluden. As witnessed in chapter 5 this house was suppressed on the grounds of the disgraceful behaviour of its inmates in 1389, yet significantly there would seem to be no hard evidence of such behaviour. It would seem more likely, that even as early as the fourteenth century, Archibald Earl of Douglas could rely on the power of innuendo alone to secure the suppression of this convent, thus opening the way for his true purpose in petitioning the papacy, the erection of a collegiate college. Support for this argument comes most forcefully in the form of the possible identity of the women commemorated by the "nun's slab" within Dundrennan Abbey. Although there is some doubt on the matter, it has been suggested that the slab commemorates the last prioress of Lincluden; if this indeed is case, then her privileged burial would clear both the prioress and her house of the charges levelled against them. [69]

In summing up the evidence in this chapter, it is possible to say that many of the accusations levelled at the religious of the period c.1450 to 1560 had a long history behind them. Lay involvement in the affairs and appointment of religious, and declining standards amongst the ranks of the ecclesiastics themselves for example, had been of great concern to many reforming elements within the Church itself, and indeed the laity - as will be seen in chapter 12 - from at least as early as the tenth and eleventh centuries. [70] It is equally true to say however, that much of the effect of such criticism - particularly in relation to the mendicants and female religious - relied on dubious material which gained credibility through its repetition, unchanged, over the centuries until by the Reformation it had assumed the nature of "fact". This is not to suggest that that all was well in the religious Orders of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, or that contemporary critics could not

point to actual individuals to illustrate the points they raised, for as the above chapters of the present work have shown, there was no real shortage of material for them to draw upon.

Again, however, it has to be emphasised that there was little new in such observations, and in many ways it would have been possible, then as now, to see some of these seeming abuses in a less damning fashion. Indeed it is entirely possible to argue, as the present work has done, that there was much that was praiseworthy in the ranks of the regular Orders of this period. That many leading figures within the hierarchy of the Catholic Church recognised the faults inherent in their organisation, just as readily as their critics, and that in the religious Orders within Scotland there were many who were prepared to follow their reforming leads, as expressed in the various edicts and Church councils which bore relevance to their age. In chapter 7 therefore, the task will be to try and identify, as with the issues raised in previous chapters, those factors which, when combined, could supply the catalyst necessary to show such criticism of the subjects of this study, in such a way that it could take on additional and more damaging aspects in the eyes of the laity.

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For James and Robert Stewart, see: *Letters: James V*, 342 - 3, 399 - 400.

For James Stewart, son of James IV, see: *Letters: James V*, 49 - 51, 53 - 4.

for John Hamilton, see: *Letters: James V*, 113.

R. S. S. Vol. 1, 1488 - 1529, No. 2137. Records the permission granted to purchase benefices abroad by James IV to James Ogilvy. No. 2273, Records permission granted to Margaret Swinton, Prioress of Elcho, to resign the house in question, and for Elizabeth Swinton, a nun of the same house to purchase it.

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2.) J. C. Olin: *The Catholic Reformation*, 90 - 1, 94.

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6.) A. Ross: *Notes*, in, D. McRoberts (ed.):*Essays* , 216 - 7.

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D. Schaw: *Adam Bothwell, Conserver Of The Renaissance* , in, As Above.

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7.) *Acts: Public Affairs*, 1501 - 1554, 150, 347 - 8, 360.

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8.) For Patrick Panter, see: *Letters: James V*, 45 - 6, 60.

Alexander Myln: As Above , 90 - 1, 399 - 400.

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9.) A. Ross: *Notes*, in, D. McRoberts: *Essays*, 192 - 9, 204.

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G. R. Anderson: *The Abbeys Of Scotland*, (London, 1930), 17 - 18, 25, 31 - 2, 35, 39, 69, 70 - 1, 88.

D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 300, 332 - 3, 343.

J. Bain: *Hamilton Papers*, Vol.1, 292; Vol.2, 326, 362 - 3, 367 - 71, 379 - 80, 405 - 7, 509.

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37.) *Reg Pr. Council*, Vol. 1, 1545 - 1569, 28.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 249.

J. Stewart: "*Articles*", in, *Soc. Of Ant.*, Vol. 11, (1874 - 6), 87 - 101.

38.) I. B. Cowan and D. E. Easson: *Med. Rel. Houses*, 145 - 8.

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2.) Eccles; *Cal. Of Let. And Pap. For. And Dom. Henry VIII*, iii, (2), No. 3098; xix, (2), No. 33; xix, (2), No. 625; xx, (1), No. 395; xx, (2), Nos. 456, 633.

3.) Elcho; M.J. Thorpe(ed.): *Calendar Of The State Papers Relating To Scotland, (London, 1858), Vol.1*, 74.

4.) St. Bothans: *A Diurnal Of Remarkable Occurents*, 35.

39.) D. McRoberts: "*Material Destruction*", in, D. McRoberts (ed.): *Essays*, 420 - 5, 434, 437, 456 - 7.

D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 350 - 1.

H. J. Scroeder: *Trent*, 58, In the legislation passed by the Council of Trent, bishops were empowered to visit all of the churches within their care and ensure that they were being adequately maintained.

D. Patrick: *Statutes*, 119, Provincial Council of 1549, called on" All and sundry abbots, priors, commendators, administrators, prioresses of nuns, also provosts and deans of collegiate churches.... to repair and restore their churches which [might] be ruinous and dilapidated.... in walls [and] in roof...."

p. 168, As Above, Provincial Council of 1558 - 9, Archbishop Hamilton called for the comprehensive restoration of all church buildings and their associated furnishings.

Note, Cardinal Sermoneta, writing to Pope Paul IV in 1556, called for the Church's buildings to be restored. In 1557, the Pope commissioned Cardinal Trivulzio to visit Scotland and see that such repairs were put in force. See: J. H. Pollen: *Papal Negotiations* , Appendix iv, 529 - 30, for Cardinal Sermoneta, 8 for Cardinal Trivulzio.

40.) Cambuskenneth: *R. M. S.* 1546 - 1580, No. 1225.

Coldingham: As Above, Nos. 1761, 2392.

Culross: ", Nos. 1923, 2869, 2883.

Cupar: ", Nos. 1699, 1741, 1779, 2053, 2376; References to the foundation's ruinous condition/ repairs. Nos. 1706, 1735, 1781, 1791, 2051, 2058, 2122, 2265, 2320, 2536; References to land grants for monetary aid, good council and what would seem to be a straight payment of money.

Nos. 1735, 1779, 1780, 1781, 1788, 1789, 2122, 2536; Proof of clear Campbell family connections.

Deer: ", No. 1145.

Dunfermline: M. H. B. Sanderson: *Cardinal*, 33, for relationship between George Dury and David Beaton.

R. M. S. 1546 - 1580, No. 2827.

Holyrood: As Above, Nos. 1385, 1662, 1593; Simple monetary payments to his brother; Nos. 2532, 2777.

Inchmahome: As Above, No. 1027.

Melrose: *R. M. S.* 1513 - 1546, Nos. 508, 1369.

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Kilwinning: As Above, Nos. 53, 724, 1610, 2633, 2880.

Kinloss:" ", No. 2611.

Newbattle:" ", Nos. 31, 878, 1351, 1354, 1386, 1601, 1639, 1642, 1667, 2275, 2475, 2503.

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St. Andrews:" ", Nos. 41, 1458, 1553, 1690, 1693, 1941, 2105, 2709.

41.) D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 322, 325 - 6.

D. Patrick: *Statutes*, 25, 41.

M. H. B. Sanderson: *Sc. Rural Soc.*, 69 - 71.

A. I. Dunlop: *Bishop Kennedy*, 401.

W. Eberhard: *Bohemia, Moravia and Austria*, in, A. Pettegree (ed.): *The Early Reformation In Europe*, 23 - 48.

J. Dowden: *The Medieval Church In Scotland , Its Constitution, Organisation And Law* (Glasgow, 1910), 96. Hereafter, J. Dowden: *The Medieval Church In Scotland.*

M. Bryce: *Sc. Grey Friars*, Vol. 1, 69 - 70, 167, 223.

42.) H. M. Paton(ed.): *Accounts For The Masters Of Works For Building And Repairing Royal Palaces And Castles (Edinburgh*, 1957), Vol. 1, 1529 - 1615, Introduction, xiv - v. Hereafter, H.M. Paton(ed.): *Accounts.*

M. H. B. Sanderson: *Cardinal*, 48 - 50, 57, 63 - 8.

M. Mahoney: *The Scottish Hierarchy, 1513 - 1565*, in, D. McRoberts (ed.): *Essays*, 42, 68 - 9.

J. H. Pollen: *Papal Negotiations*, Appendix iv, 523, 530.

Letters: James V, 244, 255, 257 - 9, 280 - 1, 283, 285, 297 - 8, 303 - 7, 314, 334.

G. Donaldson: *Scotland: James V - James VII*, 44 - 49.

D. E. Easson: *Gavin Dunbar*, 44 - 45, 51.

A. L. Murray: *Financing The Royal Household*, in, I. B. Cowan and D. Schaw (eds.) *The Renaissance And Reformation In Scotland*, 53 - 4, 57.

43.) Cupar: *R. M. S.* 1546 - 1580, No. 1380.

Kinloss: As Above, No. 2611.

Newbattle:" ", Nos. 1351, 1354, 1386, 2503.

H. M. Paton: *Accounts*, Vol. 1, 1529 - 1615, 30, 122, 130 - 1, 197 - 8, 200, 229, 235 - 40, 264 - 5, 267 - 8, 291, 307.

N. R. MacDougall: *"Coldingham"*, in, *I. R.* Vol. 23, (1972), 103.

A. L. Murray: *Financing The Royal Household*, in, I. B. Cowan and D. Schaw (eds.) *The Renaissance And Reformation In Scotland*, 42 - 5.

D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 67, 120.

A. P. S. Vol.2, 424.

R. S. S. Vol. 2, 1529 - 1542, Nos. 1422, 1515, 1935, 2147.

R. S. S. Vol. 1, 1488 - 1529, Nos. 1422, 1515.

Reg. Pr. Council, Vol. 1, 1554 - 1569, P. 14, 18, 55 - 6, 75 - 6, 83.

D. E. Easson: *Gavin Dunbar*, 51, 53.

M. H. B. Sanderson: *Sc. Rural Soc.*, 24 - 7.

George Dury and Donald Campbell: *Acts: Public Affairs*, 1501 - 1554, 448, 565 - 6.

Robert Carncors: As Above, 469, and J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 226.

Andrew Dury: *Acts: Public Affairs*, 1501 - 1554, 490.

Specific debts of heads of religious houses: As Above, 502, 29 March 1541.

Sums owed by religious houses towards the College of Justice: As Above, 541.

James Stewart: ", 638.

Alexander Myln: ", 573.

Patrick Hepburn: ", 566, 569.

44.) J. Gifford: *Fife*, 212 - 7.

C. MCWilliam: *Lothian*, 271 - 2, 285, 293 - 301.

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Linlithgow Palace, see: Vol. 2, Plate 117, 117.

" " , Main hall, see: Vol. 2, Plate 118, 118.

" " , Detail of fireplace, main hall, see: Vol. 2, Plate 119, 119.

" " , Detail of musicians in main hall, see: Vol.2, Plate120, 120.

" " , Ornate fireplace, see: Vol.2, Plate 121. 121.

" " , Roof boss, unicorn chained, see: Vol.2, Plate 122, 122.

" " , The interior of the original entrance, see: Vol.2, Plate 123, 123.

" " , Fountain, see: Vol. 2, Plate124, 124.

" " , Fountain, see: Vol. 2, Plate 125, 125.

The Royal Palace of Stirling, see: Vol. 2, Plate 126 to Plate 143.

The Governor's Palace, Kinneil, see: Vol. 2, Plate 144, 144.

Gun ports at the rear of the Governor's palace, Kinneil, see: Vol. 2, Plate 145, 145.

Gun port, rear of the Governor's palace, Kinneil, see: Vol. 2, Plate 146, 146.

Gun port, rear of the Governor's palace, Kinneil, see: Vol. 2, Plate 147, 147.

45.) G. Donaldson: *Scotland: James V to James VII*, Ch. 4, *The Policy Of James V.*

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46.) For Alexander Stewart, see: *R. M. S.* 1424 - 1513, No. 3446, Test. 100, as the Archbishop of St. Andrews.

From No. 2470 - 3883, Test. 86, as the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Royal Chancellor.

No. 3812, Test. 113, as the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Commendator of Dunfermline and Coldingham, Royal Chancellor.

R. M. S. 1546 - 1580, No. 3446, Test. 100, as the Archbishop of St. Andrews.

As the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Chancellor, on no less than 325 occasions from 3293 onwards, Test. 86.

R. S. S. Vol. 1, 1488 - 1529, Nos. 1019, 1260, 1474, 1479, 1537, 1539, 1710, 1909, 2118, 2131, 2273, 2364, 2489, 2507.

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Letters: James V, 3, 252.

For James Stewart, (son of James IV) see: *Letters: James IV* , xxix, 124, 127.

Letters: James V, 14 (note), 49 - 51, 54, 98 - 100, 132 - 4, 136, 151, 252, 295, 302, 304, 306 - 7, 314 - 5, 318.

For James Stewart, 1st., (son of James V) see: *Letters: James V*, 342 - 3, 399 - 400.

R. M. S. 1546 - 1580, see for example, Nos. 41, 440, 565, 1680.

R. S. S. Vol. 2, 1529 - 1542, No. 3097, 3125.

For James Stewart, 2nd. (son of James V) see: *Letters: James V*, 279, 287, 342, 425 - 7, 433.

R. M. S. 1513 - 1546, Nos. 1391, 1425, 1620, 2835, 2089, 2092.

R. M. S. 1546 - 1580, Nos. 159, 883, 927, 2319, 2322, 2777.

For John Stewart, (son of James V) see: *Letters: James V*, 357 - 8, 423, 426.

R. M. S. 1546 - 1580, Nos. 41, 565.

For Robert Stewart, (son of James V) see: *Letters: James V*, 357 - 8, 399.

R. S. S. Vol. 1, 1488 - 1529, No. 3096.

47.) For Bernard Linton, see: *R. M. S.* 1424 - 1513, Nos. 11, 154, 337 - 8, 461, 3136, 3717.

For George Hepburn, see: *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488 - 1529, Nos. 1336, 1389.

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For John Hepburn, see: *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488 - 1529, Nos. 646, 655, 804 - 5.

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For James Hepburn, see: *R. M. S.* 1424 - 1513, Nos. 2786 - 7.

R. M. S. 1513 - 1546, No. 34.

For Patrick Hepburn, see: *R. S. S.* Vol. 2, 1529 - 1542, Nos. 1696, 2746, 2772.

R. M. S. 1513 - 1546, Nos. 330, 358.

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J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 291.

For James Beaton, see: *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, Nos. 1221, 1228, 2725.

R. M. S. 1424 - 1513, Nos. 2786 - 7, 3762, 3878.

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R. M. S. 1546 - 1580, No. 366.

For David Beaton, see: *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488 - 1529, No. 4019.

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For John Hamilton, see: *R. M. S.* 1546 - 1580, Nos. 562, 1605.

48.) For Robert Reid, see: *R. S. S.* Vol. 2, 1529 - 1542, Nos. 1740, 3974.

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For Walter Reid, see: *R. M. S.* 1546 - 1580, Nos. 1638, 2020.

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49.) For Patrick Panter, see: *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488 - 1529, Nos. 1365, 2435.

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50.) A. I. Dunlop: *Bishop Kennedy* , 48 - 54.

I. B. Cowan and D. E. Easson: *Med. Rel. Houses*, 56.

N. MacDougall:" Coldingham Priory ", in, *I. R.* Vol. 23, (1972), 115 - 6, 118 - 27.

R. B. Dobson: *Durham Priory, 1400 - 1450* , 321 - 7.

Letters: James IV , 163 - 4.

Letters: James V, 3.

R. M. S. 1546 - 1580, Nos. 41, 565.

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51.) I. B. Cowan and D. E. Easson: *Med. Rel. Houses*, 64.

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52.) *R. M. S.* 1424 - 1513, Nos. 202, 1371, 598.

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53.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 2, 1529 - 1542, No. 1725.

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54.) For James Ogilvy, see: *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488 - 1529, Nos. 2137, 2727, 2796.

R. M. S. 1513 - 1546, No. 9, (Test. 23); 18, (Test. 24); 113, (Test. 41).

For James Stewart, see: *Letters: James V*, 95, 162 - 3.

R. M. S. 1513 - 1546, Nos. 430, 601, 2332.

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Letters: James V, 380.

For John Erskine, see: *R. M. S.* 1546 - 1580, Nos. 434, 1027.

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55.) For George Dury, see: *R. S. S.* Vol. 2, 1529 - 1542, Nos. 1388, 1602, 3483, 4787.

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56.) For George Crichton, see: *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488 - 1529, Nos. 2571, 2655, 3119, 3487. *R. S. S.* Vol. 2, 1529 - 1542, Nos. 308, 2301, 2504, 3468.

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For William Douglas, see: *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488 - 1529, Nos. 3485, 3513, 3839.

R. M. S. 1513 - 1546, Nos. 358, 378, (Test. 64).

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 168.

For Robert Carncors, see: *R. S. S.* Vol. 2, 1529 - 1542, No. 4267.

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J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 226.

57.) For Alexander Stewart, see: *R. S. S.* Vol. 2, 1529 - 1542, Nos. 1409, 1419 - 20.

R. M. S. 1513 - 1546, Nos. 111, 406, 1126, 1213, 1230.

For Gavin Dunbar, see: *R. M. S.* 1513 - 1546, Nos. 271, (Test. 56); 244, (Test. 59); 2865, (Test. 1); 601, (Test. 80); 2871, (Test. 10); 1630 - 1, 2993.

Letters: James V, 344 - 5, 388 - 9, 435, 542.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 137 - 9, 226 - 7, 343 - 9.

58.) *R. M. S.* 1546 - 1580, Nos. 912 - 4, 1225, 1351, 2213.

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I. B. Cowan and D. E. Easson: *Med. Rel. Houses*, 77.

59.) For George Shaw, see: *R. M. S.* 1424 - 1513, Nos. 2213, 2218, (Test. 40).

For Robert Shaw, see: *R. M. S.* 1513 - 1546, Nos. 153, 191, (Test. 21).

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 168 - 9.

For John Hamilton, see: *R. M. S.* 1513 - 1546, No. 3265; 2991, (Test. 22); 2985, (Test. 20); 2957, (Test. 12); 3053, (Test. 23).

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I. B. Cowan and D. E. Easson: *Med. Rel. Houses*, 63.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 43 - 4.

60.) T. D. Robb (ed.): *The Thre Prestis Of Peblis, How Thai Tald Thar Tails* , 26, l. 408 - 16.

D. Hamer (ed.): *Lindsay*, Vol. 1, *The Testament Of The Papyngo*, 85, l. 987 - 1010.

The Tragedie Of Late Cardinal Beaton , 140, l. 344, 346 - 50; 141, l. 365 - 71; 142, l. 418 - 20.

R. Lyall (ed.): *Lindsay*, 104 - 5, l. 2895, 2900 - 11, 2912 - 15. 106, l. 2943 - 47.
For a concise summary of the manipulation of benefices in the period in question, and some of the resultant scandals, see: M. Mahoney:" The Scottish Hierarchy, 1513 - 1565 ", in, D. McRoberts (ed.) *Essays*, 46 - 7, 49 - 53, 56, 58, 62 - 4, 67, 74.

D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 106 - 7, 109 - 15, 118, 120.

R. Nicholson: *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* , 385, 458 - 61,
463 - 66, 468 - 9, 531, 557 - 60.

G. Donaldson: *Scotland: James V - James VII*, 54.

I. B. Cowan:" Patronage, Provision and Reservation: Pre - Reformation Appointments To Scottish Benefices ", in, I. B. Cowan and D. Schaw: *The Renaisance and Reformation In Scotland* , 75 - 92.

J. C. Olin: *The Catholic Reformation*, 190.

A. L. Murray: "The Revenues Of The Bishopric Of Moray In 1538 ", in, *I. R.* Vol. 19, (1968), 40 - 2.

A. Ross: "Notes", in, D. McRoberts (ed.) *Essays*, 216 - 7, 220 - 2, 230 - 311.

D. McRoberts: "Material Destruction ", in, D. McRoberts (ed.): *Essays*, 426 - 7.

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J. Spottiswood: *History*, Vol. 1, 118 - 9, 122, 209 - 10.

61.) *Acts: Public Affairs*, 1501 - 1554, 75.

J. Stuart: *Kinloss*, xliii, xlvl.

J. Edwards: "Torphichen ", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.*, N. S., (18 February 1897), Vol. 3, 334.

P. J. Anderson: *Aberdeen Friars* , 34 - 5, 37, 39, 44, 48, 58, 62, 64, 71, 75, 79, 82, 90.

W. M. Bryce: *Sc. Grey Friars*, Vol. 1, 84, 172, 186 - 7, 195 - 7, 204, 209, 263.

As Above, Vol. 2, 123 - 4, 184 - 5.

A. Ross: *Notes*, in, D. McRoberts (ed.): *Essays*, 209.

I. B. Cowan and D. E. Easson: *Med. Rel. Houses*, 116.

62.) W. M. Bryce: *Sc. Grey Friars*, Vol. 1, 129.

63.) W. M. Bryce: *Sc. Grey Friars*, Vol. 1, 87, 90, 113, 116, 128 - 31, 175, 208, 215 - 6, 272 - 3, 330 - 2, 433 - 6, 440 - 53, 471 - 6. As Above, Vol. 2, 3, 184 - 5, 189.

Letters: James IV , 54 - 6.

Letters: James V, 137 - 8, 213, 231 - 2, 275 - 6, 287, 315, 316.

P. J. Anderson: *Aberdeen Friars* , 64. With regards to the gift of a silver chalice to the Aberdeen Observants by Elizabeth Barlow, such a gift in the strictest sense should not really have been accepted for the statutes issued by the Chapter of Narbonne [1260] stated: "All thuribles, crosses and vessels made of silver [were] to be entirely removed from [Franciscan] churches...." D. Monti (intro. and trans.): *St. Bonaventure's Writings Concerning The Franciscan Order* , in, G. Marcill (ed.): *Works Of St. Bonaventure* , 139.

64.) M. Bryce: *Sc. Grey Friars*, Vol. 1, 167, 175, 194, 220, 224, 306, 332 - 3, 341, 346, 371, 378, 396.

As Above, Vol. 2, 8, 11, 22 - 3, 33, 35, 41, 68 - 71, 103 - 4, 129 - 30, 190.

J. Anderson: *Laing Charters*, 36, No. 141; 38, No. 147; 48, No. 191; 61, No. 237.

P. J. Anderson (ed.): *Aberdeen Friars* , 34, 75.

J. A. Stones (ed.): *Three Scottish Carmelite Friaries* , in, *Soc. Of Ant.*, Monograph Series, No. 6, see in particular 111-55.

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D. E. Easson:" Collegiate Churches, Part 2 ", in, *R. S. C. H. S.*, Vol. 7, 40, 42.

R. Whiting: *The Blind Devotion Of The People*, 121.

S. Ozment: *Protestants* , 78.

The long standing value attached to forming an association with the mendicants in terms of the present life and - perhaps more importantly - that to come, in terms of accruing spiritual merit, may be seen in a wide number of examples, the following taken from a Franciscan perspective. In 1259 for example, Bonaventure wrote to the Count and Countess of Flanders thanking them for their aid of his Order:

> " Wishing, therefore, to make a salutary repayment for your devotion, I, by virtue of this present letter, receive you and your children as well, into the universal suffrages of our Order in life and in death. And i hereby grant to you and to your children full participation in all the good works which the Saviour's mercy will deign to be done by our brothers living everywhere throughout the world."

The following year, the Constitutions of Narbonne decreed that:

> " For our deceased brothers and benefactors, whose memory was recalled at the general chapter, each priest shall say annually one Requiem Mass, every cleric brother fifty psalms, and every lay brother one hundred Our Fathers. And the same number of Masses, psalms, and Our Fathers should also be offered for our living benefactors.... [moreover].... The office of our deceased brothers and benefactors shall be solemly celebrated three times a year...."

In the Statutes issued by the Chapter of Narbonne [1260], a similar theme may be seen for they stated:

> " For princes and prelates and all those recommended to us, and especially for those who were granted letters from the general minister, one Mass for the living and one for the dead shall be said by each priest, fifty psalms by each cleric, and one hundred Our Fathers by each lay brother."

D. Monti (intro. and trans.): *St. Bonaventure's Writings Concerning The Franciscan Order* , in, G. Marcil (ed.) *Works Of St. Bonaventure* , 63 - 5, 133 - 4.

65.) W. M. Bryce: *Sc. Grey Friars*, Vol. 1, 132, 134, 193 - 4, 219 - 20, 223 - 6, 233 - 4, 274, 278 - 9, 352, 362 - 3, 368 - 9, 481 - 2.

As Above, Vol. 2, 129 - 30, 143, 186 - 8, 283.

It would appear therefore that the Franciscans within Scotland were observing most of the earlier strictures placed on them with regards to ostentatious display were being observed. In the Constitutions of Narbonne [1260] for example, it was decreed that:

> " Since both curiosity and superfluity are directly opposed to poverty, we ordain that any ornamentation in our buildings whether in paintings, sculptures, windows, columns and the like, as well as any excess in their length, width and height, beyond what is appropriate to the needs of the place, be very strictly avoided."

Similarly, the emphasis on the glass of the east end of the friary church was again in keeping with these early wishes, for at the same chapter it was decreed that there should be no:

> " Figural stained glass, except for the principal window of the choir, behind the main altar...."

It is further interesting to note, that the brethren were not to keep:

> " gold fringed or silken vestments, cintures and stoles excepted.... ";

presumably, had Knox had the opportunity to comment on such excess he would have done so - for he attempted to make much out of what little could be found in the Blackfriars -, therefore it is fairly safe to assume that the Franciscans were continuing to observe earlier guidelines on material possessions.

For the above extracts, see: D. Monti (intro. and trans.): *St. Bonaventure's Writings Concerning The Franciscan Order* , in, G. Marcil (ed.): *Works Of St. Bonaventure* , 85 - 6.

I. B. Cowan and D. E. Easson: *Med. Rel. Houses*, 132, 135.

J. Anderson: *Laing Charters*, No. 177, 490, 621, 715.

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A. I. Ross: *Notes*, in, D. McRoberts (ed.): *Essays*, Appendix, 1, P. 242 - 4.

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R. C. H. M. *Stirlingshire*, Vol. 1, No. 173.

C. McWilliam: *Lothian*, 431 - 2.

J. Gifford: *Fife*, 249.

A. Maxwell: *Old Dundee*, 395.

D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 351.

Sixth Report Of The Royal Commission On Historical Manuscripts, Part 1, (London, 1877), 713-4.

A Diurnal Of Remarkable Occurents, 29.

D. Laing: *Knox*, i, 332.

D. McRoberts: "Stobo, Part 1 ", in. *I. R.* Vol. 22, (1971), 19 - 29.

As Above," Stobo, Part 2 ", 101 - 2.

66.) W. M. Bryce: *Sc. Grey Friars*, Vol. 1, 306, 399 - 401, 403, 410 - 11, 415, 417 - 8, 453, 470.

As Above, Vol. 1, 185 - 6, 190, 385, 387 - 90.

A. Ross: *Notes*, in, D. McRoberts (ed.): *Essays*, 204 - 8.

J. C. Olin: *The Catholic Reformation*, 193.

P. R. Szittya: *The Anti - Fraternal Tradition* , 3 - 6, 12 - 13, 19, 27 - 8, 45, 66 - 7, 69 - 74, 123, 126, 135, 137, 140, 152 - 3, 183 - 4, 191 - 2, 206, 211, 223, 226, 228, 247, 255, 257.

J. Moorman: *History Of The Franciscan Order From Its Origins To The Year 1517* , (Oxford, 1968), 3, 14 - 17, 28, 40 - 1, 46 - 7, 50 - 1, 53 - 4, 56 - 7, 62 - 4, 78, 87 - 100, 102, 105 - 8, 110 - 11, 116 - 121, 123, 125, 141 - 9, 152 - 4, 177 - 8, 184.

Ayrshire And Wigtonshire Archaeological Association, Vol.12, *Charters Of The Friars Preacers Of Ayr*, (Edinburgh, 1884), 2 - 3, 83 - 9.

D. L. D'Avary: *The Preaching Of The Friars* , 29 - 31, 49, 51, 57, 61.

M. Taylor:" The Conflicting Doctrines ", in, D. McRoberts (ed.): *Essays*, 252.

A. Ross:" Reformation And Repression ", in, D. McRoberts (ed.): *Essays*, 385.

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R. N. Swanson: *Church And Society* , 17.

W. Braunfels: *Monasteries Of Western Europe; The Architecture Of The Orders* (London, 1972),129 - 32, 135 - 6, 138, 142. Hereafter, W. Braunfels: *Monasteries.*

T. M. Lindsay: Notes On Education , in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.*, 15 March, 1883, 43.

A. I. Dunlop: *Bishop Kennedy* , 5, note 3.

N. Cohn: *The Pursuit Of The Millenium , Revolutionary Millenlarians And The Mystical Anarchists Of The Middle Ages* (London, 1993), 35, 37. Hereafter, N. Cohn: *The Pursuit Of The Millenium.*

L. J. R. Millis: *Angelic Monks And Earthly Men , Monasticism And Its Meaning To Medieval Society* (N.Y. 1992) 87. Hereafter, L. J. R. Mills: *Angelic Monks And Earthly Men.*

C. H. Lawrence: *The Friars: The Impact Of The Early Mendicant Movement On Western Society* , 26 - 7, 32, 39 - 40, 48 - 9, 54 - 5, 72, 74, 80 - 2, 102 - 8, 122 - 3, 125, 127, 152 - 3.

It should be noted that the long held criticisms of the mendicants were not entirely without foundation; with regards to the Franciscan Order for example, much of the criticism levelled in fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland may be seen to have been of concern to the brethren of an earlier age. In 1257 for example, in the First Encylical Letter sent to all provincial ministers and custodians of the Order of St. Francis, Bonaventure, newly elected as General minister of the Order, talked of how " some things.... [could not] continue the way they [were]...." Of the things which grieved him, "all sorts of transactions.... going on, in which money.... [was] being eagerly sought, recklessly accepted, and even more recklessly handled...." Some friars moreover were " wandering about, intent primarily on their bodily comforts ", whilst others still were guilty of " overly persistent begging.... "; significantly, Bonaventure also talked of increased familiarity" with women forbidden by [the] Rule, [which gave] rise to many rumours, suspicions and scandals...." Moreover, the subject of competition with the parish clergy was also raised, for Bonaventure spoke against" brothers [who invaded] the area of burials and legacies.... ", a practice which caused" no small annoyance to the clergy, especially parish priests...." In summary, he stated that things would" only get worse in the future, unless a remedy [was] found quickly" for the faults he had listed. Further relevant early observations may be seen in 1260 for example, for in this year the Constitutions of Narbonne decreed:

> " No brother shall in any way, either directly or indirectly, solicit employment for himself or for another brother from kings, princes or prelates, or communal governments, nor request that he be allowed to remain in the company of, or travel about with, such officials...."

Later still, in the Second Encyclical Letter of 1266, Bonaventure spoke of the:

> " Large numbers of brothers on a downward trend, an ever - increasing laxity towards these tendencies by those in charge, [and] abhorrent deviations springing up like briars...."

Moreover, he expressly stated that he felt that these:

> " things [were] causing many people to see [the Order] as something despicable, burdensome, and odious.... ",

and that:

> " too much.... importunate begging [was] making [the Order] cheap and oppressive...."

Those who escaped such pitfalls nevertheless undermined their position and brought trouble upon themselves by" preaching against the bishops of the church."

Thus all of the issues raised in fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland against the mendicants may be seen to have been well known in the thirteenth century, the friars attracting criticism justifiably in some instances, in others - where

they offended the parish clergy by impinging on their income, the episcopate by listing their failings, and the secular clergy in general by their emphasis on a university presence -, perhaps less so.
For the above extracts, see: D. Monti (intro. and trans.): *St. Bonaventure's Writings Concerning The Franciscan Order* , in, G. Marcil (ed.) *Works Of St. Bonaventure* , 21 - 8, 59 - 60, 85 - 6,
100 [and note no. 119 on the same page], 226 - 7.

67.) J. McCann: *The Rule Of St. Benedict* , (London, 1960), 129 - 31, 133, Ch. 58,
" The Order Of The Reception Of The Brethren ",

" The Offering Of The Sons Of The Rich And The Poor ", 25, Ch. 4,

" The Tools Of Good Works ", 93 - 5, "The Measure Of Food ".

R. Canning: *The Rule Of St. Augustine , Masculine And Feminine Versions*, (London, 1984), 11, paragraph iv,
" Those who owned possessions in the world should readily agree that, from the moment they enter the religious life, these things become the property of the community ".

B. H. Rosenwein: *To Be The Neighbour Of St. Peter , The Social Meaning Of Cluny's Property, 909-1049,* , (London, 1989),4- 5, 35 - 6, 38, 40 - 2, 77, 122, 202 - 3, 206. Hereafter, B.H. Rosenwein: *To Be The Neighbour Of St. Peter.*

For an early example of the way in which the Cistercian Order operated an extremely efficient landholding corporation, see: *The Lay Folks Catechism* , x, the comments made regarding the Cistercians:
" They are the hardest neighbours that prelates and parson could have. For where they plant their foot, they destroy towns, take away tithes, and curtail by their privileges all the power of the prelacy...."

N. Hunt: *Clunaic Monasticism In The Central Middle Ages*, (London, 1971),224 - 5. Hereafter, N. Hunt: *Clunaic Monasticism.*

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68.) J. McCann: *The Rule Of St. Benedict* (London, 1960).
p. 25, Ch. 4," The Tools Of Good Works" .
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In turn the reader's attention is drawn to the following sources:

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S. R. MacPhail: *History Of The Religious House Of Pluscarden* , 125, 240 - 1, 237 - 9, 263 - 7.

F.C. Hunter Blair(ed.): *Charters Of The Abbey Of Crossraguel,* in, *Ayrshire And Galloway Archaeological Association,* (Edinburgh, 1886), Vol. 1, Nos. 23, 64, 67 - 8, 75, 118.

J. Anderson: *Laing Charters*, Nos. 360, 441 - 2, 497, 505, 530, 535, 569, 628, 642 - 3, 645, 669, 687, 693, 699, 727, 782, 834, 838, 904 - 5, 1025.

J. Campbell: *Balmerino Abbey And Its Abbey* , 247 - 8.

J. Stewart: *Kinloss*, xliv, 119, 149, 152, 154.

J. Edwards:" Kilwinning Abbey ", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.*, (1919), Vol. 7, 338.

A. L. Brown: *"Coldingham", I. R.*, Vol. 23, (1972), 91.

M. H. McKerrow:" Sweetheart Abbey ", in, *Trans. Dum. And Gall.*, (1931 -3), 234.

69.) I. B. Cowan and D. E. Easson (eds.) *Med. Rel. Houses*, 109 - 110.

W. Chalmers (ed.):*Charters And Documents Relating To The Burgh Of Peebles With Extracts From The Records Of The Burgh, A.D. 1165-1710,* (Edinburgh, Scottish Burgh Record Society, 1872), 115 - 6, 148, 151.

For Robert Forrester, see: *Letters: James V*, 169, 177.

R. M. S. 1513 - 1546, Nos. 898, 2617, 2624.

R. S. S. Vol. 2, 1529 - 1542, No. 2157.

For Abbot John Forman, see: *Acts: Public Affairs*, 1501 - 1554, 12.

Letters: James V, 280.

A. Ross: *Notes*, in, D. McRoberts (ed.): *Essays*, 186, 223, 225 - 6.

J. Edwards:" Kilwinning Abbey ", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.*, N. S. (1919), Vol. 7, 337 - 8.

D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 57 - 1.

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The First Buke Of The Monarche , 217.

A. Blamires, K. Pratt and C. W. Marx: *Women Defamed And Women Defended* , provides a comprehensive analysis of the widespread nature of such extreme claims; see for example, 87, 9 - 1, 100 - 1.

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J. Starke: " Notice ", in, *Trans. Dum. And Gall.*, (1863 - 4), 34 - 9.

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N. Hunt: *Cluny Under St. Hugh 1049- 1109*, (London, 1967), 133.

B. Tierney: *The Crisis Of Church And State 1050- 1300* , (Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1964), 49, 53 - 4.

Chapter Seven

Society's Ills: A catalyst for change in lay perceptions of regular and collegiate communities in Scotland c.1450 to 1560. ?

"Lord! hald thy hand, that strikken hes so soir, Have of ws pietie, eftir our punytioun; And gif ws grace.... to greif no more, And gar us mend with penance and contrition; And to thy vengeance mak no additioun.... For, but thy help, this kynrick is forlorne...."

[J. Small: *The Poems Of William Dunbar, Quhen The Governour Past In France*, Vol. 2, 236, l. 33 - 40.]

Introduction

Such were the views of the poet William Dunbar, writing in 1517 after the return of the Governor Albany to France. Clearly, Dunbar felt that the nation was in dire peril, that it was suffering from a series of catastrophic events from which he was by no means certain it would survive. Equally evident was his belief that the troubled state of the Scottish realm was solely the result of Divine judgement and retribution. Here an immediate connection can be made between such harsh correction and the subjects of this thesis, for it is possible to suggest, that in the actions of individuals drawn from the ranks of - primarily - the commendators of religious houses, abbots, priors, provosts, monks and friars of the period in question, the laity could readily identify the very actions most likely to incur such Divine displeasure. Indeed, through the material examined in the preceding chapters, it emerged that Dunbar, and other contemporary observers of the religious life, clearly felt that the majority of such individuals were concerned only with gratifying their own desires, as opposed to meeting the spiritual responsibilities incumbent in the offices they held.

In chapter 1 for example, many leading figures connected to the enclosed Orders covered by this thesis - the commendators, abbots and priors - emerged as being involved in an undignified struggle to secure favour at the royal court, and thereby the rewards of serving the state in a variety of prestigious and demanding roles. Thus they deliberately ignored the Church's prohibitions concerning plurality, and their own Orders demands that they perform - amongst other duties - the role of a resident guardian for the souls of the brethren committed to their care. More importantly, in terms of how the laity viewed these men, they could be seen to be failing in their duty to personally

ensure that the prayers and services of the houses they controlled were still being properly rendered for the benefit of the society as a whole; in behaving in such a cavalier fashion therefore, they were failing in effect to do anything to appease the righteous anger of the Lord. The position of abbot and prior therefore, it might be suggested, these individuals viewed as no more than rungs in the ladder of ecclesiastic preferment towards their goals - as witnessed in chapter 1 -, of a bishopric, an archdiocese or even a cardinalate! Nor should it be thought that the heads of the colleges were above entering such a race, for again, as seen in chapter 1 above for instance, and in chapter 9 below, securing possession of such a foundation must often have been seen as merely another route towards the same rewards. Consider for example that George Hepburn held the college of Lincluden at one point in his career before assuming control of Arbroath Abbey, that James Beaton [1st.] was the past Provost of Bothwell college, before he too moved on to secure Arbroath, and that David Arnot once held the Provostry of Bothwell alongside - it would seem - a prebend in the collegiate church of Our Lady in Glasgow; moreover, it should be remembered that when Arnot became Bishop of Galloway he secured control of the Abbey of Tongland and the collegiate chapel royal in Stirling, and that he only narrowly missed the additional prizes still of Lincluden college and the Priory of Inchmahome. The career of William Douglas reveals an individual who held the provostry of Methven before moving on to become the Abbot of Holyrood, that of Alexander Stewart reveals he possessed the office of Dean of Dunbar college before he moved on to additional honours still which included possession of the religious houses of Inchaffray and Scone. Andrew Dury, past Abbot of Melrose assumed control of the Chapel Royal when he was promoted to the Bishopric of Galloway, whilst William Cunningham the past Provost of Holy Trinity college, became the Bishop of Argyll. Robert Stewart once appeared in the joint capacity of postulate of Caithness, Provost of the collegiate church of Dumbarton; Columba de Dunbar held the office of Dean of Dunbar college before he became Bishop of Moray; John de Winchester was a past Provost of Lincluden college before he too assumed the office of Bishop of Moray; John Fraser was Dean of Restalrig college before becoming Bishop of Ross; Alexander Gordon had been a chaplain of Tain collegiate church before becoming the Bishop of Aberdeen, whilst George Douglas and Robert Crichton both shared the distinction of having been provosts of St. Giles college before moving on to assume control of the see of Dunkeld.

Such individuals therefore must frequently have ignored the similar demands which the patrons of their colleges also placed upon them, that is, that they perform the role of resident models for the canons beneath them, moreover that they should personally ensure that the prayers

which their benefactors specified for the good of their souls were being performed in a suitably pious fashion.

With such dual promotion within Church and state came the prestigious homes examined in chapter 2 of this thesis, the religious under examination frequently occupying some of the foremost strongholds in the realm. The secular power thus displayed by such individuals, must have been brought home more forcefully still to the laity by the actions of such men whilst they were thus employed, for as witnessed in chapter 3 they were no reluctant castellans, thrust into warlike status by an overbearing crown. Rather they emerged in many instances as able warriors in their own right, men capable of advising the king in matters relating to the defence of the realm, fighting in the wars of the period - George Hepburn, the Bishop of Sodor, past Provost of Lincluden collegiate church, fell at Flodden on 9 September 1513, whilst Alexander Stewart, the Dean of Dunbar collegiate church survived the same engagement for example -, and backing their own - and their families - ambitions with violence, - as seen chapter 2 in the actions of the past Provost of Holy Trinity collegiate church, William Cunningham, the Bishop of Argyll and his part in an attack on Alexander Hamilton, the Abbot of Kilwinning -, like lay magnates, in the pursuit of feud and personal profit. Such warlike tendencies moreover, it should be remembered, were not the sole monopoly of powerful religious barons, for again, as witnessed in chapter 3, there was evidence to suggest that the rank and file of the religious orders - monks and friars - followed their spiritual leaders into battle. In the case of Pinkie in September 1547 for example, - some thirty years after Dunbar wrote the above piece - an eye witness account of the battle talked of a white banner - that of either John Hamilton, the Bishop of Dunkeld, Commendator of Paisley, or George Dury, the Commendator of Dunfermline - under which many religious gathered, only to perish in the battle itself and in the route which followed. Far from learning from their earlier lesson at Flodden therefore, Scotland's religious continued to display a capacity for such highly inappropriate and unsavoury behaviour.

In view of this apparent desertion of ideal models - as discussed for example in chapters 1, 5, 6, 9 and 12 - of religious life, the subjects of this thesis might well be said to have contributed to society's ills in a dual manner, not only by bringing down the wrath of God on all for the offence which their actions so assuredly must have caused Him, but of compounding the laitys' sufferings by wilfully ignoring their spiritual needs at this desperate juncture, by being content rather, merely to pursue their own insular aims; again - as seen in chapter 5 for instance - the monks, friars and canons as open to accusations of greed, cunning, dishonesty and immorality as any of the men placed in power over them.

Given such a depressing background to Dunbar's work, it is little wonder that each of the first five verses of this piece ends on the note that unless God stayed his hand the kingdom would indeed be lost, for it might indeed be suggested that the land was bereft of effective spiritual guidance; hence, therefore, it is perhaps hardly surprising - in light of the absence of such guidance that in lines 35 to 36 above, Dunbar appeals directly to God - as opposed to relying on the traditional function of the subjects of this thesis to intercede on his behalf - for both the grace necessary to avoid further offending Him, and His help in making amends "with penance and contrition".

In another of Dunbar's contemporary works, *Quhome To Sall I Complene My Wo*, the same theme of society's progressive disintegration is maintained, the emphasis here however is on the poor and the just who bear the brunt of the present trials:

"Quhome to sall I complene my wo....,
I know nocht, amang riche nor pure,
Quha is my freynd, quha is my fo;
For in this warld may non assure....
Nane heir bot riche men hes renoun
And bot pure men are pluckit down,
And nane bot just men tholis iniure...."

The rich oppress the poor therefore, who have no recourse to justice, virtue is despised in an apparent reversal of society's norms:

"Vertew the court hes done dispysis;
Ane rebald to renoun dois ryiss,
And cairlis nobillis hes the cure,
And bumbardis brukis the benifyiss....
Flattry weiris ane furrit goun
And falsett with the lordis dois roun,
And trewth standis barrit at the dure,
And exul is of the toun...."

Again the laity could see that the religious of late fifteenth and early sixteenth century Scotland were deeply involved in this sorry state of affairs, for as witnessed in chapter 1, service at court and powerful backers were pre - requisites for holding high office in the Church. Thus when Dunbar referred here to the privileged position of the courtly circle, to the rich and powerful men of the realm and the apparently despicable ends to which they would go to ensure they maintained their power - whilst society's lower orders struggled and went under - it could be argued that he referred implicitly to many of the men directly linked in the publics' mind to the religious Orders and colleges of his day.

Perhaps Dunbar's most disturbing observations, however, were contained in a poem entitled *We Lordis Hes Chosin A Chiftane Mervellus*, for in this work - written c.1520 - all of the above themes were brought together and given an added menace in a reference to the "auld enemy":

"In nane of ws ane uddir settis by,
Bot laubouris ay for uthiris distructioun;
Quhilk is grit pessour to our auld innamy,
And daily causis grit dissentioun,
Amang us now and als divisioun,
Quhilk to heir is ane drery cace
To the, our lord and gyd vunder the crown;
In lak of iustice this realme is schort allace!

Albany's absence therefore compounded a desperate situation in which "thrift, slawchter and weir" were all too commonplace, the Church of little help for it was riven by "Covatyce". Here, again, Dunbar could claim to be on solid ground in making this aside regarding the financial acumen of contemporary religious, for as seen in chapter 4 of this thesis, they were prepared to invest large sums of money to secure lucrative priories, and abbacies - thereby adding the sin of simony to their errors - in the hope that they would provide them with a suitably impressive financial return. Nor, should the colleges be left out of this equation, for as seen above, the man who secured the Bishopric of Galloway for example, automatically took possession of the prestigious collegiate Chapel Royal of Stirling.

At this point it is significant to note that Dunbar was not alone in expressing such an apocalyptic view of his age, for in Robert Wedderburn's *The Complaynt Of Scotland*, written c.1550,

the message that society's ills were a Divine judgement was again driven home; in this instance the message strengthened by direct reference to specific, contemporary events. Moreover, the author stated that he had used the "domestic scottis language" since it was the "maist intelligibil for the vulgare pepil", thereby his message could reach as wide an audience as possible. In this work the present troubles which society endured are listed, the invasions of the "auld enemies", the "universal pestilens ande mortalite" and the discord between the three estates in Scotland. Wedderburn rounded on those who placed the blame for the present calamities on mere "fortoune", telling his reader "ther is no such thing in this varld, that cummis on mankynde, as prosperite or adversite" that did not proceed "fra the dyvyne pouer" and that "he [God] gyffis his maledictione on al them that beleuis that fortoune hes ony pouer". Here he used the battle "on the fields besyde mussilburgh" [Pinkie] to illustrate the seemingly popular belief that defeat could be attributed to the malicious nature of "dame fortoune". Cataloguing the slaughter of the engagement itself, thereafter the harrying of the countryside, the occupation and destruction of castles and villages, the full horror of war he clearly attributed to "divyne indignatione". The "extreme ruyne" of the realm set to continue until they, the Scots, should repent of their "vice". Thus all of the factors raised in Dunbar's work above, in terms of the idea that the subjects of this thesis played no small part in bringing down God's wrath on society as a whole, were again repeated.

Moreover, Wedderburn also displayed an awareness of the effect which the present disasters were having on society's poorest elements by allowing these unfortunates to present their case in the words of the "labourer". Although they have no say in the political and national events of the day, unlike many of the heads of the religious houses - it is they who bear the brunt of the unremitting conflict and hardships. Their tribulations moreover were increased by their treatment at the hands of their social betters whom they were forced to labour "nycht and day" to support. Their reward? "hunger", the "sword" and cruelty greater than that suffered at the hands of the English from the leading elements of Scottish society who were supposed to protect them. The landlord seemingly demanded rent above the value of the land they worked whilst the Churchmen (often abbatial or commendatory landlords themselves) compounded their poverty - both in the material and spiritual sense - by enforcing the collection of teinds, and - as will be seen below - by appropriating their parish church's income to support a monastic house, or as was often the case with a college, both the structure of parish church itself, and its income!

Crushed therefore by the unremitting demands and cruelty of his superiors, reduced to slavery by the ever present threat of eviction, not surprisingly the "labourer" looked directly to God - rather, as in Dunbar's work above the religious - to remedy his suffering. Thus the aristocracy and

the personnel of the Church - often one and the same as witnessed in chapter 6 - were condemned for their oppression of the poor, Wedderburn maintaining that true nobility lay in the nobility of a man's soul not merely in his birthright. At the same time however society's lowest echelons did not escape censure, for although Wedderburn excused them from any taint of treasonable activity in the contemporary climate of suspicion and treachery highlighted by the existence of the "assured Scots" - saying that only the powerful could accomplish that, he nevertheless felt that they constituted a dangerous, mindless mass, incapable of reasoned thought, their behaviour dictated merely by their base "appetitis" and "glaykyt affections". The message was clear therefore, all of the present horrors were the result of Divine retribution. Until the three estates, "nobilis clergie and lauberaris", put their differences behind them, united under God's will and made amends for having so offended Him, they would continue to labour under these afflictions. Only when they had submitted themselves to the will of God would they be spared, in turn themselves to become the agents of correction for their enemy, the English. Until then, he warned his readers, "twenty thousand of your enemies sal venqueis ane hundreth thousand of you". [1]

The tasks in this chapter therefore will be firstly to ascertain the degree to which this appalling picture of suffering and misery, as painted by Dunbar and Wedderburn, would have been shared by society as a whole. Were there ever present horrors in the public mind over, for example, disease, shortages of basic foodstuffs and warfare and if there was, to what extent did the subjects of this thesis attempt to alleviate society's sufferings, were they as unsympathetic to, and as directly responsible for, the plight of the laity as has been suggested in the introduction to this chapter? Secondly, it is necessary to determine whether the divisions within society were such as to generate the tense atmosphere of suspicion and paranoia claimed by the above two authors, or were they merely exaggerating events, employing artistic license to add additional emphasis to their work. If such discord did exist, what was the nature of the involvement of the subjects of this thesis, were they working to pacify both the warring kingdoms of Scotland and England - and the rival politically motivated military factions within the former kingdom itself - in an attempt to alleviate the suffering of the laity - as described by Dunbar and Wedderburn or rather were they - as suggested by these authors and the preceding chapters of this thesis - part of the nation's problems themselves? Thirdly, if such observations of contemporary society in terms of its ills and tensions could indeed be justified, how did they reflect on the subjects of the present thesis, might they have provided as suggested in the introduction to this chapter - and at the end of chapter 6 the catalyst necessary to show the hitherto tolerated failings of the regular clergy and the personnel of the colleges in a more damaging light than ever before?

In opening this examination of the claims of the above authors, and the way in which they shed light on the activities of the regular communities and secular colleges of late fifteenth and early sixteenth century Scotland, it is proposed to begin with a brief attempt to assess the degree of fear generated in Scottish society in the period in question by the threat of disease, and here the most dreaded affliction of all must surely have been leprosy. In terms of reaching an understanding of why this should be so, the subject will be approached in two main ways, firstly by achieving an idea of how this affliction manifested itself in its victims, and secondly how - other than by direct association of these individuals came to be perceived by society.

In approaching the first point, it is necessary to appreciate that leprosy can appear in a number of ways, and in varying degrees of severity. It is apparently difficult in many instances to diagnose clearly, and may therefore be easily confused with "various tubercular conditions". Thus it is possible, particularly in light of the fear which the disease generates, for similar conditions to be diagnosed as leprosy, and for its prevalence in society to have been exaggerated accordingly. The explanation of this fear in simple terms lies in the destruction which the disease in question, - "Hanson's disease" - is capable of inflicting on the human body. In its most extreme form it kills nerve endings, blood vessels, skin tissue and bone leaving its victim hideously disfigured.

In terms of how its victims were perceived by those who had no direct association with them, the Church may be said to have played a central role. As early as the 3rd. Lateran Council of 1179, the Church marked such individuals down for almost total exclusion from society. They were to lose all rights to property, and indeed to any part in public life at all, forbidden to enter ecclesiastic buildings least they infect the healthy, denied even their final right to burial in a common graveyard. These enactments however paled in comparison with the way in which the leper was to be officially declared "dead" to the world. Various forms of ceremony were apparently enacted; in one, the victim stood in an open grave whilst a priest formally announced the end of their life in this world. Thereafter, the priest would tell the sufferer:

> "I forbid you to enter the church or monastery, fair or mill, market place or company of persons.... ever to leave your house without your lepers costume.... to wash your hands or anything about you in the stream or fountain. I forbid you to enter a tavern.... I forbid you, if you go on the road and you meet some person who speaks to you, to fail to put yourself downwind before you answer.... I forbid you to go in a narrow lane so that if you should meet anyone he might catch the affliction from.... I forbid you ever to touch children or give them anything. I forbid

you to eat or drink from any dishes but your own. I forbid you to eat or drink in company, unless with lepers...."

The ecclesiastically inspired rules which governed the lives of such individuals were harsh indeed therefore; they were, to all intents and purposes, dead. The terror of contracting this disease was in turn further heightened by the Church's teachings on who would be thus stricken. Although it allowed that the onset of leprosy could be seen as a Divinely appointed sign of merit, and although the handling, treatment of a sufferer's wounds could be seen as a particularly meritorious action on behalf of a non sufferer, by far the most popular interpretation, arguably, was that the disease marked its victim as being punished by God for a variety of sins, particularly those of a sexual nature, and for heresy. Through the latter accusation especially their horrific affliction could be seen as singling them out as agents of the Devil, enemies of the Church and mankind. Therefore, despite the fact that the incidence of leprosy in the west peaked in the late twelfth to around the mid thirteenth century, the dread which the disease had instilled in society was arguably still as potent in the context of fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland. In terms of a purely Scottish connection, therefore, although most leper houses were founded outwith the period under examination, leprosy cannot have been far from the public attention, for the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer state that James IV gave 20/ - to the poor and the lepers at Whitekirk as late as 1497.

Similarly, although in 1242 and 1269 the Church in Scotland repeated the earlier legislative demands that lepers should be excluded from society, this did not mean that fear of the disease was confined to this earlier period, for in 1427, parliament ordained that a search should be made of the parishes for lepers. Additional relevant references to the continued presence of the disease - albeit they are few - may be seen in the business of the Lords of Council in connection with the leper house of Kingcase, near Ayr. On no less than four occasions - from 17 January 1499 to 9 November 1500 - the king's advocate, James Henryson appeared on behalf of the lepers of this house, whilst on 30 July 1535 the Lords declared that commissioners were to be appointed to visit the house, expel those non - lepers present and replace them with individuals who did have the disease. Similarly, that a real fear of leprosy was still alive in the minds of the public in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, long after its high point some three hundred years earlier, may be seen in the late fifteenth century work of the poet Robert Henryson, in a piece entitled *The Testament Of Cresseid*. Here, all of the old horrors relating to this appalling affliction are still fresh in the mind of the writer:

"Thy cristall ene mingit with blude....

Thy voice sa cleir vnpleasand [hoarse],

Thy lusty [face] ouirspred with spottis blak,

And lumpis [livid] appeirand in thy face:

Quhair thow cummis, ilk man sall fle the place.

This sall thow go begging fra hous to hous

With cop and clapper lyke ane lazarous...."

Having been largely responsible for the social stigma attached to this dread disease, the question which should be tackled now, is to what extent did the Church take responsibility for those whom she had so effectively ostracised, in particular, to what degree did the subjects of this thesis play a part in the provision of care. At this point it should be noted that in Scotland, in the period covered by this thesis, there were around one - hundred and fifty - four hospitals; all were operated by the Church, and were usually placed under the supervision of a chaplain who could appear under a variety of titles such as rector, preceptor, master, warden and prior. Within these foundations, the care of the sick was most often carried out by members of the laity who operated under the governance of the supervisor of the foundation as stated above. In terms of leper houses of the period, around twenty - one examples were in existence; these were located in Aberdeen, Ayr, Banff, Berwick, Dumbarton, Dundee, Edinburgh, Elgin, Forres (Moray), Glasgow, Haddington, Harelaw (Dumfries), Kingcase (Ayr), Legerwood (Berwick), Montrose (Angus), Musselburgh (Midlothian), Oldcambus (Berwick), Rathven (Banff), Rulemouth (Roxburgh), St. Andrews (St. Nicholas, which became a poor house before being granted to the friars preachers) and Stirling. Although no direct input may be identified on the part of the regular Orders and colleges however, it could be argued that since the actual incidence of this disease had markedly declined by the period in question, such an absence would hardly have been missed given the numbers accounted for above. Equally however, it is also possible that such an absence could be interpreted as representing a decline in interest on the part of these groups within the Church in the welfare of the laity. [2]

In terms of contemporary society, to this fear of leprosy could be added that of a dread of a number of diseases lumped together under the heading of "plague". Early references to the plague in Scotland may be seen from the fourteenth century onwards. In 1349 for example the "Black Death" struck not only in the north of England but across the border and into southern Scotland. Thereafter, repeated references to outbreaks of "plague" and "pestilence" occur with a

frightening regularity up to the period under study. Of the fear generated, one source stated that in 1439 Scotland suffered not only from famine and dysentery, but from "the pestilence [which] came in Scotland, and began at Dumfries, and [that] it was callit the "pestilance but mercy", for there "took it nane that ever recoverit, but they died within twenty - four hours." In 1455 James II took measures to combat the pestilence which included confining those able to support themselves within their houses, expelling those who could not to holding stations outwith town boundaries. In 1475 and 1479, James III cancelled meetings of the estates through fear of the "pestilence" and the "plague" respectively, in 1475, the island of Inchkeith in the Firth of Forth acting as a receiving station for those afflicted. A break of around 20 years occurring before the next major outbreak of "plague" which struck the inhabitants of Inchkeith and the citizens of Leith.

On 17 May 1498, the town council of Aberdeen took emergency measures to isolate the town from the effects of the "pestilence" - in this instance plague - "and the strange sickness as before" - syphilis. A guard was to be mounted on the four gateways to the city during daylight hours, the gates locked during the hours of darkness. From 1499 to 1500, frequent references bear witness to the prevalence of "plague" and "pestilence". On 15 January 1499/1500 for example, the Lords of Council remarked on "the perell and danger of this seiknes [the plague] now being in [the] realm", whilst on 27 January and 20 February 1499/1500 they referred to the "seiknes of pestelence being in the partis about Peblis...." In the same period, the Customar of Aberdeen reported that his account of the great customs for the burgh was incomplete after 3 July 1500, "because after that date the accountant, from dread of the plague, did not enter the burgh of Aberdeen." In terms of the progress of this disease, the burgh records of this town make grim reading. In 1514 for example, guards were again placed at the town gates to exclude potential carriers, whilst quarantine arrangements were made for those already stricken. The following year the expulsion of 16 citizens for having breached these regulations appears alongside a welter of other repressive measures which point to the gravity with which the nation viewed its predicament. That the fear of this contagious affliction would have remained to the fore in public consciousness may be assumed from the further repetition of these regulations on 27 July 1530, and from subsequent outbreaks of plague in 1539, 1545, 1546 and 1548.

In addition to references to "the plague" and to "the pestilence", it is necessary to remember that these were not the only dreads which captured public attention, for in the fifteenth century influenza was a killer, whilst "the pox" [syphilis] appeared in Aberdeen as early as 21 April 1497. Thereafter frequent references to other parts of the country in the late fifteenth century suggest that "the pox", or "the Grandgor", - later the "sickness of Naples" - spread rapidly, and that

it caused alarm at the highest levels in the realm, for on 22 September 1497, James IV declared that those afflicted with the condition should assemble at Leith to be taken to the island of Inchkeith in the Forth. Similar evidence of his concern may be seen in the form of royal donations to help those suffering from this illness in 1497/8.

Finally, additional support for the views expressed by both Dunbar and Wedderburn above, regarding the dread which such afflictions engendered, and their origins in a wrathful God, may be seen for example in the mid fifteenth century collegiate kirk of Roslin, for among the myriad carvings which Sir William Sinclair commissioned for this foundation appears one of St. Roch, complete with a plague sore on his leg. Stronger evidence still however may again be taken from the work of Robert Henryson. In a piece entitled *Ane Prayer For The Pest* for example, the poet begged:

> "We the exort on kneis law prostrait, Preserve ws from this perrellus pestilens! We ar rycht glaid thow punis our trespas Be ony kynd of udir tribulatioun: Wer it thy will, o lord of hevin, allais, That we suld thus be haistely put doun And de as beistis without confessioun, That nane dar mak with udir residens."

Clearly, the horror felt in anticipation of contracting "the pestilence" was such that any other form of Divine punishment was seen as preferable. Moreover, the dread of sharing another's company for fear of infection created an even greater worry, the possibility of dying alone and thus unshriven. It is in true desperation therefore that the plaintiff cries:

> "Haif mercy, lord; haif mercy....
> Haif mercy of thy pepill penitent....
> Haif mercy of our petous punissing;
> Retreit the sentence and thy just judgement
> Aganis us synnaris that [deserved] to be [punished]
> Without mercy we may mak no defens....
> Preserve ws frome this perrellus pestilens!"

The author admits therefore, just as Dunbar and Wedderburn had done, that such punishment was justly deserved. Arguably however, even if such a view were widely accepted, it must have done

little to allay the constant fear of sudden death, worse still the consequences of such an untimely demise - as examined in particular in chapter 8 - the incomprehensible agonies of Purgatory. [3]

In turning now to another of the trials claimed to face contemporary society, that of dearth, it would indeed seem that there was much cause for concern, in 1540 for example parliament attempting to remedy shortages of basic foodstuffs. Moreover there must have been widespread resentment among the public, for such shortages as existed, were being made more severe still by unscrupulous individuals who profited by keeping prices artificially high. Here, a few examples from the records of the Privy Council serve to illustrate these points. On 9 April 1550 for instance, the Council ordained that "becaus of the greit derth.... of al maner of stufe, alsweill horse meit as mennis meit, and the exhorbitant prices usit thairupoun and taken thairfor.... the Abbotis of Dunfermline [and] Cowper, [amongst other Lords, should] tak foure honest men of the burgh of Edinburgh.... and mak prices of all maner of wittualis and stufe, alsweill mennis meit as horse meit." In February of the following year however, the language used by the Council suggested that the situation was still declining. Here the blame is clearly placed on the profiteering actions of individuals who supplied England in these times of shortage, and who allowed the old enemy to "pasture" their animals "within the boundis of Scotland". The Wardens of the Marches therefore were ordered to put an end to these practices, the malefactors concerned to face "the pane of deid and confiscatioun of all their gudis for.... contemptioun...." Despite such a dire warning however, on 17 October and 13 December 1552 and on 15 May 1553 the Council again felt the need to repeat its directives to end such behaviour. In terms of this aspect of the above authors observations therefore, the public at large must indeed have suffered from a shortage of essential food items, this shortage in turn compounded by the seemingly treasonable activity of their own countrymen. [4]

At this point it would seem appropriate to turn yet another theme in the work of Dunbar and Wedderburn, the perceived divisions within Scottish society in the sixteenth century. Here, as stated in the introduction to this chapter, an attempt will be made to ascertain the validity of these authors claims, thence to determine the nature and the extent of the involvement of the subjects of this thesis and the way in which this involvement could have been interpreted by the laity of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.

In terms of Wedderburn's *Complaynt*, it could be said that this piece was a highly charged piece of propaganda written to counter similar forms of material emanating from the English crown in this period. It detailed the injustice and cruelty of the English incursions of the 1540s', warned of the expansionist aims of such devastation and, significantly, made specific reference to the work of James Henderson, an Edinburgh merchant who sought service with Hertford in 1544. This

individual provides a clear indication again, that there was indeed a feeling abroad north of the border, that the present trials were indeed the result of ecclesiastic failings, for Henderson advocated support for the English crown to save the Scots from their true enemies, "the devil, the pope and his rabble of religious men", in his tract *An Exhortacion To The Scottes.* [5] Moreover in such a climate of fear and suspicion, where the Scottish parliament could be seen to be taking action to stop murder and looting as early as 1540, Wedderburn clearly divided the blame for defection to the English camp on the apparent indifference of the "nobilis and speritualite" of Scotland - often one and the same - towards the plight of societies lower echelons in these troubled times.

That defections were indeed common may be seen in the oaths sworn in allegiance to Henry VIII, and thereafter his son Edward VI during the minority of Mary Queen of Scots. Significantly, however, disaffection with "the pope and his rabble of religious men" should not be credited for having prompted all of these pledges for many of the so called "assured Scots" were border "names", such as Graham, Maxwell, Armstrong, Battison, Thomson, Scot and Little, whose loyalty was a fickle thing indeed as the English were to discover to their cost at Ancrum in 1546! Violence between such families moreover was a relatively commonplace affair; in 1528 for example the Warden of the West Border, Robert, 4th. Lord Maxwell, raided the Graham territory of Netherbie, provoking a feud which was to drag on to the close of the sixteenth century, Robert himself captured by an alliance of Grahams and Armstrongs in 1545 and handed over to the English. In terms of national affairs, it should be noted that Arran drew support for his cause in 1526 from the Hume and Kerr families, in his abortive rising against Angus at Linlithgow, and that these same families were to prove instrumental a short time later in foiling Lennox's attempt to seize the young James V at Melrose.

Further claims of divisions within the kingdom, on this occasion in terms of a north/south divide may also be taken from the work of the poet Dunbar. In a piece entitled In *Vice Most Vicius He Excellis* he referred to:

"The fell strong tratour, Donald Owyr....
Rowme ylis and seyis....
On gallow treis
Yitt dois he glowir...."

Here two points should be noted, firstly Dunbar's voicing what was the mutual dislike between the inhabitants of Central and Lowland Scotland and those of the west and Highlands, - as evidenced on a personal level in *The Flyting Of Dunbar And Kennedy* - secondly the problems which the inhabitants of the latter region and the Isles had long caused for the Scottish crown, situated as it most almost always was in the former districts. In the piece quoted therefore, Dunbar referred to the rising of Donald Owre [Dubh], an illegitimate son of Angus, Lord of the Isles, in 1503, to his capture, and his - Dunbar's - disappointment that the king did not hang the rebel Donald. Hence his comment, - in light of the above evidence relating to the Borders - in *Devorit With Dreme, Devysing In My Slummer*; "Sa mekle tressone" ![6]

In terms of a wider perspective on the question of social divisions and why no one man could trust another, firstly, it is important to recall the bitter infighting which marked the minority of James V, and the residue of resentment thus produced, which plagued the governorship of James Hamilton and the minority of Queen Mary. Secondly, it is crucial to remember that many of the religious who featured in earlier chapters of this thesis, could be seen to have performed a variety of state functions; the question arises therefore as to whether these individuals were using the joint power they possessed in terms of religious office and state in a positive or negative fashion. Were they attempting to mediate between the various warring factions which - as seen above - existed in numerous parts of the kingdom, did they attempt to peacefully resolve the long warfare between the two kingdoms of Scotland and England and did they also attempt to pacify the politically motivated military factions in the upper reaches of Scottish in their sometimes savage infighting to achieve superiority over their rivals? What would the actions of the religious who form the focus of this thesis have told society about their nature and character, might they have further added to the impression created above in the introduction to this chapter - and in earlier chapters still - of being self seeking power brokers within the realm, who took little care of the needy, or might it be possible to say that given the desperate perils of the time they placed their own - hitherto utmost - considerations to one side in attempt to concentrate their energies on mitigating the suffering of the faithful, at least in terms of ending the military predations and the stress which Dunbar and Wedderburn said permeated all levels of society, thus creating a situation where no one man felt he could trust another?

In relation to the first point, the minority of James V, it should be recalled that the marriage of Queen Margaret to Archibald, 6th. Earl of Angus on 6 August 1514 was to set a pattern of internal strife within the kingdom which would long trouble the subsequent reign of James V, and the minority of his daughter Mary. The Lords of Council acted angrily to the above marriage, and

summoned Albany to return from France. Thus two parties may said to have been early established, that of Albany drawing support from pro - French factions within the country, that of the Queen and Angus drawing support mainly from the pro - English elements, instigated by Henry VIII who expressed his desire to see Albany deposed. Margaret and Angus were initially exiled, although both were quickly pardoned. The Governor however still faced opposition from Arran, the Earls of Eglinton, Glencairn and Lennox, and the perennial problem of the north, on this occasion - principally - in the form of Donald Macdonald of Lochalsh. Although worsted at Glasgow, the resentment of Albany's opponents simmered on and was given vent in the infamous incident referred to as the "Cleansing of the Causeway" in 1520, in which certain leading religious were involved - as seen in chapter 3 - in a clash which saw the adherents of Douglas [Angus], expel those of Hamilton [Arran], - by then loyal to Albany - from Edinburgh.

On the final departure of Albany in 1524, two clear factions struggled for power. Arran, having formally established the twelve year old James V as king in his own right advocated an alliance with England, as indeed did the Douglas faction. Here, a direct correlation could be made in the public eye between contemporary factionism and one of the country's leading religious houses, for in opposition to this powerful alliance stood the Commendator of Arbroath Abbey, James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, who advocated continued loyalty to Albany and a pro - French stance. In the event, Angus took matters into his own hands, refusing to give up the young king after his term of guardianship had ended. Instead, - on 14 June 1526 - he reiterated the declaration that James V held power in his own right, in reality however, Angus became Chancellor in 1527, whilst his uncle, Archibald Douglas, held the office of Royal Treasurer; for the moment the pro - English faction held sway. In 1528 however, the king escaped to Stirling castle, and a reversal of policy took place. Gavin Dunbar, the ex - Commendator of Whithorn, now Archbishop of Glasgow, - his old tutor - became the Royal Chancellor, and it is possible to suggest - in the simplest terms - that the young king's hatred of the house of Douglas, and the pro - French tendencies of Dunbar and others caused a move from an English to a French alliance.

In the subsequent minority of Mary, events were once more to repeat themselves, Henry VIII again seeking to establish Angus in Scotland as the English crown's agent, this whilst he pressed for a marriage between Mary and his son Edward. Although encouraged by the initially Protestant inclinations of the Governor, James Hamilton, 2nd. Earl of Arran, Henry soon faced a formidable pro - French combination which, again - as with James Beaton above - the laity could directly link with two of the country's wealthiest religious houses through the figure of the

Commendator of Arbroath, Cardinal David Beaton, and the Governor's own brother, John Hamilton the Abbot of Paisley. [7]

In turning now to the question of the part played by the religious of the period in these events, and of how this involvement was interpreted, it is proposed to analyse the activities of certain key religious figures. As seen in chapter 1, appointment to the headship of a monastic house was as a rule determined largely by an individual's value as a servant to the crown. Thus, evidence relating to the imprisonment of such men provides an insight into the extent of their involvement in the vagaries of Scottish politics at this time. In terms of the career of James Beaton [1st.], it will be remembered from chapter 1 that this individual was not only the Royal Chancellor but the Archbishop of Glasgow, Commendator of Arbroath, Dunfermline and Kilwinning. When he subsequently gained the Archbishopric of St. Andrews it was perhaps no small exaggeration when James V referred to him - in a letter dated 16 January 1523/4 - as the chief authority in the realm after Albany. In October of 1524 however, Pope Clement VII wrote to James V expressing his surprise that the king had seen fit to imprison both Beaton and Gavin Dunbar the Bishop of Aberdeen; this on 22 of August 1524. Here it emerges that after Arran's erection of the king and the subsequent move from the pro - French policy of Albany, both Beaton and Dunbar were imprisoned for continuing to adhere to the latter cause.

On 8 October 1525 however, Alexander Kinghorn, the ambassador of Christian II of Denmark, wrote to his employer asking his support in securing a cardinalate for Beaton, whom he said had directed the government of Scotland for almost 13 years. Beaton therefore was once more free to pursue his own interests, the reason for his rapid release provided in the same letter, for Kinghorn stated that Beaton had now repented his former adherence to Albany. Further evidence still of an apparent change in Beaton's stance may be seen in a letter sent by Henry VIII to Clement III on 10 April 1526. In it the king stated that the archbishop was "desirous of reaching a mutual agreement"; Henry therefore expressed his intention of furthering Beaton's affairs to encourage this attitude. The same year however, Beaton had once again changed his allegiance, for when Margaret Tudor formed an alliance to "depose" Angus and seize the young king from his grasp, Beaton was amongst those who took part in the ill - timed battle of Linlithgow. As a result, he was treated as all "partisans of France", once more losing "his estate and office". In 1528 however, when James V escaped from Douglas influence and returned to a pro - French stance, it was Gavin Dunbar whom the king supported in opposition to Beaton when the two prelates quarrelled over ecclesiastic jurisdiction. Moreover, whilst the king stated that there was no breach between himself and Beaton, he qualified this by saying that he did not "deem him worthy of the offices which he

held formerly." By 18 January 1529/30, Beaton's re - admission to royal favour looked to have continued for the king claimed that his archbishop's fall from grace had been the result of rival factions, - presumably the house of Douglas - against whom he - the king - had then been powerless to act.

This progress in the relationship between the two however was cut short, for by 30 November 1530, the king would seem to have got wind of Beaton's earlier dealings with Henry VIII, of - arguably - his intention of using this "relationship" to further his own career by securing the office of papal legate. That such was indeed the case may be assumed from the king's assertion that Beaton would have succeeded but for the opposition of Albany, and - presumably - the pro - French faction in Scotland. On 29 January 1531/2 the Lords of Council ordered the Beaton to "keep [to] his lodgings in Edinburgh", whilst he was investigated for having sent his servants and letters to England at a time of war. Thereafter, two letters relating to 9 March 1531/2 provide further evidence of the king's growing suspicion of Beaton, for again James could be seen petitioning Rome to oppose him; on this occasion in a case brought by William Lord Borthwick over the fruits of the parish church of Stow.

By 10 April 1533, any pretext of a favourable relationship between the two men was over, for by then the above investigation must have ended, and Beaton faced a charge of treason; Wedderburn's observation that only the powerful could commit such an action therefore, would seem to have been supported in this instance by the king himself. Some two months later, the king produced a list of the accusations levelled at the archbishop, namely, that in the aftermath of the death of James IV, Beaton had systematically enhanced his own position and that of his family in the kingdom at the expense of the crown; the full extent of Beaton's family influence, his duplicity and cunning, and his previous involvement with the pro - English faction of Angus emerging in another letter dated 10 July 1533. Here the king detailed the case against Beaton, beginning with the marriage of his niece to the king's cousin, James, Earl of Arran, a union which made their son heir presumptive after Albany. The king's grievance here was that the Beaton family was of too humble an origin to have such an "interest in the crown of Scotland." Next, the king complained that when he "assumed royal authority" - for the first time - Beaton had joined with Angus and his followers to force him to resign power into their hands. Thereafter Beaton had played a significant role in the battle of Linlithgow, thus contributing to the death of the king's cousin Lennox and placing the royal personage in peril. When open resistance had become impossible, the king claimed Beaton had resorted to subterfuge, his machinations such as to engender factionism within Scotland and war with neighbouring England, in short the king's statement highlighted his clear

responsibility for much of the suffering detailed in the introduction of this chapter; such a connection - arguably - equally able to be made by much of contemporary lay society, through, for example, the evidence examined in chapters 2 and 3. More damning still however, James stated Beaton had boasted of his intention to "place the Scottish crown upon the head of his niece's son", had written letters to prejudice the crown's case at Rome, and had corresponded secretly with the English captain of Berwick, who had promised to receive Beaton should he be forced to flee.

In light of the severity of these charges, and the king's apparent success in pleading his case at Rome, it is initially something of a surprise to discover that by 16 February 1533/4 James had accepted Beaton's apology for having been in touch with the enemy without royal permission, and now intended to suspend all proceedings against him; moreover, that by 1535 James was making a serious effort to convince the pope that all was indeed forgiven and that Beaton should once more be viewed favourably by the papacy.

In view of the evidence put forward in relation to the character of James V in chapter 6, the idea of his simply having forgiven Beaton may be quickly discounted. True, as seen in chapter 1, he was indeed a long standing servant of the crown, but such a factor counted but little as witnessed in James V's execution of Sir James Hamilton of Finnart. Rather, therefore it might be suggested that it was the international situation and direct family ties which saved Beaton from total humiliation. In the first instance it should be remembered that in the period 1533 to 1536 James V became involved in a serious attempt to secure a suitable French bride, and it is perhaps safe to say that had he been seen to have persecuted a man who had earlier suffered imprisonment for his pro - French activities - Beaton for example holding the formidable stronghold of St. Andrews for Albany prior to his arrest in 1524 - he would have harmed his own standing with the French crown. Similarly, it should again be remembered from chapter 1, that perhaps the leading figure in the negotiations with Francis I over the matter of the king's bride was none other than David Beaton, Abbot of Arbroath, nephew of James Beaton, a man whose popularity with the French saw him gain the Bishopric - if not the cardinalate as once claimed - of Mirepoix. David was not merely the Scottish ambassador at the French court however, for as seen in chapter 1 he must have been a familiar face to many rulers of the period. Thus had the king ruined James Beaton he risked alienating the French crown on two counts - at a time when he desperately needed its aid - and the Beaton clan with its many associations within his own kingdom.[8]

If James Beaton's actions however provided an unedifying picture of duplicity and power politics which directly contributed to the suffering of the nation, a picture which the laity could directly link to several of the country's leading monastic houses - as they played no small part in his

authority and wealth within the realm - those of his nephew, David, one time Abbot of Arbroath, thereafter termed commendator of the same house, were to connect the public image of the religious houses of the period with the very substance of the nation's intrigues.

In terms of the power possessed by this individual, chapter 1 provided a detailed account of his services to the crown within Scotland and on the Continent, and his resultant rise to high office in both the Church and state. Chapters 2 and 3 examined his role as castallan and warrior, whilst chapter 4 illustrated the wealth he thus accumulated. In terms of the present chapter's aim however, to determine his involvement in the political intrigue of the period, and thus the way in which the reputation of the religious Orders would have effected by direct association, it should be remembered from the above chapters that in his rise to power, Beaton had been careful to consolidate his gains at every opportunity. Thus in terms of a personal following, his origins meant he could claim links with many of the leading families in Fife, such as the Anstruthers, the Boswells, the Lundies and the Ramsays; he possessed in effect a coalition of "names" not unlike those put together by the leading elements of the volatile Border region. As Abbot of Arbroath the loyalty he could thus draw on was further strengthened in the privileges he enjoyed as a mitred abbot. Thereby he possessed the rights and powers of a bishop, his estate a regality with the extensive authority which this entailed; a close involvement in dictating the affairs of the burgh, and the right to hold his own court. This in addition to the authority which he wielded over the extensive properties which the abbey possessed in various parts of Scotland, in Kincardineshire, Angus and Perthshire. Given this power, Beaton set about establishing what was in effect his own kingdom within that of the national boundary, family and friends benefiting either by grants of land and/or appointment to positions of trust within his empire. In 1527 for example, his brother James Beaton of Melgund displaced Andrew Gardin as the principal tenant of the lands of Dunbarrow. Amongst the procurators which he engaged to defend his legal rights moreover David appointed his brother, George Beaton. On attaining promotion to the Achbishopric of St. Andrews, David retained his position as head of Arbroath Abbey and thereafter continued to consolidate his powerbase within the realm.

Walter Beaton, his brother, became the archdeacon of Lothian in 1546, around 2 years later an agreement was made to hand the office in turn to David's own son, Alexander. It is equally significant to remember that in 1545 when David resigned his commendatory hold on Arbroath he did so in favour of his nephew James Beaton, his son Alexander profiting through the gift of the revenues of the Churches of Monifieth and Abernethy; moreover that in the same year he appointed his nephew, John Beaton as captain of the formidable stronghold of St. Andrews, the

lynch pin of his military power. In Beaton's personal household the same care in choosing servants was exhibited in the form of, for example, Bernard and Richard Baillie, relatives of David, - the former becoming Chamberlain of Arbroath - as indeed was his agent George Ramsey of Clatto. In his additional role as the Keeper of the Privy Seal, Beaton used his power to appoint Sir John Arnot, the Graniter of Arbroath, and John and Thomas Beaton - doubtless family - as collectors of judicial fines. In turn, further support could be relied upon from his aunt's offspring, Andrew and George Dury. Andrew for instance gained the Abbey of Melrose in 1526 after the death of his uncle Robert Beaton, thereafter a hold on the see of Whithorn, the collegiate Chapel Royal and the Abbey of Tongland. George assumed the title of Abbot of Dunfermline on the resignation of his uncle James Beaton, and the title of "conservator" of the rights of the Abbey of Arbroath from his cousin David, along with the additional role of Principal Archdeacon of St. Andrews; a title which he subsequently passed to his nephew, Robert Pitcairn.

Through such measures, Beaton achieved a level of security which enabled him to become involved in the affairs of state at the highest level, pursuing his own ambitions alongside an aggressively pro - French stance. Thus Lindsay, in *The Tragedie Of The Late Cardinal Beaton*, has him confess:

> "Quhair throch thar rose gret weir and mortal stryfe, Gret Heirschippis, hounger, darth and desolatioun: On ather syde did mony lose thare lyfe.... I causit all that trybulatioun: For tyll tak peace i neuer wald consent, Without the kyng of France had bene content."

As evidence of this Lindsay refers for example to Beaton's raid on Linlithgow:

> "ane raid quhilk Lythgow yit may rew; For we destroyit ane myle about the town...."

and his bringing "the Erle of Lennox furth of France...." to oppose Angus, strengthen his own position and destroy any hope of peace with the English; an action which he admitted - according to Lindsay - brought "new mortall weris" and "harme and heirschip to Scotland". Albany he won over with "sweit and subtle wordis" to further his task of destroying the "Erle of Angus and his Germane brother", his power now such that "gret lordis" held him in dread, the castle of St. Andrews a brooding tribute to his position in the realm.

Lindsay therefore clearly portrays him as the power behind the throne, a dark machiavellian figure who will stop at nothing to achieve his ends. His most outrageous act? arguably the charge which Lindsay levels of his having produced a "blank document" for James V to sign as he lay on his death bed, thereafter his filling in the spaces of this, the king's will, in such a way as to enhance his own standing. Of Beaton's ambition and involvement in war, as stated above there can be little doubt, what however of the charge of having forged the king's will. Was this merely artistic license on the part of Lindsay, or was he drawing on other contemporary evidence? Furthermore, if such a claim could indeed be justified, what additional light might it shed on the perceived paranoia of the Scottish nation at this time, - as examined in the work of Dunbar and Wedderburn above - and the way in which the laity might have been able to further determine the nature of the involvement of the subjects of this thesis in terms of either contributing to, or alleviating their sufferings?

In terms of what Beaton stood to gain from such an action, it should be remembered that in the aftermath of Solway Moss the cause of the exiled house of Douglas was greatly strengthened by the prospect of an unstable minority, and by the fact that Arran was the most likely candidate to act as regent. Hence, arguably, Beaton's attempt to seize Mary of Lorraine and her infant daughter at Linlithgow in 1543, in a move to pre-empt any such action on the part of the pro - English, Protestant Arran and those lords - such as Cassillis, Fleming, Glencairn, Gray, Maxwell and Somerville - who had sworn to aid the cause of Henry VIII. Confusion moreover did indeed surround the last wishes of James V, for in a document drawn up by one of the king's notaries, Henry Balfour, Arran was not mentioned, and the care of the realm was committed to Beaton, and the Earls of Murray, Huntly and Argyll. In the event however, Arran was proclaimed Governor along with the above named four, more worrying still for Beaton however was the rumour put about that the king had expressed a desire to have the Douglasses restored to help unite the country. In this confusion, Arran accused Beaton of lying when he claimed he was acting in accordance with the dying king's last requests, and of being a "false churl", yet he nevertheless subsequently appointed Beaton to the position of Royal Chancellor. Again it was rumoured that Beaton had engineered this promotion himself, compelling Arran to comply with his wishes perhaps by threatening to challenge his legitimacy, or simply through the strength of his - Beaton's - following. The latter explanation perhaps the most likely, for when Arran arrested Beaton on 25 January 1543, - perhaps in accordance with the expressed views of Henry VIII - the latter had secured his return to his fortress of St. Andrews by 23 March of the same year.

Again therefore, in the career of David Beaton, the laity would have been keenly aware of religious houses operating not as moderating influences on the troubles of the period, nor as efficient centres of intercession to mitigate the severity of Divine displeasure - the monks of Melrose, Newbattle and Balmerino for example, as seen in chapter 5, mounting so strong a resistance against the 1533 Cistercian General Chapter's attempts to reform their way of life that the measures finally introduced were of a milder nature than those originally proposed[2]. Rather they appeared more as mere counters in the complex game which David Beaton played to consolidate his own "kingdom" within Scotland. Through his, and his uncle James Beaton's machinations, and in turn their family's connections, the public at large could see the monastic houses of Arbroath, Dunfermline, Kilwinning and Melrose, and the royal collegiate foundation of the Chapel Royal form an essential part of a dynastic empire based on power within the Church. All of this achieved - it could be suggested - from the Beaton family's frequently open, deliberate, instigation and manipulation of national events, events which caused considerable hardship for the nation as a whole. Given such a situation, it would be hard to assume that the reputation of the religious Orders and indeed the colleges of the period, would in any way have profited from their association with such men.

In terms of further connections between the men charged with keeping some of the country's leading monastic houses and civil unrest and warfare, there was ample additional evidence, for observers such as Dunbar, Lindsay and Wedderburn to draw upon. In considering this aspect of the social ills listed in the introduction, the reader should remember that the members of the Beaton clan were not alone in thus undermining the trust which the laity had traditionally placed in the religious Orders, and the trust which - in fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland - the more affluent sections of society had come to place in the colleges as centres of spiritual excellence, for other names still could be added to the list who faced state censure for their exploitation of the political and military instability of the period in question. Andrew Forman for instance, who at various times in his astonishing career had held - among other Church offices - the Abbeys of Arbroath, Dryburgh, Dunfermline, Kelso and Kilwinning, was publicly condemned as a rebel for his pro - French sympathies and manipulation of the Anglo - Scottish troubles for his own ends in 1513/14. Patrick Panter, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, was imprisoned in 1515 for his continued allegiance to the French faction within Scotland, whilst in the same year Abbot John Hume of Jedburgh and Prior David Hume of Coldingham faced accusations of treason for their pro - English stance; the gravity of their predicament best realised when it is considered that the head of their house Alexander, 3rd. Lord Hume, and his brother William were executed the following year

on just such grounds. [9] In summary therefore, up to this point it would indeed seem that the authors quoted in the introduction to the present chapter might well have enjoyed considerable support for their assertions that disease, famine and factionalism were instruments of Divine correction, and that most of the figures who held the religious houses of the period - and indeed many of the rank and file of the religious Orders themselves - were in no small part to blame for this state of affairs through their instigation of, and involvement in, issues wholly at odds with a spiritual remit. What then of the additional specific claims raised by these authors, that the poor in particular suffered the brunt of these horrors - and more besides - through the actions of society's upper echelons, and - more especially still - the religious of the day?

Here, it is important to appreciate that despite the harsh reality of life in fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland, numerous authors of the period felt moved to sympathy over the plight of society's less fortunate members, and through their works it is possible to achieve an idea both of the level of suffering involved, and its perceived causes. Robert Henryson in the late fifteenth century for example, provided an insight into the life of the lower echelons of society in a piece entitled *The Wolf And The Lamb*, when he talked of how for:

> "maill men, merchandis and all laboureris, life [was] half ane purgatorie....",

abused as they were by "fals extortioneris" who used "violence or craft in suteltie" to maintain their comfortable lives at the expense of the poor.

This theme was repeated by Dunbar in his poem *Tidings From The Session*, for in discussing the legal machinery of the day, he complained of how transgressors could sway judgements in their favour through bribery, whilst "innocent folkis" were denied access to the law through an inability to pay. Significantly, among the disreputable characters who frequented the Session and thus profited from the misery of the poor, the religious - undoubtedly heads of monastic communities among them as witnessed in chapter 1 - who prayed on beads whilst their minds dwelt on "oppressioun"; foxes, Dunbar claimed, who donned "ane lambs skin" to dupe the public. Here Dunbar may be said to have been influenced not only by his own experiences, but from work such as that of Henryson above, for in a piece entitled *The Fox And The Wolf*, the character of "Freir Volff Waitskaith", although he was "new cum fra the closter, with beidis in hand sayand his Pater Noster...." was portrayed in an extremely poor light as a sly and ruthless individual.

As seen above in the introduction to this chapter, in *Devorit With Dreme, Devysing In My Slummer*, society's higher echelons ignored the plight of the masses who thus had no means of attaining justice. Again a special mention is given to the religious who compound the suffering of the poor by their failure to "preiche and pray", and by becoming strangers to their abbeys; both a result of an overwhelming pre - occupation with "harlettis".

In *Of Discretioun In Taking*, the same theme reappears as Dunbar condemned those who took the church rents but paid scant attention to the cure of souls they entailed, a reference doubtless to the practice of appropriation which served to support the older abbeys and increasingly more obviously the colleges; the suffering of the poor on this occasion compounded by "Barronis" who raised "mailis and gersomes" to such a degree that the "peure" were forced to "beg fra dur to dur" to survive. Again reference is made to the particular involvement of the "grit men" of the Session - amongst whom the heads of religious houses could be numbered in this despicable process. Also of relevance in the present context, *Quhome To Sall I Complene My Wo*, for here too the poor are seen to be exploited by the rich. Arguably however, it is in a piece entitled a *Satire On Edinburgh*, that Dunbar provided the most graphic picture of the consequences of such wilful cruelty. In describing the stench and filth which marred the populous streets of Edinburgh in the early sixteenth century, the poet paid particular attention to the human flotsam and jetsam which thronged them. Aside from the able bodied idle, the poet referred to a large number who were "cruikit, blind and lame", for whom there was little hope other than the fickle charity of their social betters. That the problem he described was one which was to become steadily worse with time, may be seen in the observation made in parliament in 1551 that:

> "beggars daylie and continually [multiplied.... and resorted to the] places where [the] lord Governour and utheris Nobilis [convened] swa that nane of them [could] pas throw the streets for [the] raming and crying on them...."

In the work of Sir David Lindsay, the same theme of the exploitation of the poor was again repeated. Here the grasping, acquisitive nature of the regular Orders was plainly detailed in *The Testament Of The Papyngo*, in the squabble between the various religious over the wealth of the dying, their only interest the gratification of their own worldly desires; a point he reinforces in the words of "John The Common Weill" in *The Three Estates* where the author berated all "that in cowls bene clad". The resentment which must have been engendered towards the regular orders through such a state of affairs, was in turn doubtless greatly exacerbated by the actions of the

parish clergy, the most common point of interface between the laity and the Church, many of whom - notably - had been placed in these positions of author by an appropriating body, usually either monastic or - increasingly - collegiate.

In *The Third Book Of The Monarchy* for example therefore, Lindsay condemns the Church for its collection of mortuary dues in the tale of a poor farmer, his wife and three children. On the death of the husband the vicar - often appointed by the appropriating body - can claim one of the family's three cows and the "gray cloke that [covered] the bed". On the death of the mother, he has the right to another cow and the woman's coarse grey coat. Should the eldest child die, he can claim the last cow, the now destitute surviving children facing the final horror of having the corpse held at "the kirk style" until they could convince the authorities that they were capable of meeting the "kirk rycht and dewite". Thus commendators, abbots, priors, provosts, canons, monks, friars and nuns participated in this exploitation of the dead at parish level, through the practice of appropriation, the money thus raised also going to fund petitions to Rome for the "pardonis", and "dispensationis" many churchmen required to excuse their guilt of "symonye". That this form of exploitation was a subject which particularly disturbed Lindsay, may be seen in the additional observations which he levelled in *The Three Estates*, in a scene where the "Pauper" addresses the character of "Diligence". Here the situation described above is made worse still, for on the death of first his father then of his mother, the pauper's landlord took his "gude grey meir" for his "hyreild" or heriot, the vicar coming first for his best cow on account of his father's death, thereafter returning for a second cow when he learns of his mother's demise. The pauper's situation became more harrowing still when his wife died, for on this occasion the vicar removed the last cow whilst his clerk seized the "utmest" clothing of the deceased. Destitute, the pauper resorts to begging to support his family, even in this condition however he is not safe from the avarice of the Church, for the vicar pursues him for his teinds, and when he cannot pay he is excommunicated, left open to the full horrors - examined in chapter 12 - which such an action entailed. The pauper therefore is left to bemoan the injustice of the Church's laws which allow the vicar to ruin him financially and spiritually in the pursuit of death duties and teinds, yet seem to permit all manner of excesses at the highest levels of the spiritual estate. Even more frustrating still, when this individual actually succeeds in bringing a case before an ecclesiastic court - such as that enjoyed for example by David Beaton as the mitred Abbot of Arbroath - because of the use of Latin in canon law he has no understanding of why he has lost his action, or why he is being compelled to pay for the court's incomprehensible decision. The rage thus felt by the masses therefore, who saw the regular orders and colleges thus profit from their hardship as opposed to alleviate it, Lindsay clearly expresses in

the words of "John The Common Weill" in *The Dreme Of Sir David Lindsay*, where amongst the religious mentioned, only the friars seem to deserve praise. More striking still however, is the poet's explanation as to why this rage has not as yet found expression in more direct action. In *The Three Estates*, when "Correctioun" insists that "Lord Temporalite.... expel oppressioun off his lands", it is the spiritual lords who balk at this suggestion, for they - it is claimed - benefit most from the practice of feuing lands for ever higher profits. When John is asked however if he has any complaint to make against such a deplorable stance his reply is ominous:

"Na, Sir, I dar nocht speik ane ward".

Fear therefore, of the twin weapons wielded by the religious of secular and ecclesiastic censure, rendered him silent.

Other individuals still commented on the helplessness of the masses in the period in question, from the anonymous author of *The Three Prestis....*, who claimed injustice was rife at the royal court - to the observations of Wedderburn - who despite his obvious sympathy for the poor nevertheless drew on continental precedent to encourage the authorities to crush them still further, - and John Gau - who condemned the ruthless exploitation of the poor by religious tyrants (a title which could easily be applied for example to members of the Beaton dynasty as seen in the present chapter, or Dunbar's *Friars of Berwick* as witnessed in chapter 5) who thus supported their idle, parasitic lifestyles; all of these observers of contemporary society placing the blame for this appalling state of affairs to no small degree therefore on the servants of the Church who form the focus of this thesis. [10] Clearly therefore there was little doubt in the minds of contemporary authors at least that Scotland's regular, mendicant and collegiate communities were responsible for many of the problems assailing society's poorest elements, those least able to defend themselves. The question here therefore, is to what extent could such a stance be justified; were the regular Orders and colleges of the period in question both exploiting and turning their backs on the poor and the sick in such a whole sale fashion, or could a case be made to mitigate at least some of the impact of the accusations listed above?

Here again, it should be remembered from the above reference to the leper hospitals of the period in question, that the Church controlled what help was available, so too it was responsible for the aid offered to the poor, the sick, travellers and pilgrims. In terms of the first category, alms houses - catering "in most cases for resident poor" [1] which operated outwith the sphere of the regular Orders and colleges, existed at Aberdeen - which possessed one for men and another for

women -, Corstorphine - which may have possessed links to the collegiate house in the same area for it too was dedicated to St. John the Baptist -, Covington (Lanark), Dunfermline (which possessed 2 such houses), Edinburgh (which operated 3 such houses), Ednam (Roxburgh), Glasgow, Haddington (which operated 2 such houses), Kingcase (Ayr, a leper house which became an almshouse), Lanark, Linlithgow, Newburgh, North Berwick, Peebles (which possessed 2 such houses), Rathven (a leper house which became an almshouse for men), Stirling (which possessed 2 such houses) and Turriff.

Regarding those alms houses directly linked to regular communities and colleges, examples existed at Arbroath (where it was dependent on the abbey), Biggar (where it was linked to the collegiate community), Carnwath (where it was linked to the collegiate community), Dumbarton (where it was linked to the collegiate community), Dunfermline (where it was dependent on the abbey), Edinburgh (St. Leonard's which was dependent on Holyrood Abbey and Holy Trinity which was dependent on the collegiate house of the same name), Holywood (Dumfries, dependent on Lincluden collegiate church), Horndean (Berwick, dependent on Kelso Abbey), Jedburgh (dependent on the abbey), Uthrogle (Fife, annexed to Lincluden collegiate church) and Polmadie (which can perhaps be linked to the collegiate church of Dumbarton).

Regarding the care proffered to the poor, sick, travellers and pilgrims, non regular or collegiate houses could be found at Aberdeen (for the poor and the sick), Arrat (Angus, for the poor), Berwick (which possessed 2 such houses for the poor), Brechin (for the poor), Dunkeld (for the poor), Edinburgh (for the poor), Elgin (for the poor), Glasgow (Blackadder's, for the poor), Jedburgh (for the poor), Kilpatrick (Dunbarton, for the poor), Kincardine O'Neil (Aberdeen, for the poor), Kinghorn (Fife, for the poor), Lasswade (Midlothian, for the poor, the sick, travellers and pilgrims), Leith (for the poor and sick), Linlithgow (for the poor), Methven (Perth, for the poor and sick), Peebles (for the poor), Perth (which possessed 3 such houses, 1 for the poor, and 2 for the poor, sick, pilgrims and travellers), Portmoak (Kinross, for the poor, "probably superseded by Loch Leven, St. Mary"), Banff (St. Nicholas, for the poor, travellers and pilgrims), Shotts (Lanark, for the poor), Stirling (for the poor) and Trailtrow (Dumfries, for the poor). Houses outwith the remit of the regular Orders and colleges devoted purely to the care of the sick could be found at Aberdeen (St. Peter's), Crookston (Renfrew) and Dalhousie (mid Lothian).

What then of the part played by the subjects of this thesis in providing aid to the above categories of the laity? Here, examples could be found at Ardross (Fife, for the poor, travellers and pilgrims, where the aid proffered depended on the Cistercian nunnery of North Berwick), at Berwick (for the poor and sick, dependent on the Trinitarian Order), Dalkeith (dependent on the collegiate

church of St. Nicholas), Dunbar (which would seem to have depended on either the Trinitarians of Dunbar or the town's college), Dundee, (for the poor and sick, dependent on the Trinitarians), Dunglass (dependent on the collegiate community), Fail (dependent on the Trinitarians), Kelso (dependent on the abbey of the same name), Loch Leven (Kinross, dependent on the Trinitarian Order), Montrose (refounded in 1516 for the Friars Preacher, it started as a leper house, before becoming a centre of aid for the poor), North Berwick (for the poor, travellers and pilgrims, dependent on the Cistercian nunnery), Perth (St. Mary Magdelene's, for the poor, annexed to the Charterhouse), St. Andrews (St. Leonard's, for the poor, travellers and pilgrims, it became an almshouse for men and women before being erected into St. Leonard's college), St. Germain's (East Lothian, for the poor, granted to King's college Aberdeen) and Soutra (Midlothian, Holy Trinity, for travellers and pilgrims, it became a poor house under the auspices of the Rule of St. Augustine). To this considerable list may be added those hospitals whose function and dates of operation cannot now be determined, but whose relationship to the subjects of this thesis can. These were located at Cree (Kirkcudbright, dependent on Dunndrennan Abbey), Edinburgh (the Kirk O' Field hospital dependent on the collegiate church of St. Mary in the Fields), Helmsdale (Sutherland, dependent on Kinloss Abbey), Houston (East Lothian, dependent on the Trinitarian Order), Inverkeithing (dependent on Dryburgh Abbey), Perth (St. Leonard's, annexed to the Charterhouse), Rutherford (Roxburgh, under Jedburgh Abbey), Smailholm (under Dryburgh Abbey) and Stirling (under Cambuskenneth Abbey).

At first glance, it would seem that whilst the cover extended by the subjects of this thesis towards societies weaker members was not wholly comprehensive - Argyllshire and the Western highlands seemingly being ignored for example - the regular houses and colleges would seem to have at least proffered some aid to the main centres of population in central and southern Scotland; moreover, the list above - by no means an absolute one - refers only to hospitals and does not make any allowance for the casual distribution of alms from - for example - parish churches which were under regular or collegiate jurisdiction, "daily doles" from monastic houses directly, or annual doles given to members of the poor on the basis that they attend and participate in the anniversary services of a patron. That the care proffered by such hospitals as did exist however may not have been up to scratch, may be assumed from crown enactments in 1425, 1457, 1466 and 1469, that inspectors be appointed to visit such foundations and ensure that the funds held by the hospital were being used to aid the poor and the sick, as opposed to being looked upon by the administrator in charge as their private income.

In 1552 abbots and provosts of collegiate churches for their part were to ensure that the aid hitherto given to the needy was again resumed, and that those placed in charge of the distribution of alms should be honest enough to ensure that the right people were benefiting from such generosity. Moreover, even for those who did receive such aid, the stigma involved must surely have provoked resentment, for the bedesmen who dwelt within the above communities were often made to wear distinctive attire to mark them out as recipients of a particular house's charity; the inmates of St. Thomas's hospital in Edinburgh for example wore red gowns whilst those of the poor receiving the aid of St. Mary's collegiate church in Biggar were white. In addition, the alms given were usually not without strings, for the poor were expected to help in the running of the religious functions of the house concerned. Thus, whilst the subjects of this thesis did not entirely neglect the poor and needy, the emphasis which many of their members placed on direct aid to this group within society, was clearly secondary to the effort which they so obviously expended - as witnessed in preceding chapters, and again in the present chapter - on maintaining the levels of return which they expected from their chosen careers in the Church.

In terms of the perceived flaws in the legal structure of the period, evidence of its bias towards the rich and powerful may be seen in attempts by the Scottish crown - as early as the reign of James II - to ensure that such individuals be held accountable for the actions of their followers, that when called to appear in court themselves they would do so in an orderly fashion, with but a few of their household; most importantly of all they were to come without arms and armour. That such legislation could equally be applied to the churchmen of the period, may be seen by reference to the activities of many heads of religious houses as examined in chapter 2, and more especially chapter 3. In terms of references to the court of Session, the criticism of the heads of religious houses who participated in its running may be seen to have been justified to a great extent - in particular - by the evidence contained in chapters 1 and 5, where absence from monastic commitments, and immorality amongst the higher levels of the religious Orders were seen to be relatively common place. What then of the accusation that the religious of the day used the legal system to further their own ends? Here it should be remembered from chapter 6 that there were frequent references to ecclesiastics enforcing payment of debts in court. Equally, it should be remembered that in many instances - particularly those referring to the mendicant Orders - such behaviour was prompted by necessity. In light of the numerous catastrophes examined above however, it is highly unlikely that such an excuse would have carried much weight in lay circles, least of all when there were clear examples of exploitation, such as that detailed by the Lords of Council in their investigation into the activities of Patrick Hepburn, Bishop of Moray and

Commendator of Scone, and his baillie, Thomas Charteris of Kinfauns. In this instance, the tenants of Scone complained that the commendator held courts, uplifted duties and stripped them of their legal rights whilst he poinded their goods. Charteris meanwhile, claiming power as baillie, also held courts with the consent of the commendator, so that the tenants were now "double poyndit, callit, and unlawit and thare gudis takin tharfor and hevelie trublitt tharthrow...." That this was no isolated incident on the part of Hepburn may be seen in an action raised by the tenants of Blair in the following year. Their complaint centred on their having been granted "tack" from the previous commendator, Alexander Stewart, Bishop of Moray. Following his demise however, they had paid the sum required to his successor Hepburn, who had wholly ignored the terms agreed by setting their "takis and maling" to yet another party, John Narne, who was now intent on ousting them from the lands in question! Similarly apparently repressive behaviour may in turn be seen in the actions raised against the tenants of the Abbey of Glenluce, for on 6 February 1551 for instance Abbot Walter Malyn challenged the tacks granted to Alexander Bailie, Alexander Clugston, Gilbert Clugston, Janet Mcke [Mckay?], Gilbert Bertoun and William Young.

The perils of feuing therefore could indeed be a contributory factor in terms of adding to the miseries of the period, the enclosed Orders more so than the mendicants, for the former were closely bound to the process since they were the nation's largest landholder; moreover, as seen above, those who held monastic houses frequently sought recourse to the law to enforce payment of debt on the part of tenants. In terms of an ecclesiastic regality, such as that enjoyed by David Beaton at Arbroath, tenants may well have resented having to appear in the court of the individual who had offended them in the first place, especially since an ecclesiastic court could punish them in spiritual as well as secular terms. Thus there were doubtless many individuals who like "John Of The Common Weill" dared not raise an action for fear of losing out on both counts. Further potential grievances against those granting feus lay in the seeming desire to extract ever greater sums of money. Should an individual wish to take on the greater independence of becoming a landed proprietor in his own right for example, he was obliged to pay periodic grassums - stipulated for a set number of years agreed by both parties - to his heir a double feu duty on entry to the property. These payments reflecting the superior's loss of such traditional incomes as the payment of grassums - payable on the renewal of a tack - and such feudal dues as the herezelds referred to above, and had to be met in addition to the payment of "Augmentation", an annual sum due which reflected the increased cost of feuing land. Hence, the heads of monastic communities highly unpopular, yet frequent, demands that the charters granted by their predecessors be produced by tenants, so that a current valuation of the property could be made. Thereafter, if it could be proved

for example that a tenant had failed in the requirements of his lease - say in terms of non - payment of feu duty - the superior of the land could rightly cancel his charter and grant it to someone willing to pay more for the privilege of holding it. Thus the business of securing a feu charter could be an expensive process, the initial payment of a grassum compounded by annual feu duty, or by the second form of arrangement outlined above. That the sums involved could vary enormously may be seen in reference to an agreement between the Commendator of Melrose and the tenants of Kylesmure in 1555. Here the tenants agreed to meet a down payment of 35 merks for every merkland they rented, this figure 5 merks in excess of the sum demanded for each merkland of land granted to the tenants of Scone Abbey around 10 years later. For some therefore, as Lindsay claimed, the costs must have proved too much, especially in light of the increasing demand on the part of monastic landlords that the basic feu - duty be paid entirely in money.

An additional problem which could arise was the one specified in relation to Patrick Hepburn and the tenants of Scone, whereby the superior could feu the tenants lands to an outsider who could raise rents to recompense himself for his initial outlay. This problem, highlighted by contemporary authors, was recognised by the Church itself in the terms of the Provincial Council of 1559, which condemned the inherent potential for exploitation involved in such transactions. Nepotism was also another danger inherent in such a system as seen for example in the sketch of the empire which David Beaton created for himself. In terms of the activities of John Hamilton for example, the abbot was careful to ensure that the Hamilton clan was not neglected when it came to the feuing of the abbey's lands, moreover that he tended to favour wealthier outsiders when it came to granting feu charters. Similarly, the actions of David Vaus and John Johnson whilst they held the office of Abbot of Saulseat and the favour shown towards their kinsmen John Vaus of Barnbarroch and Thomas Johnson respectively, may be added to the numerous examples of such misconduct uncovered in chapter 6 in relation to grants of land in return for supposed essential aid to monastic communities.

At this point however, as with so many of the other criticisms raised by contemporary authors against the subjects of this thesis, it is possible to mitigate the extent of the suggested harm done to society. In terms of the Abbey of Coupar Angus for example, an analysis of the rental books by M. H. B. Sanderson - the source for much of the information used in this chapter in relation to the pros and cons of feuing for the periods 1464 - 1516 and 1539 - c.1560, revealed that in the former period 289 leases were granted for a 5 year period, 87 for life out of a total of 675 recorded leases. In the latter period this figure had changed markedly however, for out of a total of 257 leases examined, 150 were granted for life, whilst 40 were granted for periods of 19 years;

moreover, of the 65 short term 5 year leases granted at this time, around half were renewed as life tenancies. Far from causing a climate of fear among the tenantry therefore, there was a marked movement towards a security of tenure. Somewhat surprisingly perhaps, in light of the above charges laid against Patrick Hepburn, in general terms the same could be said of the tenants who held of Scone Abbey. In turn an equally favourable pattern can be identified in the feuing patterns of the lands of Coldingham Priory, and in those of the Abbeys of Dunfermline, Holyrood, Kilwinning, Melrose, and Paisley.

In conclusion therefore, in light of the extensive research on this topic by Dr. Sanderson, it is possible to say that the long term stability of tenure conferred in feuing was within the reach of most levels of society, and that in terms of an abbot taking a tenant to court to him from his lands, the former could by no means be sure of the outcome. Abbot Walter Malyn for example lost two cases he had brought against Margaret Sempill and her husband John Whiteford, tenants of the Abbey in 1551/2, and in the end was forced to buy them out.

Despite the apparent advantages to the tenant however, there can be no real doubt that the potential for abuse was never far from the public mind, - or indeed that of the Church as witnessed in the Scottish Church Council of 1559 - and that the resentment thus engendered was fanned by the ways in which the religious did appear to exploit their lay charges. Namely, that in cases where a husbandman held land which had not been set in feu ferm, his family were still liable to meet the herezeld on his death. Moreover, that there was genuine resentment at the clergy for threatening to withhold the sacraments of the Church - as outlined in William Dunbar's *Table Of Confession* - until they received such rights as the corpse present and the offerings tendered at Easter, may be seen in the statutes of the Church in Scotland itself, for from 1559 onwards it was decided to moderate such demands by no longer enforcing payment from the poorest elements in society. Of the potential trouble which could be engendered from a bellicose enforcement of such rights in the way suggested by Lindsay, the reader need look no further than the infamous early sixteenth century English example of Richard Hunne and his bitter struggle with Thomas Dryffeld, - the rector of the parish of St. Mary Matfelon, Whitechapel - over the latter's demands for a corpse present. [11]

At this point it might be argued that whilst such events engendered hostility towards the parish clergy, they had nothing to do with the subjects of this thesis. Here however, it should again be remembered that monastic houses had long drawn sustenance by appropriating parochial income, the churches involved suffering a corresponding decrease in income, and that such a

process also formed the principal means of financing the phenomenally popular collegiate kirks of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

In terms of justifying these statements, it is helpful to bear in mind, that in the foundation of Sweetheart Abbey in 1273 for example, Dervorgilla Balliol endowed her foundation with the entire income of the parish of Kindarroch, part of the parishes of Crossmichael, Buittle, and Kircolm, and the parishes of Kirkbean, Southwick, Colvend, Traquair, Terregles and Kirkgunzeon, which had hitherto been held by the religious houses of Lincluden, Tongland and Holm Cultram. Here it could be said that the effective memory of such grants would have remained fresh in the minds of the laity, for the teinds still had to be collected, even if only by middle men; moreover, in the period in question, fresh grants were being made to facilitate the erection of colleges.

In his foundation of the collegiate kirk of St. Mary and St. Nicholas at Biggar on 16 January 1545/6 for example, Malcolm, Lord Fleming, drew part of the money needed for the maintenance of a provost, 8 pebendaries and 4 choristers from the existing income of the parish church which he used for his own foundation. A similar situation arose in the foundation of Bothans collegiate church on 22 April 1421, for again the parishioners saw their parish church commandeered. From the foundation of Corstorphine collegiate kirk on 25 February 1425/6, repeated attempts were made to secure the appropriation of the parish church of Ratho, whilst the foundation of Crichton collegiate kirk on 29 December 1449 saw William Lord Crichton commandeer the parish church to establish a community consisting of a provost, 8 prebendaries and 2 boy choristers. Cullen church likewise was adapted on 23 April 1543 - principally - at the insistence of Alexander Ogilvy of Findlater to become a college consisting of a provost and 6 prebendaries, as indeed was the parish church of Seton - in the foundation of a collegiate community consisting of a provost and 6 prebendaries - in the late fifteenth century by George Lord Seton.

The most extreme example however must be that of the collegiate Chapel Royal in Stirling; given papal approval by Pope Alexander VI on 2 May 1501, both king James IV and James V continually sought to enhance both its income and prestige. In terms of its initial foundation, James IV amalgamated the office of Provost of St. Mary on the Rock [at St. Andrews] with that of dean of his new kirk, this in addition to an attempt to secure a portion of the revenues of Restenneth Priory along with those of no less than 15 parish foundations and the chapels which they in turn served. In 1504, James IV rescinded the amalgamation of St. Mary on the Rock and joined his chapel with the greater dignity of the see of Galloway, attempting to secure as he did so the income of Inchmahome Priory, to increase further the value of the office. Not content with this the king - on 1 March 1507/8 - could be seen pressing his requests that, along with Inchmahome, Restenneth

Priory and Lincluden college should be joined with his chapel, and that the joint office of Bishop of Galloway and of the Chapel Royal "should be inferior to no one". In a letter from the King to Pope Julius II on August 1511 it emerged that the papacy had indeed conferred on this joint dignity "all manner of jurisdiction over the king, his household, the annexed churches of royal patronage and their parishioners." In relation to the reign of James V, the king attempted to secure the Abbey of Tongland to add to the chapel's honours, and in the terms put forward for the promotion of Andrew Dury to the office of Bishop of Galloway and the Chapel Royal, it would appear that he had succeeded. Thus appropriation was indeed widespread, but what of its effects in terms of linking resentment of parish clergy to the regular and collegiate communities?

Here it is important to remember that the income of the parish tithes or teinds ostensibly paid for the services of the parish incumbent. This condition had been laid down as early as the 4th. Lateran Council in 1215 which stated that "a sufficient portion be assigned to the priest" in every parish. If the parson of a particular parish did not actually reside in, or minister to the souls within his given remit, then a perpetual vicar was to be installed to cover his absence; the latter receiving a portion of the income of the parish in question. Here, the means of calculating such an income could vary in terms of the nature of the parish in question, generally speaking, the garbal teinds were the preserve of the parson, the lesser teinds - for example fish, animals, wool, grain and cereal crops - those of the vicar. However, as seen in the example of Sweetheart, monasteries had long enjoyed a share in this revenue through the practice of appropriation, as indeed had bishops from their mensal churches, and the canons who served in their cathedrals. Moreover, with the burgeoning number of collegiate foundations in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, numerous parishes not only lost revenue to the new foundations, but in many instances the very fabric of the parish church itself.

The temptation from an early age therefore for the appropriating body, was to keep as much of the income as possible; thus the papacy's insistence in the mid. thirteenth century that bishops not only ensure a priest was appointed in such cases, but that he receive an adequate income form the parish teinds, could oft be ignored. By the end of the thirteenth century the value of his stipend had been set at £10, and when it is considered that a vicar could expect to be housed, have a glebe, and derive additional income from offerings at Easter and the corpse present on a death within his parish, initially, the income derived was adequate to meet the needs of most. However, as seen in chapter 6, inflation in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in particular had reduced the real value of such an income drastically. Moreover, for most appropriating bodies when the parish itself were annexed, and indeed in the minority of parishes which remained independent,

the practice was to engage a vicar pensioner at an even lower rate of pay. For those engaged as vicars therefore, life must have been particularly hard, the strain of serving the church at a parochial level added to still further by the additional burden placed on parsons, for they were still expected to meet the cost of maintaining their manse, and to partially meet the cost of repairs to the chancel of their church.

As a result, both the monastic communities and - more especially - the collegiate kirks could be seen to be responsible for a system which attracted mainly the poorest quality of recruit to the lowest offices of the Church. That such was indeed the case may be seen by referring to chapter 5, to the concern of parliament - 14 March 1540/1 - and to the observations of contemporary church councils in particular. In addition, the appropriating bodies involved could be seen to have placed such men as served on the ground in the parishes, in the position of having to exploit the one resource left to them in an attempt to compensate for the inevitable shortfalls in income, that is their parishioners. Hence, monastic and collegiate communities could be held directly responsible for the seemingly heartless demands for the corpse present, the uppermost cloth, and for the equally mercenary approach to securing other offerings, - such as at Easter - through threats of ecclesiastic censure. Of the extent of the problem thus created, Professor I. B. Cowan calculated that prior to the Reformation "approximately 86% of parish churches had their parish revenues diverted to some other source, while of these appropriated parishes, at least 56% had their vicarage revenues also annexed". [12] Thus the laity might well have felt that they were paying for a range of services for which they could see but little return; such an impression was reinforced through the associated problems of commendation and absenteeism.

In terms of commendation, although it is quite easy to point out the essential difference between a commendator and a titular abbot, the former for example was merely an administrator in the "absence of a rightful possessor", the titular abbot "entitled" to the position in question - as seen in chapter 1, by the period under study the terms were interchangeable, and to the laity indistinguishable - as witnessed for example in chapters 2 and 3 - as monastic houses increasingly became a means of rewarding service to the crown as opposed to any display of spiritual merit. Since such individuals were not technically bound by any restrictions over plurality, they could acquire control of several communities. Thus despite the defence which can be mounted on behalf of some of these individuals - as in chapter 6 above - the laity would arguably have been more moved by the more numerous examples of absentee heads of religious houses who bestrode the land as powerful lay lords, paying scant attention to the running and disciplining of their religious communities, to ensure they stayed in their houses and met their spiritual functions; rather, they

appeared interested only in so far as these communities represented a financial return - as witnessed in chapter 4 above - presenting in turn to appropriated parishes men wholly unsuited to the cure of souls who followed the exploitative example of their masters.

Disease, famine, political and social divisions therefore were indeed pronounced as claimed in the introduction to this chapter. Similarly, it is true to say that the frequent and systematic devastation of tracts of land during the repeated English incursions, meant that for much of the period under study the Scottish crown was engaged in attempts to win allies on the Continent; as witnessed for example in the diplomatic activities of numerous religious as examined in chapter 1. In addition, it is important to appreciate that given such a level of uncertainty, the kingdom in this period could be considered on an almost permanent war footing; the religious again playing their part by leading troops and holding some of the principal strongholds of the realm as seen in chapters 2 and 3. The result of all of these trials therefore, was a general air of fear and desperation, as seen in the Scots refusal to cross the Border into England in the raid led by Albany in 1523. In his account of this expedition, the reformer George Buchanan clearly states that it was the "French auxiliaries" who carried out an attack on Wark castle since the Scots would advance no further, and that on the French being finally repulsed, Albany was forced to admit that his campaign was over, for "with the Scots in their present state of mind an invasion of England was out of the question." It is doubtful if the gloomy picture thus painted of the nation's moral was any improved by the defeat at Pinkie some 24 years later. [13]

In such a climate it is fair to say that the laity were indeed looking for a scapegoat, and in their integral involvement in matters wholly outwith their spiritual remit, many of the subjects of this thesis provided one, for their behaviour gave credence to the belief that God's anger was being vented on the nation as a whole, as a direct consequence of their sin. Moreover, despite the evidence in chapter 6 which saw many religious houses and their inmates suffer at the hands of invaders and aggressive elements within Scotland itself, and despite the numerous social services which the religious provided for the laity as a whole - especially in terms of care for the sick which made them vulnerable to infection - it is feasible to suggest - particularly in light of Knox's observations as examined in chapters 6 and 12 - that much of society viewed the religious as vain, privileged idlers who perpetuated their suffering in order to maintain their own powerful station within society; similarly the colleges - whilst they became the most highly prized means of securing intercession, as will be explained below - must have been by the majority of the laity as an elitist form of intercession from which they were directly excluded.

In relation to the accusations of vanity, the reader's attention is drawn to the comment of William Dunbar in *Devorit With Dreme, Devysing In My Slummer*, concerning the "mony preistis cled up in secular weid....", and to the observations of Sir David Lindsay in *The Testament Of The Papyngo*, *Ane Supplication In Contemtioun Of Syde Taillis* and *The Fourth Book Of The Monarchy* over the unseemly, rich and colourful clothing of contemporary religious. More especially still the work of Richard Holland - secretary to Archibald Douglas, Earl of Moray and his poem *The Book Of The Howlat*, for in describing the papal court as a collection variety of birds decked out in magnificent plumage, he doubtless referred to the Scots religious themselves, for they were in frequent contact with Rome, on diplomatic missions - chapter 1 - in pursuit of their own interests in terms of this world - chapter 4 - and the next - chapter 11. That these authors were merely reporting what was indeed the case may be seen from a variety of sources. In Arbroath Abbey for example, the remains of an effigy thought to belong to the fourteenth century depicting a richly costumed ecclesiastic may be compared with the discovery of a contemporary, enamelled, ecclesiastical gold ring in the region of Broughty Ferry in the late nineteenth century; twin faceted, one face depicted the Virgin and Child, the other the raising of the cup at the Mass, it was seemingly a finely wrought piece of "great delicacy".

Further proof of the finery sported by many ecclesiastics may be seen in 1429 and 1457 for example in governmental attempts to balance personal attire with social distinction. In the first instance, no one "was to wear gowns of scarlet, or furrings of mertricks, unless he were a distinguished officer in a cathedral or college church", moreover "No person under the rank of knight, or having less than two hundred merks yearly income, should wear clothes made of silk, adorned with the richer kinds of furs, or embroidered with gold or pearls...." In the second case however, in stipulating the clothes that were to be worn "by earls, lords of parliament...." it is interesting to note that failure of such men to appear at "parliament, or at the general council" in anything less than the suitably grand fashion prescribed, would result in "a fine of ten pounds to the king". Since many of the subjects of this thesis spent the greater part of their time at the royal court as seen in chapter 1, it would be safe to say that the earlier of the two directives would have been happily ignored by most in terms of meeting the demands of the second. That such was indeed the case may in turn be proved by referring to the dispensations sought by such men as Patrick Panter, Robert Shaw and James Hepburn to avoid wearing ecclesiastical dress as it would interfere with their state responsibilities. That their behaviour was such as to prompt imitation may be suggested in the prohibitions issued by Andrew Forman, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, over the long standing problem of wholly inappropriate fashions amongst parish clergy in terms of bright,

expensive clothes, long hair and beards. Thus Scottish - and indeed Continental - demands for restraint in ecclesiastical dress and excesses in lifestyle, that the religious - amongst who the subjects of this thesis could obviously be numbered - distinguish themselves from the laity more markedly, were being openly flouted in public in the period in question. [14]

Salt could also be said to have been rubbed in the wounds of the laity by contemporary religious in a number of other ways. In terms of the Privy Council's attempts to alleviate contemporary shortages of foodstuffs for example, it should be noted that it was thought necessary at the same time to limit the excessive consumption of ecclesiastics, not only of archbishops and bishops, but of the abbots priors and deans who form such a major part of this thesis. Thus on 19 April 1550 it was announced that:

> "nane Archbischopis, Bischopis, nor Erle have ony ma dischis nor viij dischis for thair meiss, na Lord, Abbot, Prioris, Dene have bot vi dischis, nor na Baroun nor Frehaldare to have bot four dischis, and na Burgessis nor uthair substantious men, spirituale nor temporale, have bot thre dischis, and bot ane kind of meit in every disch...."

To enforce this legislation, every archbishop, bishop and earl who failed to observe the above restrictions was to be fined £200; lords, abbots, priors and denes 200 merks and burgesses and other substantial men from the lay and ecclesiastic estates the sum of 100 merks.

Society therefore could see men charged with the keeping of monastic houses - as commendators - enjoying the same number of meals a day as an earl, whilst abbots, priors and deans dined with the same extravagance as a lay lord. Beneath this rank it would appear there were numerous other religious who enjoyed the same access to food as the wealthier elements of society's middle classes. While the greater part of society suffered shortages therefore, ecclesiastics dined in style. Further evidence of excess in such troubled times may be seen in terms of a comparison of the wealth possessed by two examples taken from opposite ends of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, those of Adam Colquhoun and David Beaton. Both, it should be remembered, appeared in chapter 3, kitted out for war in a manner befitting a lay commander, and this wealth may be seen to have been equally well reflected in their domestic surroundings. In terms of Colquhoun, it will be recalled that he held a number of offices in the Church, principally the parsonage of Govan, the parsonage of the collegiate church of Biggar, the parsonage of Stobo, the office of the official of Glasgow and the rectorship of the University of Glasgow. Evidence of the

wealth which he possessed emerges in an inventory of the property which he left on his demise. Amongst the items listed, the trappings of his altar comprising various valuable coverings and silverware to the value of £24. In the hallway of his manse in Glasgow, numerous items of silver cutlery, along with "ane folk ourgilt with gold", a silver goblet and flagon, and 2 silver chandeliers. For the comfort of Adam and his guests, 1 dozen "fyne grete cuschingis of flanderis werk, price of yaim" £12 appeared amongst other fine pieces of furniture; for their entertainment, a parrot valued at £10. In his bedroom, Colquhoun's bed is described as being of "carvit werk, knoppit with gold" and covered with a fine array of coverings, most imported from Holland. In terms of his personal effects, among other expensive pieces, a crimson velvet doublet lined with scarlet, a velvet bonnet embroidered with gold, a silk belt with gold fasteners and gold embroidered gloves. These items were in turn complemented by his rosary valued at £63, a signet ring worth £40, a gold ring with a sapphire stone valued at £100, and a gold tablet and chain containing a piece of the holy cross valued at £200. Should this impressive list not have been galling enough to any lay observer, Colquhoun also possessed a comprehensive collection of arms and armour, and the expensive, fashionable hunting attire and accessories necessary to mark him out as a man of means. On a more practical note, the inventory of Colquhoun's possessions included a well - equipped, well - stocked kitchen.

Although such an inventory of wealth was somewhat excessive, even for such a well connected pluralist, in the laity's eyes the impact which it would have had would have far outweighed such a consideration. If Knox could consider his account of the possessions held by the Perth Blackfriars - as seen in chapter 6 - as sufficient cause for outrage, how much more indefensible the wealth of Colquhoun, particularly when it has been suggested that he accumulated such wealth through what was arguably his principal occupation, that of money lending! In turning to David Beaton, of his lay and ecclesiastic authority there could be little doubt, in terms of the lifestyle such power brought him it should be noted that in c.1530 an account for the Abbey of Arbroath listed the consumption of 800 wedders [lambs], 180 marts [salted carcasses of cattle] 11 barrels of salmon, 1, 500 dried fish, 82 chalders of malt, 30 of wheat, and 40 in meal in that year alone; presumably the greater part of these supplies going towards supporting Beaton's entourage and any guests which he may have entertained at Arbroath that year. In terms of the contents of his principal seat of power, St. Andrews castle, one account suggests that goods to the value of £100, 000 were looted from it in 1547, whilst others still refer to large amounts of gold and silver, sumptuous furnishings, substantial armaments - including large artillery pieces - and ample provisions for the castle guard and inhabitants.

When such a picture of opulence is added to the evidence unearthed in all of the above chapters, it is little wonder that Lindsay should have one of his characters - the "parson" in *The Three Estates* - remark that he passed his time playing "hand tennis, football, cards, backgammon and dice", especially since the accounts of the royal treasury for the reign of James IV record a payment of 7*l* - being made to the king, so that he could "play at the table with Sir George Dundas", the future Preceptor of Torphichen. The worldliness of many of the subjects of this thesis therefore must indeed have gone some way towards alienating the largest section of society, the poor, particularly as they were also the targets of official attempts to suppress begging - for instance in 1427, 1477 and 1502 - and the victims of such casual cruelty as that related in a complaint raised by Robert Stewart, Bishop of Caithness - in 1549 - against George, 4th. Earl of Caithness for the harshness which the Earl displayed towards the Bishop's tenants. [15]

In terms of disease, famine, social strife and warfare therefore, it would indeed be fair to say that the opinions expressed in the introduction to this chapter were well founded, that they were perceived to arise as a result of Divine displeasure, in particular - it might be suggested - over the actions of the commendators, abbots, priors, monks, friars, provosts, and canons of the colleges of the period. In general terms, despite their merits - as examined in chapter 6 for instance - the older monastic Orders in particular were seen to be failing in their function as intercessors between man and God. Further, despite the evidence examined in chapter 3 which saw attempts on the part of the Abbot of Dundrennan - in 1517 - Kelso - in 1520, 1521 and 1528 - Holyrood - in 1525 - Paisley - in 1525, Arbroath - in 1526 - and the Commendator of Kinloss and Beauly - in 1551 - to end the violence in the Border region between Scotland and England, and indeed the warfare itself between the two realms, the greater weight of the evidence suggests that men such as these played no small part in perpetuating the violence to secure their own ends. They were seen therefore - no matter perhaps how unfairly in some instances - as being numbered among the oppressors of the people as opposed to their saviours. Evidence of such an outlook is evident in the suggestions put forward for raising standards in the Church by Lindsay - covering many of the issues raised in this and previous chapters - yet evidently almost entirely ignored as witnessed in John Wedderburn's *Gude And Godlie Ballatis*. The leading figures of the spiritual estate - principally David Beaton - using falsehood, hypocrisy and fear to maintain their privileges whilst the rest of society suffered. [16]

At this point in the present work, it would seem that many of the criticisms levelled at the religious in the period in question, as examined above, and in the preceding chapters, could indeed

be justified. Yet, as has been pointed out on numerous occasions, there was nothing really new in such observations, such an outlook summed for example by Dr. E. Cameron when he stated that:

> "If the flaws were ancient, so were the criticisms. Yet the "reforming" agitators of around 1500 seemed to think that theirs was an age of catastrophic decline after centuries of primeval piety. This myth must be seen as a cliché, and a worn out one at that...." [17]

If such an argument is accepted, and the regular clergy of the period c.1450 to 1560 were no more sinful than their predecessors, the question remains as to how best explain their decline, and the advent of the Reformation in Scotland. Here - as stated in the introduction to this thesis - it is important that such criticism of the regulars be viewed not in isolation from a range of other issues which directly effected these servants of the Church, nor from the contemporary situation in which the status of the secular clergy of the colleges had risen to surpass - as witnessed for example in relation to appropriation - arguably, even that of the mendicants. [18] Here, perhaps an overly simple equation might be borne in mind to aid the reader through several of the issues which form the core of the following four chapters. That is, that just as the mendicants had been seen to supplant the favour hitherto reserved for the enclosed Orders as the most efficacious intercessors between man and God - through their radical mixture of poverty, preaching and the excellence of their theological training as witnessed in chapter 6 - so too in fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland - despite the undoubted continued popularity of the friars - the over - riding emphasis which the colleges placed on the need to intercede on behalf of the dead answered what by the period in question was the foremost demand of the laity. This is not to say that the enclosed and mendicant Orders did not cater for this need, rather it is to say that it was, in effect, the sole function of the colleges, for even their limited charitable functions - as will be seen in chapter 9 - were geared towards this aim. In chapter 8 therefore, an attempt will be made to unravel the issues involved in determining such a polarisation of popular piety towards the topics of death and Purgatory, one which sparked the phenomenally successful expansion of the colleges in an age where the more established servants of the Church were being so heavily maligned.

1.) J. Small (ed.): *William Dunbar*, Vol. 2, see: *Quhen The Governor Passed In France*, 235, l. 17 - 24; 236, l. 29, 33 - 40. *Quhome To Sall I Complene My Wo*, As Above, 100 - 3, l. 1 - 5, 16 - 18; 101, l. 21 - 24. *We Lordis Hes Chosin A Chiftane Marvellus*, As Above, 237, l. 1, 9 - 17; 238, l. 21 - 25.

A. M. Stewart (ed.) *The Complaynt*: 1, fol. 2r - 2v; 17, fol. 18r - 18, fol. 19r; 85 - 86, fol. 86r; 96, fol. 96v - 102, fol. 102v; 102 - 105, fol. 102v - 106r; 106 - 108, fol. 106v - 108r; 108 - 112, fol. 109r - 113r; 119, fol. 120r; 132, fol. 133r; 134, fol. 134v; 135 - 136, fol. 136r; 140, fol. 140v - fol. 141r; 144 - 146, fol. 144v - 146r; 147, fol. 147.

2.) For a fascinating and concise analysis of the effects of leprosy and the way in which society perceived its victims, see: R. I. Moore: *The Formation Of A Persecuting Society, Power And Deviance In Western Europe, 950-1250* (Oxford, 1990), 11, 45 - 46, 51, 58 - 63, 65, 74, 77 - 80, 113.

S. N. Brody: *Disease Of The Soul: Leprosy In Medieval Literature*, (London, 1974), for the ritual separation of a leper from society, and the treatment meted out to them in general, see 66 - 7, 78.

J. Bossy: "The Mass As A Social Institution, 1200 - 1700", in, *Past And Present*, Vol. 100, (1983), 45 - 6. Here the author states that in reading the office of the dead over the living it was perceived as bringing death on sooner than otherwise might have been expected.

W. H. McNeil: *Plagues And People*, (Oxford, 1977), 164 - 6. Suggests that the incidence of leprosy reached its height in the west in the thirteenth century.

C. Creighton: *A History Of Epidemics In Britain*, (Cambridge University Press, 1891-4), Vol. 1, 79 - 86, 99 - 100.

For references to the generosity of James IV towards the poor, lepers and those suffering from " the grantgore " see: *Acc. Lord High Treasurer*, Vol. 1, 1473 - 1498, 337, 1497, 20/ - to the poor and lepers of Whitekirk. 356, ", 3/ - 6d to the women with grantgore at St. John's kirk, Dalry. 361, ", 8d to " them that had the grantgore at Linlithquho ". 378, ", 2/ - each to those with the grantgore at Stirling and Glasgow. 386, 1498, 2/ - 8d to the poor, the sick, and those with grantgore at Linlithgow.

I. B. Cowan and D. E. Easson: *Med. Rel. Houses*, 162 - 200.

A. P. S., Vol 2, 16, c. 8, 1 March 1427.

Acts: Civil Causes, 1496 - 1501, records Mr James Henryson, the king's advocate appearing on behalf of the lepers of Kingcase: 347, 17 January 1499 - 1500; 390, 12 February 1499 - 1500; 426, 429, 9 November 1500.

J. D. Marwick (ed.): *Extracts From The Burgh Records Of Edinburgh*, in, *The Scottish Burgh Records Society*, (Edinburgh, 1869-92), 1528 - 1557, 26, 28 April 1530, act passed against lepers mixing with uninfected people.

Acts: Public Affairs, 1501 - 1554, 443, 30 July 1535, refers to the hospital of " Kincais " /Kingcase, near Ayr. It states that commissioners were to visit the hospital and expel anyone found not to be a leper, and replace them with individuals who were.

J. Y. Simpson: "On Leprosy And Leper Hospitals In Scotland And England", in, J. Stuart (ed.): *Archaeological Essays*, (Edinburgh, 1872), Vol. 2, 1 - 184.

D. Fox (ed.): *Robert Henryson*, Introduction, lxxxiv, lxxxv, lxxxix; *The Testament Of The Cresseid*, 122, l. 337 - 343.

3.) C. Creighton: *A History Of Epidemics In Britain*, (Cambridge University Press, 1891-1894), Vol. 1, 233 -236, 360 - 63, 398, 417 - 19.

J. Stuart and G. Burnett (eds.) and others: *Exch. Rolls Scot.* (Edinburgh, 1878-1903), Vol. 2, Introduction, xlviii, refers to the plague in Scotland in 1361.

Vol. 3, 310, refers to pestilence effecting Haddington, Peebles and Dumbarton in 1392.; 553, plague effecting Stirling; 579, Rolls record for the financial period 10 July 1402 to 18 July 1403, records that only one baillie from Dundee survived to attend the audit in Perth for the above period, the others having died from the " pestilence ".

Vol. 8, lx, 1475, King James III cancels a meeting of the estates because of the pestilence; the island of Inchkeith is used to isolate those infected.

Vol. 10, 594, c. 1495 - 1496, plague strikes the unfortunate souls on Inchkeith and the inhabitants of Leith.

Vol. 11, lxviii, 3 July 1500, incomplete accounts for Aberdeen due to sickness; lxix, reference to the outbreak of plague in 1499 and 1500. Baillies of Berwick prevented from attending the Exchequer because of plague. See also 238, 254, 259, 265.

For further evidence of the tension caused in society through a widespread fear of contagion, and the nature of the measures being employed to prevent cross infection, see: John Stuart: *Extracts From The Council Register Of The Burgh Of Aberdeen, 1398 - 1625*, Spalding Club, Vol. 1, (1844), 66, 17 May 1498, measures to protect the townspeople from disease.

88, 24 April 1514, As Above.

90, As Above.

130, 27 July 1530.

165, 15 September 1539.

222 - 3, 10 September 1545.

231, 21 March 1546.

246, 17 December 1546.

J. D. Marwick (ed.): *Extracts From The Records Of The Burgh Of Edinburgh, 1528 - 1557, Scottish Record Society*, (1869 - 92), 5, 24 September 1529, repeats orders of 12 May 1502, persons from towns suspected of harbouring the plague not to be admitted to Edinburgh.

13, 23 October 1529, No strangers to be admitted to the town.

16, 23 November 1529, Refers to the continued presence of plague in St. Andrews. The townspeople ordered to report any infection in their homes. " David Scott " scourged and evicted from the town for failure to do this.

18, 11 February 1529 - 30, Citizens of St. Andrews excluded from Edinburgh.

19, As Above, Margaret Cok[Cook], convicted of breaking the above rules.

20, As Above, Prohibition issued on buying goods from a fair at St. Monans because of the fear of infection.

28, 25 April 1530, Various precautions issued to prevent the spread of pestilence, basically a repeat of the above measures.

30, As Above, Isobel Forsyth, burned on the cheek for not revealing the presence of sickness and banished thereafter.

35, 25 June 1530, 4 people to be punished for breaking the above prohibitions on disease. 1 July 1530, banishment for those refusing to observe these restrictions. 2 August 1530, David Duly to be hanged for breaking rules on preventing the spread of pestilence; the records state that having fallen from the gibbet he was merely to be banished. William Millar, burned on the cheek, banished.

38, 2, 17, 30 August 1530, Cleansing of infected gear, and banishing of poor vile persons from the town.

41, 2 September 1530, Those cleansed require a license before being allowed to enter St. Giles kirk.

42, 6 October 1530, Refers to the case of Catherine Heriot, to be drowned for breaking pestilence rules and theft.

R. Chambers: *Domestic Annals Of Scotland, From The Reformation To The Rebellion Of 1745*, (Edinburgh, 1858-61), Vol. 1, 57, refers to the pestilence of 1439.

W. Maitland: *History*, Vol. 2, 643 - 4, reference to the measures enacted by King James II in 1456.

Acts: Civil Causes, 1496 - 1501, cxxxiv, 346, 366, 405. Plague and pestilence in 1499/1500.

M. Lynch: *Towns And Townspeople In Fifteenth Century Scotland*, in, J. A. F. Thomson (ed.): *Towns And Townspeople In The Fifteenth Century*, (Gloucester, 1988), 173.

A. I. Dunlop: *Bishop Kennedy*, 270, 380 - 1.

J. Durkan: "Care Of The Poor: Pre-Reformation Hospitals", in, D. McRoberts (ed.): *Essays*, 120, 122.

M. T. Haliday: "The Plague In Dumfries" in, *Trans. Dum. and Gall.*, Vol. 21, (1936 - 8), 90 - 5.

A. Maxwell: *Old Dundee*, 21.

J. S. Spottiswood: *History*, Vol. 1, 151 - 2, George Wishart, 1544, plague in Dundee.

W. Maitland: *History*, Vol. 1, 542 - 43, 560 - 1; Vol. ii, 643 - 4.

J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 49.

D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 3, 151.

D. H. Farmer: *Saints*, 420 - 2.

4.) *A. P. S.*, Vol. 2, 373, c. 16, 18.

Reg. Pr. Council, Vol. 2, 1545 - 1569, 94, 114 - 5, 125, 127, 137, 139.

5.) A. M. Stewart (ed.): *The Complaynt*, xiv, xxix, xxx, xxxiv - vi, 2, fol. 3r; 17 - 18, fol. 18v; 64, fol. 65r - 65v; 81, fol. 81v - 82r; 128 - 129, fol. 128v - 129v.

A. I. Cameron (ed.): *The Warrender Papers*, (Edinburgh, 1931-2), Vol. 1, 17 - 18, *A Proclamation Made Be The Protectour Of England The Time Of The Field Of Pinkie.*

J. Bain (ed.): *Hamilton Papers*, Vol. 2, 360, no. 230; 326, no. 207. In the latter instance, on 10 April 1544, the English Privy Council ordered Hertford to do what he could " out of hande.... putting man, woman and childe to fyre and swoorde without exception where any resistance [was made against him] ".

M. H. Merriman: "The Assured Scots", in, *S. H. R.*, Vol. 47, (1968), 22 - 3.

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W. C. Dickinson, G. Donaldson, I. A. Milne (eds.) *Source Book Of Scottish History*, (London, 1952-4), Vol. 2, 126.

6.) *A. P. S.*, Vol.2, 372, c. 14, 15.

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D. Hay: "Booty In Border Warfare", in, *Trans. Dum. And Gall.*, Vol. 31, (1952-3), 147 - 149, 151.

T. R. Rae: *The Scottish Frontier*, 4 - 12, 75 - 6, 160 - 3, 170, 182, 261 - 4.

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J. Morton: *Monastic Annals Of Teviotdale*, 21 - 46.

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For information relating to hostilities in the Borders, the Western Isles and the political intrigues of the period, see*: Acts: "Public Affairs"*, 1501 - 1554, 236, 242, 244, 258 - 9, 276, 283 - 4, 286 - 91, 295 - 6, 307 - 9, 313 - 4, 323 - 31, 340 - 2, 345 - 6, 353, 568 - 9.

J. Small (ed.): *William Dunbar*, Vol. 1, Introduction, A. J. G. Mackay, xvi, xviii, xix, xxi.

Vol. 2, *In Vice Most Vicius He Excellis, The Flyting Of Dunbar And Kennedie, Devorit With Dreme, Devysin In My Slummer*, Introduction, clxi*;* 13, l. 49, 55 - 6, 65 - 72*;* 14, l. 73 - 80*;* 23, l. 369 - 71*;* 24, l. 392*;* 82, l. 26*;* 190 - 1, l. 19 - 24.

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G. Donaldson*: Scottish Kings*, 131, 135 - 38, 154, 156 - 57, 166.

J. Wormald*: Court Kirk And Community, 1470-1625* (London, 1984), 33 - 5, 39 - 40.

7.) G. Donaldson*: Scotland: James V - James VII*, 31 - 42, 63 - 83.

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Acts: Public Affairs, 1501 - 1554, 20, 40, 57, 186 - 7.

R. M. S. 1513 - 1546, Index Nominum, 818*;* Index Officiorum, 1063.

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8.) J. H. Burns*:* "The Political Background", in, D. McRoberts*: Essays*, 5 - 6, 9 - 13, 15.

M. Mahoney*:* "The Scottish Hierarchy", in, As Above, 48 - 51, 53.

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J. Dowden*: Bishops*, James Beaton, 40 - 1, 341 - 2*;* Gavin Dunbar, 137 - 9.

M. H. B. Sanderson*: Cardinal*, 15, 17 - 18.

Acts: Public Affairs, 1501 - 1554, 370, 29 January 1531 - 2, James Beaton, confined to his lodgings in Edinburgh, allowed to attend the Blackfriars to meet his spiritual needs.

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9.) M. H. B. Sanderson*: Cardinal*, 6 - 7, 12 - 13, 21 - 7, 33, 51 - 2, 96 - 101, 108 - 110, 118.

M. H. B. Sanderson*: Sc. Rural Soc.*, 10, 18, 25, 48 - 9, 72.

Liber St. Thome De Aberbrothoc, in, *Bannatyne Club*, (Edinburgh, 1931-2), Vol. 2, 583, 675, 758.

D. Hay: *History Of Arbroath*, (Arbroath, 1876), 112 - 127.

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Chapter Eight

Purgatory And Death; Popular Piety And The Desire For Intercession In Fifteenth And Sixteenth Century Scotland.

"The patient man undergoes a great and wholesome purgation.... he rules himself with strictness, and endeavours to make the body subject to the spirit in all things. It is better to expiate our sins and overcome our vices now, than to reserve them for purgation hereafter.... [for] What will the flames feed upon, but your sins?.... There is no vice that will not receive its proper retribution...."

[Thomas A Kempis: *On Judgement And The Punishment Of Sinners*, in, *The Imitation Of Christ*, Translated by Leo Sherley - Price, Ch. 24, 60 - 1.]

Introduction

In drawing the various threads of chapter 7 together, it could indeed be said that contemporary authors possessed a wealth of material from which they could condemn many aspects of regular and collegiate life. Further, that it was possible for the laity closely to identify with the criticisms raised and to see in such flawed lives the root cause of many of society's afflictions. Yet at the same time, it would also be true to say that the ministrations of the secular clergy of the colleges were at the very least as sought after then, as those of the monastic Orders had been at the height of their expansion in tenth and eleventh century Europe; this claim substantiated for example by the numerous instances in which parochial incomes - and indeed the structure of parish churches themselves - were appropriated in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries to both found and support collegiate communities. Here, although the reasons for such a change in the focus of popular piety are extremely complex, it is possible to suggest, that their roots lay in the earliest teachings of the Church relating to the Judgement which awaits everyone at the end of the present life, and the resultant variety of punishments to be exacted, their severity determined by the nature and frequency of one's sins. That such issues were developed over the centuries to become arguably the most urgent, pressing spiritual concern for the Scottish laity, may be seen - in what may be described - as an obsession in fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland over the welfare of the soul in the life to come, particularly in relation to Purgatory, and an associated preoccupation with death. The strongest evidence for such a claim, the circumstances surrounding the

phenomenal popularity of collegiate kirks; staffed by priests, built from scratch - e.g. Semple - or created from existing structures - e.g. Biggar - by the crown - e.g. Holy Trinity - and the aristocracy - e.g. Methven - for their own use, and by the burgh councils - e.g. Holy Rude, Stirling - to house the numerous altars of the craft guilds and confraternities. This is not to suggest that the older regular Orders - both enclosed and mendicant - had entirely lost the support of the laity in their desire for a specific form of intercession, for patronage of monastic houses and friaries was still perceived as a means of acquiring spiritual merit, indeed - as witnessed in chapter 6 - the friars were to benefit on numerous occasions from the donations of pious benefactors who wished to secure the prayers of the mendicants to aid their soul's passage in the world to come. Similar benefactions were also made for priests to celebrate masses for benefactors souls in parish churches and cathedrals, but all of this could not compete with what was the primary - arguably the sole purpose of the colleges, that is to intercede on behalf of the souls of their dead patrons.

At this point several questions may be levelled by the reader to dismiss what might appear to be no more than a series of overly dramatic statements. How can such claims be justified? How is it possible to attribute so great an emphasis to the doctrine of Purgatory, which after all might be termed but one facet of the Church's many teachings? How can the motivation for such services be said to have largely determined the fate not only of the regular Orders but also their initial beneficiaries, the collegiate churches? Here it should be remembered that collegiate communities essentially represented the wealthier elements in society, as a consequence chapters 8 and 9 will concentrate more on how these members of the Scottish realm sought to gain a more favourable reception in the world to come. This is not to say however that the poor, the majority, would have been unaware of the messages being put out by the Church, that they felt in any way immune from the supernatural horrors which both surrounded, and followed, death, for the Church was determined that such knowledge should be imparted to all. Matters however, relating to the means whereby the humblest members of society could attempt to ensure that they too could influence the manner of their reception in the world to come, are dealt with more fully in chapters 10 and 11, which examine the traditional incentives to go on pilgrimage, and the way these issues were closely bound to the existence of the regular Orders, and indeed that of the colleges.

Thus, in returning to deal with the above questions, in terms of negating any scepticism which may be voiced with regard to the relevance of such topics to the subjects of this thesis, or of the need to trace the origins of Purgatory in detail - rather than just explain the effects of the doctrine of Purgatory in late fifteenth and early sixteenth century Scottish society the following points should be borne in mind.

In the first instance, how would it be possible for the reader to understand the effects of such a doctrine as Purgatory if they did not at first possess an idea of what this doctrine involved? Secondly, as stated in the introduction of this thesis, those who defended Catholic doctrine from Protestant attack appealed principally in the name of tradition to support their arguments, thus it is essential to provide the reader with a means of evaluating the strength of such an argument, as it is of crucial importance in terms of the way the laity perceived the subjects of this thesis. By providing a chronological background of material therefore, it is possible for the reader to not only appreciate the cumulative power of the issues involved in terms of the period under examination, but also to reach a clear understanding of the complex nature of the doctrine of Purgatory, and the long heritage which it enjoyed. Thirdly, again in terms of an issue raised in the introduction to this thesis, the myriad imagery employed by the Church to convey her teachings should not be forgotten, for it is essential to possess an appreciation of the scenes conjured up in the minds of the majority of the populace with regards to the doctrine of Purgatory, and the closely associated realm of death; of their key position in terms of popular belief, above all, of the ever present fear which they commanded. Thus, for example, the subjects examined in this chapter will cover architectural features, and such devotional evidence as seen in Books of Hours on the one hand - at the upper end of the social scale to the popular prayers, supplications of the pre - Reformation Church - which were used by, and were accessible to a far wider audience - on the other.

In this chapter therefore, the first object will be to attempt to illustrate the cumulative effect of the idea of an intermediate zone between Heaven and Hell, to show how the concept of such a dimension had grown in strength until by the period in question it had become an all too awful reality. Secondly, having established a working idea of the doctrine of Purgatory, the task will be to try and illustrate the ways in which the Church ensured that all levels of society understood that such horrors awaited them, for no one - other than martyrs and saints - could be sure that they had done enough to enter directly to Paradise; in death all were equal, regardless of any power, wealth an individual might have possessed in life. The third section of this chapter will show how such beliefs engendered a need to secure individual intercession on one's behalf, of the way in which this can be seen in terms for example of Books of Hours - the property of the well off minority - and ecclesiastic imagery - which brought such messages to all. Finally, the aim will be to show how all of the above concepts were given legislative sanction by the Church itself, in a series of actions which paved the way for the phenomenal expansion of collegiate communities in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the subject of chapter 9.

Finally, in terms of the material used in this chapter, the reader should remember that as stated in the introduction to this thesis, the Scottish realm was not an isolated backwater, cut off in

terms of time and geographical location. Rather, by the period in question she had long established contacts with the Continent, England and Ireland; evidence of this seen for example in the diplomatic activities of Scottish religious examined in chapter 1, and in the importance of foreign pilgrimage in terms of Scottish piety, and the way it influenced lay perceptions of the subjects of this thesis, as witnessed in chapter 11. Thus it has been deemed necessary to examine a wide variety of sources from beyond the confines of Scotland, so that a more accurate evaluation may be obtained of how the subjects of this thesis were viewed within their own country in the period under examination. The material used moreover establishes an understanding of the key tenet on which this thesis lies, that arguably the most important reasons for the eventual decline in the popularity of the enclosed Orders, the mendicants and even the collegiate clergy, lay in gradual changes in lay piety, changes which caused the laity to analyse and perceive the long practised errors of these servants of the Church in an entirely more damaging light than ever before.

The importance of an appeal to the senses in much of the present chapter therefore, as stated above, forms a source from which the later chapters will develop, and the reader is asked to remember this point in examining a chapter in which such issues might seem to take an unnecessary precedence over the subjects of the thesis itself, for again it cannot be emphasised to strongly that they are of crucial importance in this analysis of the regular, mendicant and collegiate personnel of Scotland in the late fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries.

In turning to the first issue involved therefore, that of establishing the cumulative strength of a belief in the existence of such an intermediate zone as Purgatory, it should be appreciated that a whole range of issues were involved in the construction of this realm. In the first instance, the close ties established between the present world and that to come, secondly, the idea that every action committed by the individual was being recorded and weighed either in his favour or to his demerit, and thirdly, that on death an individual would be required to answer for the sins he had committed. There existed, therefore, a clearly defined emphasis on the freedom of the individual to determine the nature of his stay in the world to come. The nature of the judgement passed on an individual therefore was largely dependent on his actions in the here and now, for it was possible for an individual to start clearing the debt of sin he had accumulated whilst still alive. In terms of the forms of the punishments which awaited on death, another connection with the present world and that to come may be seen, for in each case the punishment was designed to fit the sin. As to the extent to which these issues would involve humanity, it was clearly understood that only the favoured few, the martyrs and saints of the Church could gain direct access to the delights of Paradise. In order however to provide some form of comfort for the vast majority who were aware that they fell short of such grace, there had to be some form of succour extended, for if the only alternative were eternal damnation in Hell, the Church would have effectively forced its flock into the sin of despair.

Purgatory fitted the bill, therefore, for it allowed the individual to pay for his earthly misdemeanours in an intermediate region between the two extremes, and in time gain access to Heaven. Here, however, the Church faced yet another problem, for if it allowed that such an equation operated, it also effectively encouraged a lax lifestyle, for many might feel that if their sins were of a minor nature and not too numerous, they could face the idea of some initial discomfort in the life to come in return for an easier lot in the present; they could, therefore, rest assured in the knowledge that they would inevitably reach paradise. To counter such an idea, the Church clearly delineated two interrelated issues, those of the time involved in punishment, and the nature of the punishment itself. In terms of the first, it was clearly spelt out that the human concept of time bore no relation to that of the Divine, therefore a few hours in the former's terms could be translated into months in the latter. Thus a period of years in the present could constitute an unimaginably long period of time in the life to come. In terms of punishment, although it was clearly understood that an end would one day come to the suffering, it was also clearly understood that the pain involved, like the time, would bear no relation to human experience. In a myriad number of ways, each related to the crime being punished, the sinner could be mutilated, burned and tormented in a world of smoke, stench, and horror equal to anything which might be found in Hell.

This is but an initial outline to guide the reader however, and it is to the task of filling in the detail necessary for a clear understanding of how the concept of Purgatory affected lay perceptions of the regular and collegiate communities, that the present work will now turn.

Perhaps the earliest glimpses of the region which would come to be known as Purgatory, may be seen in the apocryphal texts of St. Peter and St. Paul. Although both were frowned upon by churchmen, their influence was nonetheless widespread, and crucial, in terms of enabling the laity to map out the world to come.

In terms of the former text, early versions have been traced from the first four centuries onwards, all making a clear division between the place set aside for the righteous and that for the sinner. In the first location, the emphasis is placed on its being a region of light and dazzling beauty, peopled by the righteous who wear shining raiment as they mingle in the company of similarly attired angels. Conversely, for the sinner there was a place of darkness, where "they that were punished and the angels who punished them had their raiment dark, according to the air of the place." In a second version of this text, an even greater emphasis was placed on the nature of the punishments inflicted in the latter region. Some blasphemers for example were suspended by their tongues over fire, some faced the agony of a fetid lake of fire, whilst in another scene, victims of murderers watched as their killers were eaten by "worms" and beaten by "beasts". Men and women who had sinned against righteousness were wreathed in flame up to their waists whilst "evil spirits" beat them and their "entrails were devoured by worms that rested not". Other notable examples still included idolaters being tormented by fire, and "they that forsook the way of God" who were "roasted as in a pan". In a third form of this text, the Day of Judgement is discussed, and again fire is seen as the chief instrument of torture, in this instance specific mention is made of wheels of fire on which sinners will be turned to expiate their sins.

Here, several points should be borne in mind; firstly that all of the versions mentioned paid far more attention to the punishments in the life to come than the delights of Paradise, secondly, that the author of the last version emphasised that the sinners being punished could "feel" their agonies, despite their being dead. Thirdly, it should be noted that whilst he is describing a region of Hell, those souls he has depicted in agony will nevertheless at some time be saved, for he states "My Father will give unto them all the life, the glory and the kingdom that passeth not away".

In terms of the Apocalypse of St. Paul, again various early versions have been identified which range from the first to the eighth century. As to the influence which this text exerted, it may be looked upon as drawing together many of the issues raised in the above (and other) texts, and presenting them in an even more forceful manner. Moreover it prompted the writing of Latin redactions from the ninth to the fourteenth century, and - more importantly still - vernacular

translations, in which the original material was reworked and additions made to enable a greater understanding still of the various issues which it raised.

Although variations occurred between the different versions however, certain common themes may be identified in them all. That "The Dwellings Of The Wicked" were placed in a region of darkness, stench, fire, ice and snow, where the inhabitants suffered punishment in according to the degree and type of their sins. Once more the emphasis is overwhelmingly biased in favour of the horrors which await as opposed to the joys to be won. Significantly, ecclesiastics were seen to be represented amongst those being punished, and a clear division is made between the various grades of sinner; for those who denied "the Incarnation, the Virgin Birth and Real Presence", a "pit sealed with seven seals" in which the eternally damned were incarcerated. To "the north - west", dwelt "the worm that never sleeps", its task the punishment of those equally lost who had denied the Resurrection whilst in life.

Other notable developments are the identification of St. Paul's guide through the underworld as the Archangel St. Michael, and the greater inventiveness of the punishments being inflicted. In his journey through the underworld for example, Paul sees sinners being suspended from trees of fire, whilst nearby a furnace gives off seven different colours of flame as the souls of the wicked are thrown within; "snow, ice, fire, blood, serpents, lightning and stench" surround the furnace to complement the seven flames within. Next he sees a vast wheel of fire capable of torturing one thousand souls in each of its one hundred daily revolutions, thence on to a river spanned by a bridge over which all must pass. Those free of sin cross unmolested, the guilty however cross only as far as their sins allow, thereafter they fall into the river to sink as deeply as their guilt dictates, all the while their terror compounded by the infernal residents of the flow. Again the tone, however horrific, is one of hope for the majority. For example, St. Paul meets a bishop who had failed in his duties and was thus being punished in this region until judgement day. The impression conveyed here therefore is that his sufferings were of a transitory nature, the implication being his ultimately achieving atonement for his sins. This idea of remission was further borne out by the above reference to "the pit sealed with seven seals", and the "respite" granted to those not wholly lost, conceded - note a as a result of St. Michael and St. Paul's supplications on their behalf, that of a suspension of their suffering every Sunday. Here however, it should be stressed that in the older versions of such texts for sinners there was only Hell, there was as yet no separate region, only an internal division between an upper and a lower Hell, a division between those punished temporarily and those eternally.

Other contributions therefore still were needed in the long process towards the creation of a region separate from Hell, and here the works of St. Augustine may be used to illustrate a number

of the relevant features required. In his *Confessions* of A.D. 398/99 for example, Augustine, addressing God in the aftermath of the death of his mother, Monica, says that although she led an exemplary life, he cannot be sure that "from the moment of her regeneration in baptism no word issued from her mouth contrary to [God's] command....", he therefore pleaded that she be judged with mercy. The inference here is twofold; firstly that no - one, regardless of how pious they were in life, could be certain of escaping punishment in the world to come, secondly, that he - Augustine - felt that his supplications on his mother's behalf would favourably influence her treatment in the life hereafter. It is important to note his mother's own express wish before death. Neglecting all aspects for the care of her physical remains, her only concern says Augustine was "to be remembered" at the altar "on which she knew that the holy Victim was offered....", for "To this sacrament" he stated, his mother had "bound her soul by the bond of faith". Finally - and perhaps most importantly in terms of the future development of Purgatory, and an understanding of the powerful appeal exerted by the colleges in late fifteenth and early sixteenth century Scotland - the author expressed his desire that the intercessory prayers of many others should be added to his own, for in this way he could further succour his mother. The living therefore could intercede on behalf of the dead through their prayers, and, more importantly still, through the celebration of the Mass.

In a later work entitled *Of Faith And Works*, written A.D. 413, Augustine turned to the questions of who would suffer temporary punishment, who eternal, and the form this punishment would take. Here he stated that as long as an individual had been baptised, the "wood, hay and stubble", that is sin, he had accumulated during life could be burned away by a cleansing fire, moreover that the time spent enduring this fire would be determined by the extent of an individual's sin; some sinners therefore were not to be numbered amongst those who would "perish" forever. Augustine thereafter expounds on this concept by explaining that those who could not wholly renounce worldly ties in life, could still, by good works and an avoidance of any active sinful measures to retain or increase what they had in the world of the living, still attain salvation, through the "fire of sorrow" experienced in their eventual "loss of these things", and through a temporary fire of correction. Thus through punishment this form of sinner would ultimately be saved, whilst those who resorted to - for example - murder, adultery and idolatry would not; they were to suffer everlasting fire.

Later still, [A.D. 421], Augustine returned to deal with the questions of punishment, sin and the care of the dead in two pieces, his *Enchiridion To Laurentius On Faith, Hope And Charity*, and a treatise entitled *The Care To Be Taken For The Dead*. In the former, the punishment of sin is seen as beginning in the world of the living; any residue of sin remaining at death required the individual to undergo correction in the world to come.

> "Many things even seem to have been pardoned, and visited by no punishments; but their penalties are reserved for hereafter...."

Should anyone here have expressed disbelief at the ability of the dead to suffer any form of punishment at all, Augustine had a chilling and comprehensive reply, for he stated that:

> "the earthly matter, out of which is created the flesh of mortals, perishes not unto God: but into whatsoever.... it be dissolved.... [at the time of judgement] in an instant of time [it would return] to that human soul, which originally animated it...."

More importantly still in terms of reaching an understanding of the concepts involved in the later doctrine of Purgatory, Augustine stated that:

> "The time which lies between the death of man and the last resurrection, holds the souls in hidden receptacles, as each is worthy of rest or misery, according to that which it hath gotten in the body when alive. Nor is it to be denied that the souls of the dead are relieved by the piety of their living friends, when for them the Sacrifice of the Mediator is offered, or alms are done in church. But these things are profitable to them who, when alive, deserved that these things might hereafter profit them...."

Again therefore, there is a clear distinction between those who are hopelessly damned and those who will benefit from correction; the latter those not entirely wicked, yet not so free from sin as to enter directly the delights of Paradise. It should also be noted that again the most favoured means of interceding on their behalf was through the celebration of the Mass.

In the second of the two works mentioned, Augustine is quite specific that the degree of merit which an individual accrued in this life would directly effect the efficacy of any intercessionary action taken by the living for the individual after his death. Thus in answering a question relating to the merits of burial in close proximity to a martyr - the relevant issues here in terms of the subjects of this thesis examined fully in chapter 10 - Augustine stated that he could not:

> "see what aids there [were] except for this purpose, that, while the living are worshipping in the place where the bodies of those whom they loved are buried,

> they may commend to the same saints, as if to patrons, those whom they have undertaken before the Lord to aid by prayer...."

It was "not the location of the dead body" that mattered, nor the expense involved in the burial, but the "living devotion" of the supplicant "out of memory of the place which [afforded] this aid". Thereafter Augustine concluded his treatise on the merits of intercessionary activity by the living on behalf of the dead by repeating his belief in the efficacy of prayers for the worthy departed, more importantly still, he stated that preparation for such intercession should begin in life, and that it was better to have "a superabundance of aids for those to whom these works [were] neither a hindrance nor a help, than that there be a lack for those who [were] thus aided...."

It was in his *City Of God* [A.D. 413/426] however that Augustine was to clearly delineate many of the components necessary for a belief in the existence of a region of punishment separate from that of Hell. In the first instance, Augustine took care to reinforce his earlier claim that it was possible for the physical body to endure eternal pain. Here he began by saying that the good would rise from their "graves to the resurrection of life", whilst those "whose deeds had been wicked", would rise "to the resurrection of judgement...." Next he asked how he could convince:

> "the unbelievers that it [was] possible for human bodies possessed of soul and life, not only to escape disintegration by death but even to persist in the torments of everlasting fires?"

At this point, although discussing eternal punishment, he introduced an element which would be of crucial importance in terms of a belief in Purgatory, namely, that:

> "In the life hereafter the soul and body [would] be connected in such a way that just as the bond that links them [would] not be unloosed by any passage of time, however long, so it [would] not be able to be broken by any pain...."

A series of other arguments follows which logically favour the above assertion, before Augustine explains another crucial factor, the concept of time. Here, he stated that punishment was not meted out in accordance with a human understanding of time, rather it was determined by Divine "judgement and condemnation". In subsequent chapters he expands on this by again stating that punishment could begin in the present, that punishment would be appropriate to the level of sin involved, that "freedom" could be gained by some after a specific length of time, and that saints

could intercede - on behalf of those who could benefit - between God and man to help in the process of achieving salvation. Significantly, underlying all of these issues was the division of those who would ultimately be saved from those who would not, Augustine explaining that the former would suffer a "fire" which would ultimately purify them, the latter condemned to a fire which would torture them for eternity. [1]

Thus many of the issues contained in the apocalyptic texts examined above were in turn given added weight by Augustine. Not only did he divide the sinners into two groups - those who could be saved, those who could not - he greatly expanded on the ideas of the value of intercessionary prayer, and the presence of personal angelic intercessors; thereafter he provided the impetus for individuals to secure as many intercessionary acts as possible on behalf of their own souls - especially masses, a key issue in the popularity of collegiate foundations -, drove home the message that restitution for sin in this world mitigated the far greater suffering required to expiate sin in the next, and introduced the concept of time in both a human and a Divine sense.

At this point it should be noted that numerous other authors were subsequently to expand on the issues raised above, honing them and elaborating various aspects, all the while providing a constantly sharper picture of a region which in time would come to be known as Purgatory. Gregory the Great for example, writing in the sixth century, repeated the point that the actions of an individual in this life determined the nature of their stay in the next. For the wholly wicked there was Hell, for the elite, direct access to Heaven, for others still - the majority - correction in the flames of a purging fire, the time spent therein dictated both by an individual's actions in life, and the intercessionary actions of the living, especially - again note - through the sacrifice of the Mass; for in Gregory's view "only the holy sacrifice of Christ benefits souls after death, for it alone saves us from eternal death." Again it was emphasised that man could survive indefinitely the horrors of Divine correction; there was an urgent need whilst in this life therefore to intercede on behalf of the dead, principally in the hope that others would aid one in turn on one's own demise, for after death there was an immediate judgement of the soul which saw it sent to "Heaven, Hell or places of Purgation".

Other important milestones in the formation of the doctrine of Purgatory may be seen in the testimony of other members of the Church's elite. St. Thomas Aquinas [1225 (26) - 1274], for example maintained that to deny the existence of Purgatory was to deny the authority and teaching of God and his Church; moreover it was to deny succour to the souls undergoing correction therein as they slowly attained the level of perfection required to enter Paradise. Significantly, for the possible sceptic, he pointed to the limited range of man's understanding of the nature of God, and to his inability therefore to appreciate the pain which he would face in Purgatory, since it, too,

transcended earthly experience. Just as Augustine had done moreover, Aquinas maintained that body and soul would be reunited after death in such a way as to enable the individual fully to experience the agonies which awaited him.

St. Bridget of Sweden [1303 - 1373] maintained that in terms of intercession, the supplicant would do well to call on the name of the Virgin, for She was "the Mother of all who [were] in the place of expiation.... [whose] prayers [mitigated] the chastisements which [were] inflicted upon them [that is the souls in Purgatory] for their faults". Moreover, St. Bridget stated that at certain times [for example on the feats days associated with the Virgin], She freed those souls in Purgatory who had shown particular devotion to Her name. Moving forward in time, St. Thomas A Kempis [1380 - 1471] provided the chilling warning which formed the introduction to this chapter, whilst St. Catherine of Genoa [1447 - 1510] warned that in Purgatory "souls endure a torment so extreme that no tongue can describe it.... it is equal to that of Hell...." [2]

In summary therefore, it could be said that the themes identified in the opening apocalyptic texts in terms of the agonies suffered in Hell were now equally applied to those in Purgatory, both emphasised fire as the principal agent of correction, the only difference being the latter's transitory nature. Similarly, the early emphasis on the difference between human and Divine concepts of time, and the ability of the living to intercede on behalf of the dead was repeated again and again, the emphasis placed principally - as early as the works of Augustine - on securing multiple celebrations of the Mass, one of the key features of any collegiate foundation in fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland. Intercessional guardians are another feature common to both early and late texts, the principal agents here the Archangel St. Michael and - more sought after still - the Virgin. Here a direct correlation may be made to the later subjects of this thesis, for all Cistercian houses - albeit they were all founded outwith the period under study in this thesis - were by tradition dedicated to the Virgin, moreover the Blackfriars house at Montrose was dedicated to the "Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary", their house at St. Andrews to the "Assumption and Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary", that at Wigton to the "Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary". Significantly however, given the primary intercessionary aim of a collegiate foundation, it is perhaps no surprise that the majority of these houses - founded in the late fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries - tended to favour the Virgin in terms of their dedications. Crail collegiate church for example was dedicated to "St. Mary" as were the colleges of Cullen, Dumbarton, and Dunglass. Edinburgh possessed the collegiate house of "St. Mary in the fields", Glasgow's collegiate foundation was dedicated to "Our Lady", whilst the colleges of Guthrie, Haddington, Hamilton, Innerpeffray and Maybole were all dedicated to "St. Mary". Of the colleges at St. Andrews, two were dedicated to the Virgin, [in the form of "St. Mary's on the rock", and "St. Mary's college"], the collegiate foundation of Seton was in turn dedicated to

"St. Mary and the Holy Cross" whilst the prestigious Chapel Royal at Stirling called on the services of "St. Mary and St. Michael".

The question which arises now, therefore, is just how widely circulated were such views outside the circle of theologians and society's upper reaches? Reference has been made above to vernacular translations of such texts - the importance of saints' lives in determining lay perceptions of the authority of the subjects of this thesis examined fully in chapter 10 and the work - principally - of the mendicants in driving such messages home are examined below, at this point therefore it is proposed to deal briefly with the contribution made towards the formation of a belief in Purgatory by certain highly popular texts which claimed to recount actual journeys in the underworld.

Bede for example [A.D. 673 - 735] had been at pains to impress upon his readership the awful significance of the experiences of the Northumbrian Drycthelm, who had died, yet returned to life to recount what he had seen and experienced. He talked of a man dressed in a shining robe who acted as his guide, of their arrival at a deep valley, of a fire which raged unchecked on the left of this cleft, of the extreme cold experienced on its right wall. As they journey on in, the pair see a "great pit" where among the smoke, flames and stench the souls of men are tossed like sparks in the air. "Wicked spirits" approach and he fears that he too will be tortured; suddenly however a "bright star" appears in the darkness as his guide returns to discomfit his enemies. The elements of darkness, smoke, extremes of heat and cold, stench, demonic tormentors, as seen in the Apocalypse of St. Paul are again present in Bede's account of Drycthelm's experiences therefore, as indeed is the guide. Although it could be said that Bede's status as a monk precluded any wide readership, it could be argued that his work provided a blueprint for the authors of similar, later works. In the mid twelfth century text of *The Vision Of Tyndale* the contemporary *Treatise On St. Patrick's Purgatory* and the later *Vision....* of Dante Alighieri for example, all of the above features were taken, adapted and portrayed in an infinitely more sophisticated and gruesome manner; their influence moreover stretched far beyond their age into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

In terms of the first work, Tundale's character is portrayed in the worst possible terms, he is "treacherous, proud, angry, envious, lecherous and gluttonous", a "usurer", a man who "loved not God nor Holy Kirk". Disaster strikes, however, he collapses and appears to all intents and purposes to lie dead from "wedensday to saturday". On awakening however, just as with Drycthelm, his character is wholly transformed. Calling for a priest he made a full confession and thereafter began to relate his experiences in the "lost days". These begin with his being tormented by hideous fiends who tell him that his sins in life have damned him "to byrnne in fyr wythouten ende". All seems lost until an angelic guardian appears to rescue Tundale from his attackers; he is led through a door into a region of darkness where the only light is from the raiment of his companion. A deep valley

opens up before him, therein sinners are punished according to their crimes, next a great mountain where extremes of heat and cold are used to torture the inhabitants, thence on to a second noisome valley where a bridge spans a burning pit. Only "holy men of parfyt lyf" may cross in safety he is told. The next site? a gigantic beast, "Acheron", its purpose to punish covetous men.

Up to this point, the details would seem to have been lifted almost exactly from Bede - or from some similar text - but in this later account of the underworld the emphasis is clearly on the tortures which the narrator himself was forced to undergo. When his guide vanishes therefore, Tundale is taken, beaten and mauled by a variety of beasts, dragons and snakes, subjected to extreme heat then cold. His guardian re - appears and he is healed of his agonising wounds, only however, to face a further perilous test as he is made to cross yet another bridge over a foul lake inhabited by voracious monsters; again the emphasis is on making the punishment fit the crime. Rescued and healed again by his angelic guide, he is taken to a large house built in the form of an oven. Within, sinners are mutilated by axes, knives and other cruel instruments, their bodies reforming to be torn again; Tundale is forced to enter and undergo the same agony until his intercessor frees and heals him. Significantly, just as Augustine and other early writers had warned, despite its ferocity, none there would die of the pain. The narrator asks where God's mercy is since he can see no evidence of it, only to be told that his pain would be worse still were it not for His forgiveness. Penance in life, the angel explains, would benefit the soul in the life to come, for it would reduce the time spent in this infernal region; further, just as indicated on numerous occasions above, the angel tells him that no - one was free of sin in the world.

Led onwards, Tundale is shown the pitiful site of the damned, thereafter a great winged beast of darkness and fire which consumes sinners, expelling them into a frozen lake where they are subjected to still further tortures. Again the narrator is forced to undergo the horrors he has witnessed until he is once more saved by his companion. Sundry other agonies befall him until he reaches a great pillar of fire inhabited by a range of horrific demons which he describes in detail, following on from this he is taken to the very gates of Hell itself. Looking down into a vast pit his courage almost leaves him, for there he sees Lucifer himself, broad and thick, black and shaped as a man. Bound to a flaming grid and tortured himself, he is still free to knaw and feed on the souls of the damned.

Significantly, Tundale then relates how he was taken to what would appear to have been an upper level of Purgatory, for although its inmates are cold and hungry they inhabit a region of light, and face none of the tortures related before. These are the souls of those who lived "well and honestly", yet failed to give enough alms to the poor or carry out sufficient other good works. This passage is also of importance for it again drives home the point that none could feel secure that

they had done enough in life to completely escape Divine correction, not even those who had lived "well and honestly". Thereafter, another departure from earlier texts for Tundale now enters a region of great beauty. Here he is told those cleansed of sin wait until they are deemed worthy of greater reward still. The narrator asks his guide why two unworthy kings are permitted entry to this realm, the answer a clear reinforcement of many of the issues raised by Augustine and other early sources; the first king because he had become a monk and undergone great penance before death, the second, because of his lengthy imprisonment in life, and his distributing his great wealth among the poor to have them pray for him. Leaving this "waiting room", Tundale enters a magnificent hall, the walls of gold encrusted with precious stones. Within a king receives the homage of pilgrims he had aided in life, yet even he faces an ordeal of fire for three hours a day for his sins in life. Moving on, he comes to a wall of silver, a place of light, music and great beauty reserved for those who honoured the teachings of the Church; they were to enter Paradise on the day of judgement. A wall of gold follows on, to mark the abode of the martyrs; again it is a place of great beauty, light, gold and precious stones. In other regions of light, Tundale encounters a place reserved for "good relygyus", another for the founders of the religious Orders and their patrons. Here the narrator is very explicit as to the means of attaining the fabulous rewards of the latter; the gift of land, money and ornaments to the Church, and the resignation of worldly wealth and status - to the Church - to embrace the life of a religious. Thereafter, a wall of red gold, set with a variety of precious stones, beyond which he sees arrayed the "nine orders of angels", the "Holy Trinity" and God sitting in His majesty". Finally, Tundale is told he will have to return to the world of the living; despairing at first he is heartened by his angelic guide who tells him:

> "My help thou shalte haue and my counseyle So that thou shalt not of Heuen fayle".

In terms of reinforcing a belief in the existence of Purgatory and the need to secure intercession therein therefore, the reader is asked to bear in mind the following points. Although many of the ideals raised in early texts, such as the need to atone for sin before death, the matching of punishments to individual crimes and the incredible levels of suffering involved are again repeated, there are certain crucial developments present. For example, it is important to note that here the narrator actually undergoes the punishments listed and survives; thus Augustine's and Aquinas's stipulation that the individual could feel pain after death were borne out. Similarly, a far greater emphasis is laid on the variety and levels of suffering involved, and thereby, of the essential part played by Tundale's personal angelic guardian, and the even greater need to secure

intercessional prayers; importantly there are souls present who have led all but near exemplary lives, against such evidence who could feel secure they would attain even their level of suffering? Equally however, there is an even greater emphasis on the "light" and riches which await those who are to be saved, their theological significance and its relationship to the subjects of this thesis examined in detail in chapters 9, 10 and 11. [3]

In terms of the importance of the contemporary *Treatise On St. Patrick's Purgatory*, - written by H. of Saltrey at the command of H. of Sartis, Abbot of Sartis [Wardon], based on an account provided by Gilbert of Louth (ex - Abbot of Basingwerk) who heard the first hand account of the knight "Owein" - it might be said that its contribution towards establishing the reality of Purgatory's existence was immeasurably greater still, for it - and indeed other contemporaneous texts - provided an actual location for this region within the present world. It was also of immense importance in that it provided the first of numerous eye witness accounts of the experiences surrounding this dread place.

In terms of its very origin, St. Patrick's Purgatory was of great importance, for it was the principal means through which the saint secured the conversion of the Irish, Christ himself telling Patrick that:

> "whoever, being truly repentent.... would enter this pit and remain for the duration of one day and one night, would be purged of all the sins of his life. Moreover, while going through it, he would see not only the torments of the wicked, but also, if he acted constantly according to the faith, the joys of the blessed."

As to its actual location, it would appear that initially it was located on the small station island on Lough Derg, the canons who guarded its entry occupying a priory on a larger nearby island.

In terms of the relevant features of Owein's experiences, it should be noted that on first entering "the pit", he walked "for a very long time...." until "at last" he reached a "field and hall". He enters what resembles the cloister of a monastery where he encounters fifteen monks and their prior; the latter tells him that if he resists the temptations of his tormentors he would achieve not only a remission of his sin but a pre - view of both the punishments awaiting the sinner and the rewards in store for the just. Significantly, the prior tells him that if at any point his resolve fails him and he attempts to turn back, he "will die in body as well as soul...." On leaving the "chapel", he encounters thousands of hideous creatures in the plain beyond; they promise him fabulous wealth if he turns back, he refuses and his tormentors seize him and throw him into a fire. "He invoked the name of pious Jesus" however, and "was immediately liberated form the fire". Thereafter the fiends

drag him over a scorching plain to a place where sinners are transfixed "by burning iron nails" to the ground; all around them are demons who beat them cruelly with whips. Again the fiends try to injure Owein in the same way; again he invokes the name of Jesus and is immediately freed. There follows a series of similar scenes of punishment where dragons, snakes and toads devour sinners; at other times demons add to the suffering of these unfortunate souls by beating, mutilating, impaling, and roasting them in furnaces and frying pans, all the while exposing them to extremes changes in temperature. A "wheel of fire wonderfully big"[1] - similar to that referred to above - also appears, as does a narrow perilous bridge over which he is made to cross; significantly, in all of these instances Owein looks to be doomed until he saves himself by invoking the name of Jesus. Once over he encounters a wall of various metals encrusted with precious stones, he passes through a gateway into a land of dazzling beauty and light. A procession of religious meet him, two archbishops from their number conducting him through this region of beauty. Significantly, at this point his two guides explain that as he came he saw "the torments of Hell" whilst here he sees "the place of rest of the just". All the souls he sees they explain, have

> "had to obtain remission of [their] sins through penance. For the penance we receive either before our death or at the point of death [which] we did not carry out during our lives, we repaid after the dissolution of the flesh by undergoing tortures in the places of punishment you have seen, some of us for a long period, others for a shorter time. We all came through these places to this haven of peace...."

Although all were to be ultimately saved - except those condemned to everlasting torment - however:

> "none of those who are in torment knows for how long he will be tortured. Yet through masses, psalms, prayers and alms, whenever they are made for them, their torments are alleviated or else they are converted into lesser and more tolerable ones until they are completely freed by such favours...."

Thereafter the knight is shown "the gate of the Heavenly paradise" before returning the way he had come, to receive first the congratulations of the prior and his brethren in the underground chapel, thence upon climbing to the surface the joyous welcome of the earthly prior and his community.

Here several points should be noted in relation to the further creation of the realm of Purgatory. Firstly, the supplicant required the permission of the bishop in which St. Patrick's Purgatory was located, before he could seek admission in turn from the community who held the key to this underground realm. In turn, the prior of the community in question would have to satisfy himself of the supplicant's suitability, on both occasions, bishop and prior would do their utmost to dissuade the individual concerned to withdraw from his quest. If this failed, the supplicant was led to the priory church where he underwent a fifteen day round of prayer and fasting. Throughout, he was told what to expect once he had entered Purgatory, significantly, on the point of entry he was told that if he failed to re - appear at the appointed hour the following day, the prior would assume he had foundered within, relock the door and consider him lost to the world of the living. At this stage, the manipulation of, and appeal to the senses should be noted, for as will also be seen in chapters 10 and 11 in relation to pilgrimage, this played a crucial part in determining the intensity of any religious experience.

George Crissphan for example, the son of a Hungarian noble, had served in the army of King Louis I of Naples, an experience which had left him filled with remorse at his actions. In desperation, he sought the most extreme remedy to salve his conscience, entry to St. Patrick's Purgatory. Here it is important to note that Crissphan arrived at this dread place "in the first week of December"; his preparations therefore, particularly the fasting, were endured in what was probably extremely low temperatures. Thus, in light of his already disturbed mind, and having undergone fifteen days of being told what to expect, there is little to wonder at that his subsequent account of his experiences closely matched those of Owein's. What is perhaps surprising is that Crissphan made his journey through the underworld in 1353. The same formulae used to prepare Owein therefore, was applied to Crissphan some two - hundred years later to achieve the same effect.

The experience of Ramon De Perellos, the Viscount of Perellos, in 1395 is equally revealing. He too encounters dread warnings at every stage of his attempt to gain entry to Purgatory; all the sources he consults advise him to turn back lest he perish therein. Note too the severity of his preparation, and the effect it so obviously produces. Although initially he finds "the pit" no more than a small cave with no "hole or place" to progress further, and although he states that the ground was firm, he also admits he was sweating, feeling sick and felt unsteady on his feet. At this point he sits down, and in his own words, almost "lapsed into sleep". It is only after this point that he begins to experience any of the dire events hitherto promised. The key points to note therefore? That given his obvious nervous exhaustion, his lack of sleep, food, and the low temperature within the cave, there is little wonder delirium took hold and he did indeed experience the full horrors which he was promised.

Of all the examples examined in relation to the compilation of this chapter however, the experiences of the Italian Antonio Mannini in 1411 are surely the most instructive. Having undergone his preparation in the priory, Mannini recounts how a canon rowed him to the smaller island on which the Purgatory was located; despite its being winter, he was both "barefoot and bareheaded". Two incidents mark this short journey; firstly, the presence of a large black bird which Mannini's guide tells him is a demon, secondly, Mannini's falling overboard and almost drowning before he reached the island. In terror, he cried out - as he had been instructed - for Christ's aid; immediately he bobbed to the surface, saved as the knight Owein had been from his trials by the same invocation, the added significance here being that Mannini's trials are seen to begin even before he goes underground. Of the gravest significance, however, the ceremony which he undergoes in a small chapel on the island. The canon has him kneel, strips him of his tunic and doublet and dresses him in a dalmatic; thereafter he prayed over the kneeling Mannini before raising him up and leading him to the doorway of the chapel. The canon now has him lie flat on his back, arranging his body as though laying out a corpse. He then proceeded to read the office of the dead over the terrified Italian, the effect such that Mannini admits:

"I was so weak that I could not stand without his aid...."

Just as witnessed in chapter 7 in relation to the treatment of lepers therefore, Mannini was now effectively placed outwith the world of the living. Finally, just before he entered St. Patrick's Purgatory, the canon warned him that even if he returned alive he might nevertheless have been rendered insane. Again, on entering Purgatory, his initial description is of a confined space; thus, kneeling in prayer, he admits that he "fell asleep" so that later he could not tell whether his experiences were of the body or soul. Significantly, the canon returned for him after just five hours because of the extreme cold of the day; nevertheless, Mannini has collapsed, his "face, arms, hands, legs and feet.... all colder than ice...."

Thereafter, of his experiences within, all Mannini would report was:

"What I saw, and what was shown to me, and what I did, I may not write in a letter, nor can I utter it save in confession...."

As with earlier accounts therefore it should be noted that Mannini was under considerable mental strain before he attempted his journey to St. Patrick's Purgatory, similarly, it is perhaps true to say that the religious charged with preparing the potential entrants used every possible tool they

could to ensure the nature of any vision which might subsequently ensue. That all who entered were not so moved however, may be seen in the comment of Sir William de Lisle who entered St. Patrick's Purgatory in 1395; for this individual and his companion "considered it had all been a delusion". Similarly, the scathing account provided by a canon of the Augustinian house of Eymstart in the Netherlands in c.1494 provided nothing in the way of other worldly experiences. However, although some debate existed as to whether more than one site was being described in the various reports which circulated, and although the site of the canon's disappointment was closed in 1497, the long established power of St. Patrick's Purgatory was such that it must have been reopened shortly afterwards, for in his *Adagia* published in 1500, Erasmus stated that:

> "their are many who descend into the cave at the present day, but they are first exhausted by a 3 days fast lest they should enter it with a clear brain. As for those who descend, it is said that ever after they have no desire to laugh...."

Later still, in 1545, Jean de Monluc, the French ambassador at the Scottish court, visited the site and described it as being like "an old coal - pit which had taken fire". Although hardly an awe - inspiring account, it proves that the location still drew attention even at this late date, additional evidence of this lying in the fact that parties as opposed to individuals now arrived to enter therein. The length of fasting and preparation may have been curtailed, the experiences not so intense, but arguably it was still the same aura that had drawn Owein in the twelfth century that continued to exert its power even as late as the mid sixteenth century.

Perhaps the most influential of the three texts mentioned above however, was that of Dante Alighieri's *Vision*. Here the familiar features of darkness, stench, fire, mutilation and suffering are again repeated. In each case, souls are tormented in accordance with the type of sin they committed in life, the extent and duration of their suffering determined by the gravity of their offences. Arguably however, they are given added force by such features as the wealth of detail which Dante includes - his description of satan in canto 34 for example should be compared with that of Tundale's above - the sheer scale of the world he describes - greater than any of the texts examined thus far - and by the precise division of each level of correction he sees, first Hell, then the second kingdom, Purgatory, where the souls therein progress ever upwards towards eventual salvation. Significantly, there is arguably a greater emphasis on the value of intercessionary prayer here, for even the souls undergoing punishment pray to alleviate the suffering of others. Moreover, it should be noticed that in this account of the underworld, the Virgin is seen as the most efficacious guardian.

In summary, therefore, all of the features examined in the earliest texts were repeated over centuries until the themes they contained were ingrained in society's consciousness. Images of the horrors which awaited in Purgatory were common knowledge in Scotland in the period under examination, as indeed were the means of attaining individual intercession on behalf of one's soul. Here, the principal means of gaining remission lay in the repetition of the sacrifice inherent in the celebration of the Mass, thereafter the powerful, personal, intercessionary activity of the Heavenly hierarchy, foremost among whom were the Archangel St. Michael and (more efficacious still) the Virgin Herself. Here, it should be noted that the last concept, of a personal protector, was one which had been long established by the period in question, the antiquity and nature of this intense relationship - in a Christian sense - concisely expressed by Professor Peter Brown who stated that:

> ".... men and women, from the late fourth century onwards, turned with increasing explicitness for friendship, inspiration and protection in this life and beyond the grave, to invisible beings.... whom they could invest with the precise and palpable features of beloved and powerful figures in their own society...."

Each individual therefore, it was believed, was entrusted to such a being "at birth, and continued under its protection after death...."

A strong emphasis was also placed on the prayers of the faithful for the departed - as witnessed for example in the practice of rewarding the poor of a parish for participating in the obit of a local magnate, and in the prayers required of the bedesmen within a college for the soul of their benefactor, as seen in chapter 9 - as well as on the individual's own actions which would largely dictate their reception in the world to come, for only saints could enter Paradise directly on death. All, it should be emphasised, were long held beliefs. [4]

What then of the additional means employed by the Church to ensure that all levels of society understood the horrors that awaited and of the need for intercession? Here it is proposed to begin by examining the significant contribution made by the mendicant Orders towards establishing the validity of such beliefs in the minds of both church and laity. In terms of the training given to members of the preaching Orders, much has said in chapter 6 above, here it should be noted that on completion of their education the friars had a wealth of preaching aids at their disposal. An early famous example of this genre may be seen in Gregory the Great's *Regula Pastoralis* which contained an entire section devoted to the type of material a preacher should use. Latin texts might be consulted by the individual concerned, but the sermon delivered would be pitched according to the nature of the audience being addressed. Although the effect created would rely in no small part

on the ability of the orator, the friars linking of preaching and confession would seem to have been greatly aided by their further possession of small, easily carried confessional manuals, bibles and breviaries. A great deal of flexibility was possible in the delivery of material, and in the subsequent manipulation of the emotions of the laity therefore, and in this perhaps the most powerful tools of all - as will be seen in chapter 10 - were the exemplas. Thus, the teachings of the Church could be disseminated to a largely illiterate laity with ease, whether in terms of the rural or urban population. Significantly, it is important to note at this point that in terms of prompting the laity to ponder upon their sins and confess, there was in many instances a heavy emphasis on the inevitability of death. Equally, it should be remembered that the work of the mendicants reinforced the teachings of the less able parish clergy, albeit that they too could draw on such aids as Robert Manning's *Handling Sin* (1303), the *Oculus Sacerdotis* by William of Pagula (c.1320 - 30) and the *Tractatus De Instructione Seu Directione Simplicium Confessorum* which proved to be particularly popular in the fifteenth century; this in addition to numerous other works designed to enable the Church's servants to explain the mysteries of the faith to all, regardless of their educational background. Similarly, Richard Pynson's *Pilgrimage of Perfection* (1526) provides an insight into a work which its author stated would be "very profitable for all Christian people to read, and in especial, to all religious persons most necessary", for it enabled a better understanding of all moral matters "preached or taught", of all books of perfection which appeared in English and a "life of holy religion". Although basically a guide for all on how to lead the ideal Christian life therefore, it was particularly aimed at those religious "that [had] others in cure". Since the Church in Scotland was a part of the Catholic Church as a whole, and since - as seen in the work of Lindsay and Dunbar - Paris was still seen as one of the leading training centres for Scottish religious, the preaching aids, hand books and confessional manuals described above would have been in common use throughout the west, thus such methodology as described above would have been equally applicable to the Scottish situation in the period in question as to any other region covered by the remit of the Church of Rome. [5] At this point however it should be noted that just as with the texts examined in relation to the formation of a belief in the existence of Purgatory and all that this entailed, the principal tool of the Church was fear. If the emphasis in all of the myriad guides which existed to aid the preacher insisted that a familiarity with the material he was to work with was essential, they also invariably advised that the best way an orator could hold an audience's attention and have them dwell upon his messages of the need for repentance, restitution and intercession to secure a more favourable reception in the world to come - long after he had gone - was through the liberal use of fear.

Here again such an approach may be seen to have been employed from the earliest times. St. Augustine for example stated that:

> "love must be built up on the foundation of the severity of God, by which the hearts of mortal men are made to tremble with a most salutary fear.... For, indeed, it very rarely happens, or rather in truth never, that anyone comes desiring to become a Christian who has not been smitten with some fear of God...."

In terms of instructing an individual over the issues involved in the "Last Judgement to come", Augustine was equally adamant that what was called for was a brutally simple approach. Firstly, "the punishments of the ungodly" were to be "told with execration and horror", only then was the religious to mention the delights of Paradise. Significantly, the orator was to pitch his message in strict accordance with the size and nature of his audience, so that regardless of its number or composition there would be no doubt over the chilling reality of his message. Later, Gregory the Great emphasised that the preacher's task was to break down the sinner's reluctance to confess by relentless persistence and the liberal use of fear. The sinner was to be reminded that all of his deeds had been recorded and that he would face the most severe punishment if he sought to conceal anything from his confessor. Like Augustine therefore, Gregory believed that fear of judgement served to draw people to the Church and have them obey its teachings. In turn, these sentiments were later embodied - for example - in the Rule of the Friars Minor confirmed in 1223 by Honorius III in the Bull "Solet Annvere", for here the friars were exhorted to teach - among other matters - of the "pains of Hell and the glory of Heaven". It should not be thought, however, that such a fear was to be exercised on the laity alone, for as early as the twelfth century Peter of Blois, the archdeacon of Bath, laid an even heavier burden on the shoulders of the religious, for they would have to answer not only for their own souls but also for the souls of the laity committed to their care, "when the Day of tremendous Jugdement" came. That such sentiments were still very much in vogue in the period under study, may be seen for instance in the mid. sixteenth century popularity of *The Imitation Of Christ*, written by St. Thomas A Kempis c.1441, for in this work the author told his reader:

> "it is good that, if the love of God does not restrain you from sin, the fear of Hell at least should restrain you. For he who sets aside the fear of God cannot long continue in a good life, but will rapidly fall into the snares of the devil...." [6]

In terms of the additional mediums through which such beliefs reached the laity, the importance of medieval drama should not be underestimated. Of the popularity of such spectacles and of their educational value there can be little doubt for the Church employed them as one means of reaching as wide an audience as possible, and of instructing this audience in the mysteries of the faith. Amongst the subject matter, saints' lives, populated by angels of light and by demons of darkness; some would seem to have been graphic pieces indeed, for one author at least remarked that in the "martyrdom of St. Erasmus, his demise was portrayed with "astonishing realism by the aid of the cord - drawer and the three tormentors". Props were an important part of creating realistic images which would remain in the minds of an audience for some time to come. The mouth of Hell, which featured in so many of the texts examined above for instance, was apparently represented in sufficiently graphic detail to alarm members of medieval audiences. A trap door in the stage floor the commonest means of representing this dread portal to the underworld from which the onlookers saw demons issue forth to grasp the unwary and drag them downwards; split level stages in turn enabled the cast to portray events as they saw them occurring in the Heavens. In both instances therefore the audience could experience first hand the horrors and the delights foretold for the world to come, both by the texts examined above, and more likely still, through the work of the mendicant orders and the material of their preaching manuals and exempla. [7]

Further means whereby the laity could grasp the realities of the world to come, and thus the desperate need to secure the maximum levels of intercession on behalf of their souls may be seen in the religious architecture of the period. As will be seen in chapter 11, in relation to the relevant aspects of pilgrimage on the subjects of this thesis, foreign travel was by no means uncommon in the period in question. It was possible therefore for a pilgrim to see many instructional wonders abroad, thereafter to return and recount what he had seen in - doubtless - suitably embellished terms to those who had been unable to make the journey. Such a suggestion is rendered plausible when it is considered that even as late as the sixteenth century, in terms of the general populace, most exchanges of information would still have taken place by word of mouth. The task here therefore will be to briefly examine, where possible, architectural features which may be said to reflect, and thereby reinforce, the messages inherent in the texts examined in the earlier stages of the present chapter, that is with regards to the judgement which awaited all in the life to come.

In a twelfth century mosaic in Torcello Cathedral, for example, Christ is portrayed sitting in majesty, the souls of the dead being weighed to apportion reward and punishment. As this dread process is enacted, demons try to tip the scales in their favour. In the bottom right hand corner of the scene, the various horrific punishments which await those found wanting. Detailed here are the

sufferings of the damned in Hell, each occupying a separate compartment, the whole infernal region presided over by satan, his wild hair, beard and moustache contributing to his portrayal as a savage being of immense power. Also of relevance here, a scene depicting worms which feed on the eyes and skulls of the damned, another in which the dead rise not merely from their graves, but from the various places in which they perished. Thus many of the images portrayed in the texts examined above were given an added dimension of reality in this vivid depiction of the events surrounding the Last Judgement. In Scrovegni Chapel, Padua, a more realistic depiction still of Hell and its many tortures is depicted, of particular note here, the central figure of the horned beast, satan, for although it forms only a small part of the overall picture, like his depiction in for example Tundale and Dante's visions, it is arguably the most detailed item. The educational impetus of the scene is increased still further in the depiction of the hierarchy of Heaven. Here the various intercessional agents are laid out in terms of rank; the angels, above them the archangels, the principalities, the powers, virtues, dominations, thrones, cherubim and seraphim. Significantly there are nine choirs of angels arranged in three groups of three; the number three signifying principally the Trinity, and the soul, that is the union of body and soul in man and in the Church. The resultant figure of nine referred to their acting as a counterbalance to the perceived nine spheres of Hell.

In the Camposanto of Pisa, begun in 1277, a fresco depicts the horrors common to such works, the elements of fire, smoke, providing a background to a variety of tortures inflicted by hideous demons; all dominated again by the massive figure of Satan. Such images were repeated time and again in many Continental religious foundations, the same basic rules applied to all. That is, the identification of light - as examined earlier in the present chapter and in chapters 10 and 11 - with the forces of good, darkness with those of evil. Throughout however, the overall emphasis rests on the dread image of the judgement of sinners, of their being literally placed in a set of scales to determine whether the weight of sin they had accrued was enough to send them to everlasting perdition. Of the scenes depicted moreover, most tend to concentrate on the punishment of sin as opposed to the rewards of righteousness, in numerous instances the punishment inflicted reflecting the sinners crimes in life, thus, for example, the recurring image of the miser who is forced to drink molten gold. Of particular relevance here, in terms of the images which such works conjured in the minds of the laity, the work of Hieronymous Bosche.

In this individual's outpouring, all of the images featured above were given an added dimension of horror. Although like Dante's *Inferno* there tends to be a far greater emphasis on the symbolic than in earlier works, the impact remains, for all of the historic images of punishment in the life to come are once again repeated. In his *Table-top of the Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* [Death, the Last Judgement, Heaven and Hell] - c.1485 - 1500 - for example, all of the

previous horrors are depicted with great skill and a minute attention to detail, sins matched to specific punishments. In terms of the treatment of the damned, features such as a foul lake, the presence of toads, snakes, worms, a cauldron of molten metal, blacksmith's tools, a furnace and a building filled with flame, all elements contained in the vision of Tundale, were all repeated centuries later by Bosche. In his contemporary *Last Judgement* triptych, the left wing shows the *Creation*, *Temptation* and *Expulsion* of Adam and Eve alongside the *Fall of the Rebel Angels*. The centre panel and right wing however devote themselves almost entirely to the end of time and the punishment of sinners. Here, in a world of smoke and flame, an astonishing variety of hideously misshapen demons inflict a horrifying range of punishments on the damned, again - among numerous other similarly relevant features - images of the earlier texts reappear. The narrow bridge over the foul lake for example, the blacksmith's forge, images of mutilation, foul beasts and demons who tear at the flesh of the damned, in other scenes still, a crone fries a man in a pan whilst her equally hideous companion bastes a man on a spit. In numerous other of his works - *The Fall Of The Damned*, *The Haywain Triptych*, *The Garden Of Earthly Delights Triptych*, *Mankind Beset By Devils*, *Devils And Monsters*, *The Fall Of The Rebel Angels* and the *Temptation Of St. Anthony* - these images of infinite suffering are repeated, their most common feature their harking back to images first described in such works as the apocalypses of St. Peter and St. Paul.

In Bosche's work therefore, the reader may gain some idea of how these dread events appeared in the minds of the laity, moreover, that such ideas were still current in the minds of the subjects of this thesis, those responsible for imparting such knowledge to the laity in the first place, may be seen in some of the authors apparently favoured by these individuals.

In chapter 6 for example, among the works credited to mendicant, regular and collegiate personnel the following notable examples appeared. With regards to the Blackfriars for instance, among those works held by the Provincials Adamson and Grierson could be seen those of St. Augustine, St. Gregory and St. Thomas Aquinas. All of these writers, as witnessed above, had made significant contributions towards the creation of what was, by the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the clearly defined realm of Purgatory. Should anyone doubt the relevance of the views expressed by such individuals in terms of the outlook of the Blackfriars in the later period under examination in Scotland, it should be remembered that Aquinas had himself been a member of the Dominican Order, moreover, that he had been created "a Doctor of the Church" by Pope Pius V as late as 1567, and that his *Summa Theologica* influenced not only the outlook of the mendicants but of the Church as a whole. Among other examples of a familiarity with such early authors - and thereby the continued relevance of the views they expounded in Scotland in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries with regards to the outlook and teachings of the subjects of

this thesis - it should be remembered that Andrew Abercromby, [professor of theology at Aberdeen university and Prior of the Dominican house within the town at the Reformation] showed a familiarity with the works of St. Gregory; Andrew MacNeil, [bachelor of theology and Prior of the Stirling Blackfriars at the Reformation] favoured among other authors the work of St. Thomas Aquinas, whilst a copy of the extremely influential *City Of God* by St. Augustine can be traced to the library of the Ayr Dominicans. In terms of the Franciscan Order, Provincial Alexander Arbuckle held at least a copy of the *City Of God*, and also showed a familiarity with the work of St. Bede, whilst John Tullideff [theologian and warden of the St. Andrews community] would seem to have favoured the work of both St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas.

In terms of the contribution of the enclosed Orders in fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland towards perpetuating a belief in the existence of purgatory - and all that such a belief entailed - the Abbey of Kinloss may be said to provide a clear indication of their involvement. During the abbacy of Thomas Chrystall for example, the house built up a considerable library, and it is significant to note that among the books gifted to the abbey by Chrystall were works by St. Augustine, St. Gregory and St. Thomas Aquinas. Further evidence still of the undoubted familiarity of the inmates of this foundation with the concepts surrounding Purgatory may be seen in the further actions of this reforming abbot, for he sent two monks - James Pont and Walter Methon - to study under John Anderson at the Dominican house of Aberdeen. The question here, however, is how would such a knowledge of the above authors have bridged the gap between the enclosed life of a monastery and the surrounding lay community? Here again the answer may be assumed from the activities of Thomas Chrystall, for he not only took an interest in the material well being of the churches of Ellon and Avoch - both appropriated to Kinloss Abbey - he appears, at times, to have personally taken the services within them.

Further connections still between the early authors whose ideas played such an important part in the formation of the realm of Purgatory in the minds of the laity, and the enclosed Orders of the period under study may be seen in the subsequent abbacy of Robert Reid and his friendship with the Italian Humanist Giovanni Ferreri. The latter had studied at Paris - still the leading training ground for a career within the Church - and on assuming control of the task of educating the communities of Kinloss and Beauly, he drew for his lectures on the work of those spiritual greats with whom he was familiar; amongst them, he himself numbered St. Gregory, moreover, of the books which he gifted to the library of Kinloss appeared St. Augustine's *City Of God*. Such evidence as relates to Kinloss, may in turn be supplemented by numerous other instances from other houses. The Prior of Scone for example, John Clerk, can be seen to have possessed a familiarity with at least the work of St. Augustine, as indeed did John Hepburn, Prior of St. Andrews, who

books also included the work of St. Gregory; more impressive still, in the collection of books owned by the child Prior of St. Andrews, James Stewart, those of St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas.

Here, again, the reader might ask how such knowledge could be relevant to society's understanding of the issues surrounding the realm of Purgatory, the answer here lying in the fact that Beauly Priory for instance had - from the fourteenth century - provided a basic education for the more fortunate members of the laity, moreover such an example was by no means unusual, for as seen in chapter 6, many other regular communities possessed links to schools which served the laity; thus, the theological ideas of earlier ages could have been - in theory at any rate - transmitted to a much wider audience than members of the enclosed Orders themselves.

In terms of a familiarity with such authors as defined the nature of Purgatory, those who served in the colleges of fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland may equally be said to have possessed a knowledge of such subject matter. Alexander Anderson for example, the sub - principal of King's college Aberdeen, possessed the works of such authors as St. Bede and St. Gregory; John Annand, the principal of St. Leonard's college, owned works by St. Augustine - including the *City Of God* - and St. Bede, whilst the principal of St. Leonard's at the Reformation, John Duncanson - who conformed to the Protestant faith - was evidently familiar with the works of St. Augustine and St. Gregory. In turn it is possible to show how the ideas which these men absorbed from such works could be made available to the wider lay community, for every collegiate foundation would have possessed a song school. Whilst its primary objective was to educate boys to a level where they could participate in the services of the college, it also provided a training ground for priests who - as seen in chapter 6 - served their parishes in a variety of ways. Thus Robert Danielston for example, who became parson of Dysart in 1547, was a past student of St. Leonard's college, and it was here arguably that he gained his known acquaintanceship with the works of St. Augustine.

Additional evidence still of the relevance of such early writers to the period under study, may in turn be seen in those members of the Church who lie outside the confines of this thesis. Alexander Galloway for example, canon of Aberdeen and parson of Kinkell, possessed works by St. Augustine, St. Bede and St. Gregory; David Wauchope, canon of Dunkeld Cathedral, possessed a copy of St. Augustine's *City Of God*, as indeed did Adam Mure, a schoolmaster in Edinburgh, whilst John Greenlaw, vicar of Keith Humbie favoured not only the *City Of God* but that powerful defence of matters traditional, the *Compendius Tractative* of Quintin Kennedy.

Thus, through the activities of the enclosed Orders and the colleges, the preaching of the mendicant Orders, and through the myriad depictions of such events, the laity were well aware of the reality of the horrors entailed in the "Last Judgement" and Purgatory beyond. Although it is right

to be cautious over attributing deeper meanings to all aspects of such works, for contemporary society, the scenes depicted were not seen by and large as mere extravagant forms of decoration, rather they were viewed as practical illustrations of what awaited all on death, for even in the very choice of colours he used, an artist could convey important messages to his audience. That the significance of such symbolism and decoration was not lost on the realm of Scotland will be seen in particular in chapters 9, 10 and 11, it being perhaps enough here to draw the reader's attention to the presence of demonic images in the *Carver Choirbook*, and such "Last Judgement" scenes as that in St. Clement's church, Rodel, Harris, and the collegiate churches of Cullen, Foulis Easter - where as will be seen below the scene depicted is the Judgement at death, although the distinction in the minds of the laity was arguably often blurred - and Roslin; all, significantly, show that the ideas of a much earlier period were still in vogue in Scotland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. [8] Similarly, to a Scottish audience of the period under study, the tortures portrayed above would have been readily identifiable from direct parallels in the world which surrounded it, for the ability of man to inflict suffering on his fellows was a long standing talent, evident in warfare - as witnessed in chapters 6 and 7 - and in the myriad forms of casual and judicial cruelty - the latter especially relevant since its severity tended to be determined by the nature of the offence involved - common in the west at this time. [9]

At this point it is important to note that the atmosphere of horror surrounding Divine judgement was given an added impetus in the existence in the popular mind of two occasions when the soul would be judged; that is at the end of time as examined above, and - as witnessed in Foulis Easter for example - at the moment of death. In terms of the latter, indeed, it could be said that a separate world of images had been created to illustrate its dread significance. Of particular relevance here, the *Art Of Dying*, produced by the Church to instruct both religious and laity on the best way in which to deal with their own demise. Such was the importance of the issues involved, that after it was first released in the early fifteenth century, it quickly appeared in English translations, block pictures accompanying the text so that even the illiterate could grasp its instructions. In it the reader was informed that "the bodily death [was] the most fearful thing of all other things, yet [was] the death of the soul.... more terrible.... as the soul [was] more noble and more precious than the body." The answer to this fear was to be ready for death always, to welcome it as "joyfully as [the] coming of [a] good friend". Even if he cultivated such an outlook, however, the reader could not look to his own death with calm resignation, for with death came man's chief enemy, Satan. Even as he lay dying, the reader was informed, the devil would exert every wile he could to draw his soul to him. At all costs, the reader was to avoid the "sin and crime" of desperation, for in death the devil would torment him with all of the sins he had failed to confess.

For the pious minority there could, equally, be little room for complacency, for the devil would attempt to ensnare them with the sin of vainglory; since no - one could be certain whether they had earned "the love of God or the hate of God", even the pious had cause to fear. Similarly, the importance of receiving the sacraments on the death bed was emphasised, thus the physician was informed that he was not to administer any "bodily medicine" until he had "admonished" the patient to take "spiritual medicine". Furthermore, it was clearly stated that "there ought not to be given to any sick person over much hope of recovering his bodily health", for such "false comfort" might lead him to make inadequate attrition for his faults, and thereby lead him to damnation". Although the intention was to provide reassurance to the readership, it is still clear that the earlier emphasis in preaching and confessional manuals on the use of fear to provoke penance and confession, was to be maintained, even at the hour of death. Thus the idea of judgement at the point of death may be seen for example as early as the sixth century in the views expressed by Gregory the Great, repeated again for instance in the *Elucidarium* of Honorius of Autun in the late eleventh to early twelfth century, and given popular voice in the *Ars Moriendi* of the period under examination in the present study. In all, the idea of a death bed struggle for possession of the soul between the forces of light and darkness is a prominent theme. [10]

At this point however, in terms of determining the importance of the interrelated issues of Purgatory and death and their significance with regards to the regular Orders and the collegiate clergy in Scotland in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, it is perhaps appropriate to turn to analyse, albeit briefly, the various concepts which surrounded death itself.

In the *Imitation Of Christ* by Thomas A Kempis (1441), for example, the author was at pains to stress the transitory nature of man, the worthlessness of earthly matters and the preparations which he should undertake before death overcame him. Thus he told his readership:

> "Very soon the end of your life will be at hand: consider, therefore, the state of your soul. Today a man is here; tomorrow he is gone.... [therefore] you should order every deed and thought, as though today were the day of your death.... If you are not ready to die today, will tomorrow find you better prepared?...

No individual therefore could be sure of the hour of his or her death, or of the reception which awaited in the world to come. The crucial issue therefore was to prepare in life for death:

> "Make friends now, by honouring the Saints of God and by following their example, that when this life is over, they may welcome you to your eternal home."

Aside from a model lifestyle therefore, in which good works, repentance, and a rejection of worldly concerns figured prominently, in Thomas' view it was crucial to secure the intercession of the saints. In Scotland, many of the authors used in the earlier chapters to shed light on the subjects of this thesis, may again be consulted to show that such beliefs were common by the period under study. In the *Three Priests Of Peebles, How Thai Tald Thar Talis* for instance, the anonymous author has death appear in human guise as the officer of a king, [God], charged with bringing a rich man before his royal master, who intended to have the hapless man give an account of himself. Significantly, the reader was informed that there was no - one who could withstand this king's officer:

> "Is na wisdome, riches na yet science, Aganis his officer may mak defence; Is neyther castell, torret nor yit tour My scar him anis the moment of ane hour; Is straik it is sa sharpe it will not stint, Is nane in eird that may indure his dint."

Death therefore, was the great leveller of worldly divisions for he held none in awe, the only succour offered in the piece the message that penance, a rejection of worldly matters and the performance of good works would ensure a more favourable reception by his master. In the work of William Dunbar, the need for man to remember his coming demise was again emphasised. *In Of Discretioun In Taking*, he reminded landowners of the folly of their behaviour in robbing men of their "takkis" and oppression of the poor with no apparent thought that "he mon die". *In Doun By Ane Rever As I Red*, he pondered on the precarious nature of human existence, and made two particular points, firstly that death came to everyone regardless of their earthly station, secondly, that the merits associated with repentance, confession and good works should be stockpiled whilst there was still time in this life. In each of the ten verses of this piece therefore, the latter message was driven home by the line:

> "Do for thy self quhill thow art heir....";

Significantly, - in terms of the issues raised in the chapter 12 - in this piece Dunbar chose the example of a greedy priest to illustrate the perils of ignoring such advice. That the subject of death and the need to make adequate preparations for it were prominent in Dunbar's thinking, may be seen from the fact that such issues formed the centrepiece of numerous of his other works. Thus in *Memento, Homo,...., All Erdly Joy Returnis In Pane, Quhome To Sall I Complene My Wo* and *Quhat*

Is This Lyfe Bot Ane Straucht Way To Deid, his readers were informed that youth, beauty, power and other worldly attachments were worthless, that their time should be spent in securing a more favourable reception for their soul in the world to come.

In a contemporary work, *The Contemplacioun Of Sinners*, by friar William of Tours - a possible member of the Franciscan community in Aberdeen - the author repeats oft heard cries for the reform of the Church, and for society's upper echelons to accept their position as behavioural role models for the lower ranks to follow. The main emphasis of the piece however was to incite the reader to penance, to accept that the trials of the world were a means of securing rewards in the life to come, the author using the example of the saints, their sufferings and their eventual reward, the strength of this appeal best seen in the opening pages of chapter 10 below. Significantly, the author also stressed the horror of Hell, and of the folly of putting trust in worldly authority as opposed to good works. In another current work, the *Remembrance Of The Passion*; the reader is reminded of death and of the questions that would arise thereafter regarding all his "thoughtis, wordis and deids". Should he be found wanting, he was informed that he would pass to "ane unkind land and kinrik". At this point however, guide lines were provided to aid the unfortunate; he was to accrue as much spiritual merit as he could through good works, thereby to win favour with "God, our Lady, the angellis and all [the] sanctis." Again, worldly ties were seen as a dangerous liability at death.

In the later work of Sir David Lindsay, the poet chose the demise of one of the country's leading religious and political figures to reinforce the above themes. In *The Tragedie Of The Late Cardinal Beaton* , having chartered the Cardinal's meticulously planned rise through the ranks of church and state until he was the foremost power in the land - as seen in chapter 1 - the poet has Beaton admit that despite his apparently unassailable position, in "half ane hour" he lost all including his life. The poet then has Beaton warn his fellow religious against following his unfortunate example:

> "All proude Prelatis at me may Lessonis leir, Quhilk rang so long, and so triumphantlie, Syne, in the dust, doung doun so dulefullie".

Unless they mended their ways he warned, they would end as he had, the power of Church and state no defence against the ever present horror of sudden death. Robert Henryson for his part, in the later fifteenth century in a piece entitled *The Fox And The Wolf*, reminded his audience of the inevitability of death, and of the need for true remorse and penance to aid salvation:

> "Be war guid folke, and feir this suddane schoit, Quhilk smytis sair withoutin resistence. Attend wysilie, and in your hartis noit, Aganis deith may na man mak defence. Ceis of your sin; [examine] your conscience; Do wilfull pennance here; and ye sall wend, Efter your deith, to blis withouttin end...."

In *The Preaching Of The Swallow* he continued the above theme by referring to those who placed too great an emphasis on material possessions whilst in life, for in death:

> "[Their] bodie [went] to the wormis keitching..... [their] saull to fyre [and] to euerlasting pane...."

Further evidence still of the dread significance of death and the need thereby to prepare well for it in life from this individual may be seen in *The Wolf And The Lamb, The Paddock And The Mouse, The Abbey Walk* and of course *Ane Prayer For The Pest* - examined in chapter 7 - in which the fear of sudden death is a prominent theme throughout. Even texts of a wholly Protestant stance agreed with the basic premise that death made no distinction on account of worldly rank. In the *Complaynt* of Robert Wedderburn for example, the reader was informed that in death the earth in which he was buried would make "na acceptions of persons nor defferens of qualities betuix.... men.... [for] quhen the corrupit flesche is consumit fra the banis, no man can put differens betuix ane prince and ane beggar." The compiler of *The Gude And Godlie Ballatis* for his part repeating this theme - albeit that this compilation was never published in pre - Reformation Scotland -

> "Thair is na king nor Empreour Duke nor Lord of greit valure, Bot he sall faid as lely floure, And downe sall cum, doune ay, done ay." [11]

Arguably, however, it was through the portrayal of direct contacts between the living and the dead, and the personification of death - as seen above in *The Three Priests Of Peebles How Thai Tald Thar Talis* - that the true horror of man's inevitable fate was fully realised in a mass audience. In a Scottish context, the work of Robert Henryson may be said to serve as an introduction to this genre. In his "The Ressoning Betuix Deth And Man" for example, the character of "Mors" opens the piece with a chilling warning to his "live" audience:

"O Mortall man, tak tent to me, Quhilk sall thi myrrour be baith day and nycht. All erdly thing that evir tuke lyfe mon de. Paip, empriour, king, barroun and knycht.... May nocht ganestand quhen pleis schote this derte...."

Initially "Homo" is arrogant:

"Now quhat art thow that biddis me thus tak tent.... Is none so wicht, so stark, in this cuntre,.... Nor i sall gar him bow to me on fors...."

This arrogance disappears, however, when death convinces him of the futility of resistance: in the last verse therefore, Homo, now suitably chastised pleads:

"Jesus, on the with peteous voce i cry, Mercy one me to haif on Domisday."

In *The Thre Deid Pollis*, three hideously decayed corpses address the living:

"O sinfull man,.... As ye ar now, in to this warld we wair, Als fresche, als fair, als lusty to behald.... The hour of deth and place is uncertane, Quhilk is referrit to the hie God allane.

Throughout the point is emphasised that all will end thus, regardless of present youth, beauty and privilege, all will be reduced to their repulsive state, the dead asking their audience who could tell the difference between them:

"Quha was farest or foulest of ws thre? Or quhilk of ws of kin was gentillar?"

Thus the poem ends with their exhorting the reader to:

"cry and pray in generall To Jesus Chryst, of hevin and erd the king...."

so that they should be allowed to enjoy the delights of Heaven to come. Here it should be noted that Henryson was not unique in choosing such a method of putting across his moralistic lessons, for the use of the dead to thus address the living was by the fifteenth century a fairly common genre. Originating in the thirteenth century tale of the *Trois Mors Et Li Trios Vifs*, of which there were four

basic versions - by Baudouin de Conde, Nicholas de Margival and two other anonymous poets - three young noblemen are addressed by three decayed corpses and warned of their similar, ultimate fate, of their need to prepare themselves in life for death and of the perils of relying on others to intercede on their behalf after death. The dread significance of such material was not confined to the literate classes however, for just as with the punishments described in relation to Purgatory and Hell, and to the demons perceived to surround the death bed, there was no shortage of pictorial representations from which the illiterate could derive the significance of their plight. Similarly, in terms of the *Dance of Death*, it should be noted that many of the paintings depicting this dread ceremony were to be found on the walls of Dominican and Franciscan convents. At this stage the reader is asked to bear in mind a series of highly relevant facts. It should be remembered for instance, that the friars centred their activities on main centres of population, that they became in effect not only the spiritual centre of a town, but its social and commercial hub as well; in addition, it should be remembered that mendicants churches were open to the laity, moreover that the latter group could eat and live in common with the mendicant brethren if they so chose. Given such a situation, it is entirely feasible to suggest that the depictions of the *Dance of Death* which such houses contained, would have been common knowledge in the lay communities which surrounded them; such images moreover doubtless frequently used by the friars to inject further urgency into their already forceful sermons. Here, it might be argued that in comparison there is a marked absence of such material remains in Scotland, and that the Continental evidence which follows cannot be said to be of direct relevance to the Scottish scene. At this point however, it is important to consider the strong ties which existed between Scotland and the Continent, and which were clearly evident - as witnessed in chapters 10 and 11 - in spiritual terms with regards to pilgrimage. The Scottish laity therefore could well have possessed a clear knowledge of many of the sites which appear below as they traversed the Continent in search of saintly intercession in their lives. In addition, it is important to recall that much of the wealth of imagery which the Church possessed in pre - Reformation Scotland - as examined in chapter 11 - was destroyed in the change over from the "old" to the "new" faith. Paintings of the type referred to above would have been particularly easy to erase either by covering them over with white - wash, by removing the plasterwork on which they had been executed, or where they had been painted on wood, simply by burning. In addition to such wilful vandalism, others still, given over to neglect, would have gradually vanished as the buildings which contained them were stripped by successive generations for ready made building material; thereafter, wind and weather would take its toll. Given such an argument therefore, it is perhaps reasonable to assume that depictions of the *Dance of Death*, and of death himself were fairly commonplace in pre - Reformation Scotland.

As with the material relating to the punishments in the afterlife and the use of fear to prompt repentance and confession therefore, so it may be said that the mendicants were instrumental in spreading the fame of the *Dance*, for the subject of death formed an important source of material for their preaching manuals and aids. Here, two thirteenth century examples - drawn from the anecdotal material compiled by an anonymous Dominican friar of Cambridge - provide an insight into the ways the mendicant Orders imparted the Church's teachings concerning death and judgement to the laity in a way which they could readily understand. In the first moral tale, a dying miser loses the ability to speak; miraculously however, after he receives the Extreme Unction, the gift of speech is restored. Rather than make use of this Divine reprieve to make a full confession and mitigate at least some of the guilt he has accrued in life however, the miser's last words are, "Who's touching my purse!". This seemingly comic tale would not have been dismissed lightly however, for its message was clear; all things in this world are transitory and therefore ultimately worthless, worse still they may distract man from what should be his only real concern, to prepare adequately for his death. To ignore this message was to incur damnation, its dread significance such that the same scene was graphically depicted in the work of Hieronymus Bosch some three hundred years later in his grim work entitled the *Death Of The Miser*.

In the second moral tale, a dying miser again loses the power of speech; his two friends and a priest who are present at his bedside agree that a list of his acquaintances names will be read out, the dying man instructed to call out "Ah!" when one is mentioned whom he wishes to benefit from his will. When the priest's name is read out it elicits no immediate response, however, as the miser's two friends are looking the other way, the priest twists the man's ear until he cries out in pain; the friends assume this to be a positive answer and thus the priest is added to the list of beneficiaries. Here, perhaps, the point is twofold; mendicant disapproval of parochial sharp practice - raised in chapter 7, the friars commenting on this arguably a further explanation of their unpopularity within the Church as witnessed in chapter 6 - and the repeated warning that wealth and earthly power were of little value in death. Given such examples of mendicant anecdotes therefore, it is perhaps hardly surprising that in the most famous depiction of the *Dance*, discussed below, death himself refers to how the mendicants - in this instance a "Franciscan friar" - had oft warned people to prepare for his coming. Arguably therefore, of all such material, the *Dance* was the most common representation in period in question, and it is to a brief examination of this and related images which this thesis will now turn.

Here it should be noted that the use of the skeleton as a representation of death was a feature originating in the fifteenth century, that single figures in the company of a skeletal companion might be taken from the *Dance*, but were more likely evidence of another related genre,

the *Memento Mori.* As to the range of influence of the *Dance*, it has been traced in Scotland, England, France, Germany, Switzerland, Spain and Italy. In terms of the mediums in which it would have been available to the laity, it appeared in books, paintings, woodcarvings and stonework, its popularity such that it has been suggested that most religious foundations of note in the period under study would have contained if not the whole dance, then at least extracts from it. What then of the content of the *Dance*, its siting and means of portrayal?

In terms of the first question, in its earliest forms the dancer was "intended not as a representation of death, but of the living man himself in his future shape". As to the *Dance* in the context of the present thesis however, it is to the fifteenth century translation by John Lydgate, "Monke of S. Edmunds Bury", of the text which accompanied the paintings of the Holy Innocents in Paris, to which the present work will now turn.

Here it should be noted that the translator's intention was that his work should serve as an example for all to mend their ways, that all should realise that the present life was "but a pilgrimage" in preparation for the next. In terms of those addressed therefore, it becomes obvious that the artist or artists responsible for the work at the Holy Innocents was at pains meticulously to record the passing of all levels of society.

> "Deth Spareth nought, low ne high degre, Popes, kings, ne worthy Emperours....
> Deth spareth not poor, ne yet blood royall, Every man therefore have this in remembrance...."

Having established this - oft repeated - premise, Lydgate then relates how each individual in turn is accosted by the skeletal figure of death. For the wealthy, the main blow is being stripped of their wealth, and significantly here the upper ranks of the Church do not escape lightly. The "abbot" appears as fat and indolent, the "abbess" a vain creature of comfort, the "canon" greedy in his pursuit of wealth as indeed were the "curate" and the "clerk"; only the Carthusian monk, the Franciscan and the Hermit have no reason to fear death. The messages inherent throughout therefore are that neither wealth, power in the affairs of Church or state, intelligence, good health, force of arms or courage will avail when death calls; all will answer for their actions in life, and will be judged accordingly. Moreover, it should be noted that another common feature in the exchanges between death and his victims, is the true nature of the human frame, no more than worm food. Thus ideas contained in texts relating the formation of Purgatory, and the inevitable "Judgement" of all, are again repeated in terms of the context of death; the actions of this life determining the reception in the next.

In turning to the second of the above questions, that of the location of the appearance of the *Dance*, it should be noted that perhaps the earliest depiction of the *Dance* may be traced to Little Basle and dated to 1312, the true fame of the *Dance* grew in the fifteenth century, from contemporary paintings on the southern wall of the cemetery of the Church of the Holy Innocents in Paris - c.1424/5 - and from the carving of the legend of the *Three Living And The Three Dead* on the portal of the Church itself. In terms of other sites, examples of the *Dance* have been identified at Dominican houses in Basel, Berne, Constance Landshut, Pisa and Strasbourg, Franciscan examples appearing for instance in Augsburg, Berlin, Hamburg and Gandersheim. These in turn mirrored in numerous other sites across the Continent, and in England, at for example Hexham Priory, the parish church of Newark, Trent, Salisbury Cathedral, St. Andrew's Church, Norwich and of course St. Paul's Cathedral, London, described in detail by Sir Thomas More. These and many others might well have figured in the itinerary of Scottish pilgrims - as will be seen in chapter 11 -, for as stated above, most major religious houses would have possessed their own version of the *Dance*.

In terms of the means of portrayal, in addition to the murals referred to above, it is equally important to realise that the messages of the *Dance* were transmitted to a wide audience in book form. As early as 1485 for example, a Parisian printer, Guyot Marchant, produced an addition of the *Dance*, the text illustrated by woodblock pictures doubtless modelled on those of the Holy Innocents. Such was the popularity of his work that he released a second edition the following year, along with the *Danse Macabre Des Femmes* which also contained *Des Trois Morts Et Des Trois Vifs* and two poetic meditations on death. Translations of his work followed, into English amongst other languages, other printers following suite, the *Dance* by the sixteenth century reliant more on books than architecture for its continued popularity. Of the numerous representations of such art, the work of Hans Holbein the younger is arguably the finest. Of the pieces which he executed in relation to the subject of death, his *Alphabet of Death* of 1514, a work of exquisite detail in which each letter was provided with its own scene; an individual depiction of death carrying off a new victim. More famous still, his *Grosser Totentannz*, or *Great Dance Of Death*, c.1527, published in Lyons in 1538, its success due to Holbein's artistry and the skill of his partner Lutzelburger who cut the woodblocks. That Holbein's skill was indeed exceptional may be seen from his portraits of Henry VIII and his court. Even here the subject of death figured large, for in what might be Holbein's portrait of Sir Brian Tuke, the Treasurer to the Chamber, there is little doubt of the message conveyed; the ever present figure of death, and the tightening of his embrace through the passage of time.

In summarising the above points therefore, all of the horrors associated with the Judgement of the soul on death, of the need to be constantly aware of death, to behave accordingly so as to avoid punishment in the next world, the inherent corruption of the human form were all graphically depicted in countless forms in murals, mass produced block books and in deluxe Books of Hours. It should be noted that from the early stiff forms of the skeletal figures in the *Dance*, death had taken on a progressively more animated appearance, had developed a personality of "his" own. Thus he can be seen as mocking his victims in some instances, in others he intimidates them, in some again he violently seizes an unfortunate partner and forces them to accompany him. In all instances however, even those relating to the friar and the Carthusian for example, there is an air of latent menace, perhaps almost the demonic, as he carries out his grim business. As with the horrors of punishment to come, the work of the mendicant orders in spreading "his" fame was crucial, as indeed was the medium of drama, for by the period in question, dramatic re - enactments of the *Dance* were relatively well known. [12]

What, then, of the ways in which the popularity of such works exhibited itself in lay society? Here one such indication may be seen in the movement towards funerary monuments which graphically depict the horror of the inevitable filth and decay of the human form. From around the eleventh century the fashion for such monuments had moved to the realistic representation of the deceased. By c. mid fourteenth century such monuments had become detailed works of art, which, in numerous instances, showed the deceased in a state of advanced decomposition. In other forms still, a split level approach might be used; the upper platform showing the subject as they had been in life, beneath, the decaying remnant left on death. In both instances the piece could be given added impact by having the corpse depicted as the abode of for example worms, snakes and toads; thus the imagery of the early apocalyptic texts and that of the various literary depictions of death had taken hold of the popular imagination.

In terms of the Scottish kingdom, work such as that of the anonymous author of the *Three Priests*, Henryson, Dunbar, Lindsay and Wedderburn show that the morbid tastes of the Continent and England were equally popular here. Evidence of an architectural nature is far less forthcoming, but if, as stated above, the material destruction of religious artefacts in internal feuding and war with her southern neighbour - as seen in chapter 7 - is considered alongside that inflicted by the reformers and the ravages of material decay, the wonder is that any is left at all. Despite this dearth of material, what remains suggests that all of the issues raised above in relation to death and judgement were indeed widely known in pre - Reformation Scotland.

Here, perhaps the finest remnants may be seen in the collegiate kirk of Roslin, where amongst the myriad other figures within this building there appears the *Legend Of The Three Living*

And The Three Dead and a version of the *Dance Of Death*. Further evidence of this nature may be seen in the collegiate church of St. Mary, Cullen, where the tomb of Sir Alexander Ogilvie bears the skull and cross bones symbols of death, and what would appear to be the figure of a recumbent corpse - presumably signifying his wife Elizabeth Gordon - immediately above the figure of Sir Alexander himself. In turn, at Torphichen Preceptory, the remnants of the tomb of Sir George Dundas show - arguably - his corpse serving as the abode of worms, just as in the literary material examined above. At Rodel church, Harris, the tomb of Alexander Macleod, referred to above in relation to the Judgement of souls, may also be seen to display a skull, a popular symbol of death. At Aberdour church in Fife, a grim reminder that death comes to all appears in what has been suggested might be a mid-sixteenth century inscription:

"Pans [think] o pilgrim
That Passith By Thgis Way
Upon Thyn End
And Thou Sal Fear To Sin
And Think Also
Upon The Latter Day
When Thou To God Man [must] Count
Then Best Thou Now Begin."

In terms of the grandest architectural setting for such material however, the reader's attention is drawn to the evidence contained within the sixteenth century Blackadder aisle of Glasgow Cathedral. Here, among the numerous other subjects which appear, a roof boss carved in the fashion of a grinning skull, two worms curling across its forehead whilst a further two emerge from its mouth. In another subject still, a roof boss which clearly illustrates the message that death comes to all; on one side the head of a crowned king, on the other that which it will become, a skull.[13]

Other material still may be examined to illustrate the generally morbid mood of the period in question, and the ways in which it manifested itself in society. Here it should be noted that their existed, as with other aspects of piety - as evidenced in chapter 11 for example in terms of royal attitudes to pilgrimage - a strange duality of belief, for in a piece by William Dunbar entitled *We That Ar In Hevins Glory*, the poet makes light of many of the above issues by comparing the royal court in Edinburgh with Paradise, that of Stirling with Purgatory. Arguably however, the more common reaction to such topics was fear and the desire for intercessional aid, and it is to the

relevant aspects of this "search" to which this thesis will now turn, initially by examining devotion to the Passion, Christ's wounds, His blood, thereafter to the intercessional ability of the saints in general, before turning to devotion to the Virgin, and personal angelic guardians such as St. Michael.

In terms of the first Issue, Dunbar was obviously in a more sombre frame of mind when he wrote *I Cry The Mercy, And Laser To Repent, Memento, Homo, ..., Ane Ballat Of The Passioun Of Christ* and *Now Glaidith Every Liffis Creature*, for in these works he emphasised the importance of Christ's sacrifice - as witnessed in His Passion, Blood and Wounds - in terms of the salvation of man. The poet Walter Kennedy - a contemporary of Dunbar - also emphasised the importance of the Passion in a piece entitled *The Passioun Of Christ Compilit Be Maister Walter Kennedy*. In it, Christ was seen to give his disciples his body - as bread - so that they would keep his suffering foremost in their minds when they were called - as all would be - to account for their actions in life. This theme was taken still further in a piece entitled the *Remembrance Of The Passion* which was prefaced by a list of 12 boons which could be thus derived. Among the benefits available, points 8 to 12 arguably were the most attractive for they emphasised that meditating on the Passion exceeded every other good work or means of intercession, including the prayers of "our Lady and all ye sanctis". Significantly, it also emphasised the horrific consequences which would follow if such advice were ignored. A similar emphasis may also be seen in William Caxton's *Ars Moriendi* which recommended that the sick keep always the image of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross to the forefront of their minds, in Richard Pynson's *The Rosary Of Our Savyour Jesus* and in the contemporary *Jesus Psalter* which held that Christ's Passion represented one of the most powerful intercessionary forces for "ye saulis in purgatory....".

These are but a few examples of a type of devotional literature therefore, favoured in the period in question, which directed popular piety towards ensuring a favourable reception in the life to come, by emphasising the intercessionary benefits to be derived from a remembrance of His Passion, Wounds and Blood. [14]

In turning to the second category for analysis, that of the intercessional power of the saints in general, a sixteenth century piece entitled *The Golden Litany* provides a suitable introduction. Here the supplicant sought the intercession of:

> "Sanct Micheall ye archeangell, and the haly angel yat [was deputed his] keeper:...."

then the aid of the apostles Peter and Paul, St. John the Evangelist, and all the other apostles. Thereafter he sought the intercession of the martyrs St. Lawerence, St. Steven and all of their compatriots, then the aid of St. Giles, St. Augustine, St. Nicholas, St. Francis, St. Anthony and all the other members of this spiritual elite. The piece closes with the supplicant's plea for "all the merits and intercessioun of all sanctis yat is, wes, and salbe, baith in hevin and erd...." to intercede on his behalf and attain Divine mercy. Similar appeals to secure angelic intercession in turn may be seen in numerous other contemporary pieces such as *Angelie Qui Meus Est Custos, An Orison To The Proper Angel* and *O Sancte Angel.* Even the dying were enjoined to call on their own angel which the Lord had deputed to be their keeper, this link with death and the world to come seen in the frequent appearances of personal intercessors in the records of the sufferings in the life to come. [15]

At this point it should be noted that a pecking order of sorts was in operation. The archangel St. Michael for instance appeared in texts dealing with Purgatory as a spiritual guide and his popularity in Scotland in the period in question may be seen in a number of contemporary examples. At Linlithgow for example, on the exterior of St. Michael's church, the figure of the archangel stands triumphant over a fallen demon, his presence on the royal palace of Stirling and a roof boss in the Border Abbey of Melrose further signifying his popularity at this time. In turn the popularity of the Virgin may be seen in numerous contemporary devotional pieces which call on Her aid alongside that of St. Michael and other agents of relief such as St. John the Evangelist - as in *The Jesus Psalter, The Remembrance Of The Passion, Sancta Maria, Mater Dei Regina Celi Et Terre, Ave Gloriosa, O Intermerata, The Three Rois Garlandes* and *The Lang Rosair*. Such devotion carried additional benefits still moreover, for the papacy was keen to ensure their popularity, thus Pope Innocent VIII (1484/92) stated that reciting *The Orisoun Callit O Clementissime* brought the supplicant a three - hundred day indulgence and a visitation from the Virgin Herself, who would console the supplicants and reveal to them the hour of their death; a considerable boon itself in light of the material examined above in relation to the horrors of death, punishment in the after life and the need to make suitable provision for the soul in the present. The prayer *Ave Maria Alta Stirps* carried a fifty day remission granted by Pope Boniface IX (1389 - 1404), that entitled *Ave Cuius Con Cepio* an indulgence of eleven - thousand years, whilst Alexander VI (1492 - 1503) promised the supplicant a visitation from the Virgin before their death and a one - hundred year indulgence after resorting to the prayer *Obsecro Te [Domina].* Thus in Richard Pynson's *Pilgrimage Of Perfection* (1526), the reader was informed that to best secure a favourable reception in the world to come, he should place his trust "above all creatures, [in] the

glorious virgin Mary.... mother of God." The fear of Purgatory therefore played a large part in the value attached to such material. [16]

In terms of architectural manifestations of such devotion, the reader's attention is drawn in the first place to the altars dedicated to the Virgin - see for example chapter 11 - to the dedication of numerous religious foundations in Her honour - as seen above in this chapter and in the table of foundations supplied in chapter 1 - and to the doubtless once numerous representations of Her which must once have dotted the countryside. In terms of the last category, Scotland would seem to have been just as well represented as any of her English or Continental counterparts. At Brechin Cathedral for example, in the company of numerous other saints, a panel honour both the Virgin and Child. In the village square of Cullen, Moray, a panel depicting the Virgin and Child - obviously taken from a much older structure - adorns the mercat cross, a composite piece of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. At St. Serf's church, Dysart, Fife, above the porch entrance, the presence of a "pot of lilies" on the now empty image niche suggests the one time presence of a statue of the Virgin. At St. Bride's church, Douglas, Lanarkshire, the tomb of Archibald, 5th. Earl of Douglas, bears amongst other carved figures one of the Virgin.

Moving on alphabetically, the south front of Falkland palace bears what might well be the figure of the Virgin and Child, whilst Guthrie castle, Angus, contains a painted record of the Last Judgement in which the Virgin and John the Baptist plead for mercy on behalf of the dead. At Lincluden collegiate church, the "Joys of the Virgin" once clearly adorned the rude screen, whilst at the royal palace of Linlithgow, within the courtyard, over the south entry, the remains of a depiction of the Annunciation; more famous still the statue of the Virgin and Child, and the Coronation of the Virgin at Melrose, the theme of the Virgin and Child again repeated in the collegiate church of Roslin, Lothian. [17]

At this point it is perhaps appropriate to pause and consider how such beliefs in the intercessional ability of the angelic hierarchy presented themselves in purely personal forms, that is, as stated in the introduction to this chapter, in terms of Books of Hours.

Here it should be noted that Latin text often mixed with the vernacular, the ease with which the Church's teachings were reinforced further aided by their often frequent lavish illustrations. The subject matter is generally that as examined above in relation to such topics as death, devotion to the Passion, Wounds, and Blood of Christ, the veneration of the Virgin, saints and appeals for intercession. The emphasis placed on certain aspects of such material reflecting the personal tastes of the owner of such a work, the social class from which such an individual might be drawn ranging from relatively wealthy craftsmen, through to royalty, and of course members of the Church itself. Indeed, such books developed from the round of hours which marked the monastic day, a

further overlap still seen in the care exerted in the production of the finer examples for use solely by the Church and those to be used by the laity. [18]

In terms of specific examples, royal tastes are displayed in the Book of hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor, and that of Mary of Guise. In the first book, no expense was spared to produce what was in effect a work of art in itself, nineteen coloured plates being used to illustrate the text, the themes represented - amongst others - *the Adoration of the Magi, the Crucifixion*, the *Little Office of the Blessed Virgin* and the *Vigil of the Office of the Dead*. In addition, seventy - nine individual paintings, fifty - seven miniature scenes and no less than three - hundred and sixty - seven illuminated border strips were included to supplement the main plates; even for literate royalty therefore, visual stimuli were of crucial importance. In the second of the two royal examples provided, again cost would appear to have been no object. Amongst the contents here, *The Passion*, the *Little Office Of Our Lady*, the *Litany Of Our Lady*, the *Litany Of The Saints*, *A Devotion To The Passion, Arranged According To The Canonical Hours*, *The Office Of The Dead*, and *Devotions To Our Lady*. In terms of personal tastes influencing the contents, it should be noticed that the presence of such French saints as St. Louis and St. Denys reflected Mary's origins, and that a particular emphasis was laid on the merits of the Franciscan Order - favoured by her husband James V as witnessed in chapter 6. In the Rossdhu Book of hours, commissioned for the use of the Colquhoun family in 1496, the art work, whilst not apparently on a par with the above royal examples, still nevertheless relies heavily on the colourful depiction of the services it contains, the twenty - five miniatures involved enhanced through the use of borders alive with foliage, fruit and flowers. In terms of emphasis, devotion to the Passion would seem to hold pride of place, a miniature of the Crucifixion within bearing apparent similarities with that of the same scene depicted within Foulis Easter collegiate kirk, examined below in chapter 9.

In the Arbuthnott volume entitled *The Hours Of The Blessed Virgin Mary*, again there is an emphasis on the use of colour, of the 6 pictures it contains, arguably the most impressive that which depicts the mass of St. Gregory; in this instance, the emphasis rests on devotion to the Virgin. The *Arbuthnott Missal* for its part is a very large, impressive leather bound volume with metal edge guards and lock. It makes full use of illuminated lettering and borders throughout, and features a full page illustration of St. Ternan of Arbuthnott, the saint to whom the church was dedicated. Interestingly enough - in light of the book's dedication as late as 1491 - it also contains a direct appeal to St. Ternan to act in the capacity of a personal guardian to James Sibbald - Vicar of Arbuthnott, author of the above book of hours, this missal and the psalter examined below - Robert Arbuthnott - Sibbald's patron - and Robert's father David.

"Be careful, O saint, to defend with your assiduous prayers your aforesaid servants and all those devoted to you, so that after this life they may be able to ascend to that seat where, with thee, they may receive the rewards of the eternal kingdom.

Significantly, - in terms of the use of fear as examined in the present chapter, and that of the ability of a saint to strike down the unworthy as examined in chapter 10 below - the dedication also asked that anyone removing this work from the church be "cursed wherever he [was], unless he [repented] and [restored] it immediately". Since the building in question also housed the relics of St. Palladius, this was no idle threat. In the 3rd. volume examined from this foundation, *The Psalter of the Chapel of Our Lady*, again colour is much in evidence, the subjects depicted St. Ternan, the Salutation, the Virgin and Child, the Rich Man and Lazarus, the Passion and the Holy Eucharist. Of particular note here, is a later insertion - still pre - Reformation - which asked for prayers for the soul of the late James IV, who died "at the Battle of Flodden, 9th. September 1513...."

Two final examples may be used to illustrate the nature of such personal statements of belief, both taken from the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, these being *Andrew Lundy's Primer* and *Dean Brown's Book of Hours*. In the first example, colour again plays a part - light and dark red, purple, blue, brown and black - the miniatures of "St. Jerome", "St. Anne" and the "Blessed Mary in Glory" all possessing a simple charm; perhaps that of St. Jerome is worthy of particular praise. In the second example, the quality with which the illuminated letters and miniatures have been executed, and the greater use of colour make this work an even more eye catching work still. Of its content, among the subjects depicted, Dean James Brown in prayer - which may be compared for example with the figure on the tomb of Archibald 5th. Earl of Douglas in St. Bride's kirk Douglas examined in chapter 9 - the Virgin and Child and the raising of Lazarus. In the first example, it should be noted that Brown is kneeling before an altar to the Virgin, a saint or bishop stands behind the Dean presumably acting as an additional intercessor on his behalf, the detail of the scene equally important for it illustrates the colourful nature of ecclesiastic garb in the late fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries - examined in chapters 7 and 9 - and the equal appeal to the senses exerted by the numerous trappings surrounding the altars and shrines - examined in chapters 10 and 11 - of the same period. In the miniature of the Virgin and Child, a gold border picked out with violets accords pride of place to the subjects therein. Additional personal touches may be seen in the inclusion of 5 major Scottish saints - St. Machar, St. Ninian, St. Vigean, St. Columba and St. Palladius as above - and moreover the emphasis on death which appears in the

Matins for the Dead and in the *Lauds for the Dead.* All of the above works it should be remembered are works of art in themselves, in keeping with then common trends, in which the use of colour was seen as an essential instructional aid which helped heighten the senses of the user and raise their awareness and appreciation of matters spiritual. [19]

At this point, it is perhaps appropriate to turn to examine in detail how the Church's official stance encouraged such a morbid preoccupation with death and the need to secure intercession on behalf of the soul, so that the horrors of Purgatory could in some measure be reduced. In terms of death, the ornate religious ceremony which surrounded the demise of a prominent local or indeed national figure for example - as examined in chapter 11 - would have been enough to remind the populace at large of the real need to accrue intercessional measures for the time of their own demise. Further - from the material examined in the present chapter - the Church had long been at pains to stress that there was no time to waste in such a quest, for death could strike without warning leaving the individual wholly unprepared for the Judgement to come; hence the veneration of certain saints such as St. Barbara, St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Margaret of Antioch and St. Joseph - who were reputed to be able to aid the dying to achieve a "holy end" - and the appeal of such indulgences as that seen above, which promised that the Virgin herself would reveal the time of a supplicant's death, thus allowing for at least a modicum of preparation - for even death bed repentance was preferable to none at all - to mitigate their inevitable suffering. [20] To such ideals the Church added the power of legislative sanctions, of crucial importance here the Profession of Faith made at the 2nd. Council of Lyons in 1247. In this document it was made clear that there was such an intermediate zone as Purgatory, and that the souls of those who died truly penitent who were held therein, would benefit from the suffrages of the living through such services as the sacrifice of the Mass, prayers for their souls, alms giving and good works in general. Essentially it was the same message which was to be repeated again following the Councils of Ferrara - 1438 - and Florence - 1439 - for the latter meeting resulted in the issue of the Bull, Laetentur Caeli - 6 July 1439 - which gave credence to the region known as Purgatory and to the above means of releaving the suffering of those trapped within. Similarly, in terms of the mid sixteenth century Council of Trent, it should be noted that it not only re - iterated the above statements on the suffrages necessary for the souls thus tormented, it reinforced the notion of the horrors which surrounded the death bed, examined above in terms of contemporary art, literature and popular belief; the 14th. Session of the Council of Trent - 25 November 1551 - quite adamant in its claims. It stated that the *Doctrine of the Sacrament of Extreme Unction* had been instituted by God to counter what was the time of the devil's most strenuous efforts "to ruin us utterly.... to make us even lose faith in the divine mercy...."; that is, in the time immediately prior to one's death. This

sacrament therefore possessed the power to "take away sins if there [were] any still to be expiated....", restore confidence in divine mercy, and strengthen the dying to resist "the temptations of the devil who [lay] in wait for his heel...."; it might even restore the sick to health. [21]

In summing up the contents of this chapter therefore, an attempt has been made to illustrate the cumulative strength of all of the ideas relating to the region of the afterlife known as Purgatory. It emerged that from as early as the first century the laity had been provided with guided tours of this region; by the period under study therefore, all would have been familiar with what awaited almost everyone in death. Here it is possible to argue that whilst no individual could avoid the inevitable horror of their death, with sufficient funds, through the purchase of intercession in the form of masses, prayers and good works, the wealthier elements in society could, nevertheless, influence the way their souls would be treated immediately after death. The issues examined in this chapter therefore were of the utmost relevance to society in the period in question and to the subjects of this thesis, for all determined in no small part the way that the laity perceived the value of the regular Orders and their secular counterparts in the colleges; this statement particularly true in terms of the latter category of the Church's servants, for all were prime motives for the foundation of a collegiate community. If however the statement made in the introduction to this chapter can be validated, that these colleges were now as popular as the houses of the regulars in their heyday - for they enabled the wealthier elements of society to attempt to secure salvation without having to personally commit themselves to observing monastic or mendicant ideals - then why should they too have succumbed to the impending assault of Protestant doctrine? were they as flawed as the "older" servants of the Church had been seen to be? what of the statement that the very causes of their popularity would lead eventually to their down fall? It is to these and other related issues that the following chapter will turn as it examines the phenomenon of the collegiate church in Scotland in the period c.1450 to 1560.

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In fol. 27, the letter "C" forms a bearded head with what would appear to be wisps of foliage coming from its mouth.

fol. 28, the letter "C" ends as a squat, grotesque creature with a hideous face, from its heavy jowls its tongue protrudes, its large mouth drawn back in a snarl to reveal the creature's fangs.

fol. 40, the letter "A" forms a smaller version of the above head; although the tongue does not protrude, the general appearance is still grotesque.

fol. 41, the letter "A" forms a bearded, goblin like head, the lips drawn back in a ferocious snarl, the tongue protruding.

fol. 47, the letter "S" forms a head more goblin like still; the ears swept back from the head and pointed, the eyes deep set, the nose long, almost trunk like, the upper lip pointed, jutting out, the lower lip thick and drooping.

fol. 77, the letter "E" forms the head of what would appear to be a monk.

fol. 96, the letter "P" forms a male head, the features contorted in rage, the teeth revealed in a snarl, the tongue protruding.

fol. 117, the letter "E" forms a crudely shaped head with a long bulbous nose and lips. The head is thrown back and what would seem to be a jet of fire issues from its mouth.

fol. 121, the letter "E" forms a tonsured monk.

fol. 124, 2 mirror image heads appear, both having large hooked noses and what would appear to be leaf fronds in place of hair.

fol. 125, the letter "E" forms a rather non-descript head.

fol. 126, contains a head similar to those in 124 above, although the impression here is that the subject possess inordinate strength.

fol. 128, the letter "E" forms a small devilish head, with pointed beard and a cunning expression. The letter "O" forms a small head similar to that above, the expression here however is one of anger.

fol. 129, contains a small, strangely effeminate head; a leaf frond takes the place of hair.

fol. 132, the letter "S" forms a demonic looking head, the ears pointed, swept backwards and down towards the neck; the tongue of the creature appears to consist of a curling wisp of flame and smoke.

fol. 133, the letter "Q" forms a strange head with bulbous features and an enraged expression.

fol. 134, contains 2 letters "A" formed into hideous heads which breath fire and smoke.

fol. 135r, the letter "S" forms a large, impressive dragon; snarling, it looks back over shoulder and wing, its tail curling across the foot of the page. The features are drawn taught as if in rage, the teeth exposed in a snarl, the tongue flicks out, curling at the end, perhaps in a lick of flame.

fol. 141, contains a strange, almost feminine head, a leaf frond taking the place of hair, and the letter "S" fashioned in the form of a demon looking up.

fol. 142, the letter "A" forms a bulbous head, one large ear is visible and from its open mouth the creature breathes fire.

fol. 147, contains a head similar to that first described in folio 141, but now it is snarling and enraged.

fol. 152, the letter "H" forms a man's head with pointed nose and an angry expression.

fol. 153, the letter "M" forms an angry, goblin like face, around the creature's neck a heavy studded collar.

fol. 155, the bust of a man with long hair, his tunic open at the neck.

fol. 157, a head with long flowing beard and a studded collar round its neck.

fol. 160, a strangely elongated head, the features contorted in a snarl.

fol. 161, as above.

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Cullen collegiate church, Christ In Glory, see: Vol.2, Plate148,148.

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Foulis Easter collegiate church, Calvary painting, see: Vol.2, Plate 149, 149.

" " " " , Soul taken by angel, see: Vol.2, Plate 150, 150.

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PHOTOGRAPH
Cullen collegiate church, the tomb of Sir Alexander Ogilvie, bearing deaths heads and corpse, see: Vol.2, Plate 152, 152.

For Torphichen, see, D. Macgibbon and T. Ross: Castellated And Domestic Architecture, Vol. 5, 138, 140, fig. 1255.

PHOTOGRAPH
Torphichen Preceptory, location of monument of Sir George Dundas, see: Vol.2, Plate 153, 153.

" " , The corpse of Sir George Dundas, see: Vol.2, Plate 154, 154.

" " , Detail, tomb of Sir George Dundas, see: Vol.2, Plate 155, 155.

J. Edwards: "Torphichen", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.* , N. S. Vol. 3, 335.

C. McWilliam: *Lothian*, 449.

A. Ross: "Notice", in *Soc. Of Ant.* , Vol. 19, 1885, 121-126, 130, fig. 8-10.

B. Lawson: *St Clements Church At Rodel*, 5, 8.

For Aberdour, see, J. Gifford: *Fife*, 59-60.

PHOTOGRAPH
Aberdour Church, see: Vol.2, Plate 156, 156.

" " , Poem, see: Vol.2, Plate 157, 157.

For Glasgow Cathedral, see, C. J. P. Cave: *Roof Bosses In Medieval Churches: Aspects Of Gothic Sculpture*, (Cambridge, 1948), 193, 606. Hereafter, C. J. P Cave: *Roof Bosses In Medieval Churches.*

PHOTOGRAPH
Glasgow Cathedral, Skull and worms, roof boss, see: Vol.2, Plate 158, 158.

" " , King's head, roof boss, see: Vol.2, Plate 159, 159.

" " , Death's head on opposite side to king's head, roof boss, see: Vol.2, Plate 160, 160.

R. Fawcett: "Glasgow Cathedral", in E. Williams, A. Riches and M. Higgs: *Glasgow* (London, 1990), 110, 118, 126. Hereafter, R. Fawcett: *Glasgow.*

14.) J. Small(ed.): *William Dunbar*, Vol. 2, see for example:
We That Ar In Hevins Glory, 112, l. 4-6, 10; 113, l. 29-32; 114, l. 45-6; 115, l. 74-8, 84-6.
I Cry The Mercy, And Laser To Repent, 65-6, l. 23.
Memento, Homo, Quod Cinis, 75, l. 45.
Ane Ballat Of The Passioun Of Christ, 239.
Now Glaidith Every Liffis Creature, 325, l. 31.
The Jesus Psalter, Introduction, viii, 194-204.

J. A. W. Bennett(ed.): *Devotional Pieces*, see,
The Passion Of Christ, Introduction, iv, 7-63, esp. 17, l. 310-5.
Remembrance Of The Passion, Introduction, x, 237-313. esp. 213, l. 1-23; 218, l. 129-144; 227, l. 403-4. For further evidence of devotion to the Passion, Wounds and Blood, see: (Passion) 182-193, esp. l. 1-6, 19-22; 240; 255-69, 270-4. (Wounds) 241, l. 121, 131, 142; 243, l. 167, 171; 244-5, 259-61. (Blood) 239, l. 54; 240, l. 77; 242, l. 126, 134, 143; 243, l. 146, 156, 168; 245, l. 208; 246, l. 215, 226.

W. Caxton: *Ars Moriendi*, 16, 18.

R. Pynson: *The Rosary Of Our Savyour Jesus*, see for example Ch. 5 and Ch. 6, folios viii to x, and xi to xv.

M. Glasscoe: *English Medieval Mystics*, 29.

R. Whiting: *The Blind Devotion Of The People* , 17.

E. Duffy: *Altars*, 234-35, 238-39.

M. Rubin: *Corpus Christi*, 302-310, 312-314.

15.) J. A. W. Bennett(ed.): *Devotional Pieces*, see for example,
The Golden Litany, Introduction, ix, 205-12, esp. 212, l. 238-53.
Angelie Qui Meus Est Custos, Introduction, xiv, 248, e. g. l. 273-9.
An Orison To The Proper Angel, As Above, e. g. l. 280-8.
O Sancte Ange, As Above, 248-9, e. g. l. 289-303.
Or Ye Gang To Confessioun, 249, l. 304-7.

W. Caxton: *Ars Moriendi*, 16-17.

F. X. Schouppe: *Purgatory*, 48, 71-3, 107.

M. Rubin: *Corpus Christi*, 13.

E. Duffy: *Altars*, 217.

16.) For St. Michael's statue, see, C. McWilliam: *Lothian*, 287.

J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 48, 65.

PHOTOGRAPH
St. Michael's church, Linlithgow, statue of St. Michael, see: Vol.2, Plate 161, 161.

For Mary, see, J. A. W. Bennett(ed.): *Devotional Pieces*, Introduction, viii, x, xix, xxiii, xx, xxi; 198, l. 111, 113-18, 128, 131-5; 199, l. 150-5, 233, l. 587- 234, l. 592; 236, l. 652-69; 279-81, l. 1-9, 92, 98-9; 282, l. 110-11, 115-6; 283, l. 147-53, 155- 284, l. 165; 284, l. 186-7, 191-3; 285, l. 194-5, 209-10; 286; 297, l. 111; 299-321, l. 1-6. For the particularly powerful piece entitled *The Lang Rosair*, see xxiii, 322-34.

D. McRoberts: "Catalogue", in, *I. R.* . Vol. 3, (1952), 53, 57. For an example of how the rosary could be used as a symbol of both piety and wealth, see, D. McRoberts: "The Rosary In Scotland", in *I. R.* , Vol. 23, (1972), 81, 83.

F. X. Schouppe: *Purgatory*, 184-6.

W. Caxton: *Ars Moriendi*, 16-18, 23, 28.

J. N. D. Kelly: *Popes*, Innocent VIII, 251-2.

Boniface IX, 231-2.
Alexander VI, 252-4

R. Pynson: *Pilgrimage Of Perfection*, (London, 1526). Folio x, xi, clxxxviii.

T. S. R. Boase: *Death*, 48.

E. Duffy: *Altars*, 256.

J. Leclercq: "St. Bernard On The Church", in, *The Downside Rev.* , No. 85, (1967), 277-8.

R. C. Finucane: *Appearances Of The Dead*, 50-1, 58, 67-8, 70.

J. A. MacCulloch: *Medieval Faith And Fable*, (London, 1932),108. Hereafter, J. A. MacCulloch, *Medieval Faith And Fable.*

17.) See for example:
(Brechin) J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 8-9.

PHOTOGRAPH
Cullen, Mercat cross, Virgin and Child, see: Vol.2, Plate 162, 162.

(Dysart) J. Gifford: *Fife*, 288.

(Douglas) T. S. Muir: *Descriptive Notices*, 108.

(Falkland) J. S. Richardson: As Above, 64.

(Guthrie) M. R. Apted: *The Painted Ceilings Of Scotland, 1505-1650*, (Edinburgh, 1966), 2.

(Lincluden) J. S. Richardson: As Above, 49.

S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, (Edinburgh, 1986),177. Hereafter, S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches.*

(Linlithgow) J. S. Richardson: As Above, 64.

(Melrose) J. S. Richardson: As Above, 60.

(Roslin) C. McWilliam: *Lothian*, 416.

R. Salvini: *Medieval Sculpture*, 308. Plate ix, 209, 342, 347.

D. Nussey(trans.): *The Gothic Image*, Ch. iii, parts vii-viii.

18.) M. Rubin: *Corpus Christi*, 156, 293, 297, 302-4, 309.

E. Duffy: *Altars*, 234-5, 266.

E. Newton and W. Neil: *The Christian Faith In Art*, 110-11.

J. Harthan: *Books Of Hours*, 88, fig. 86. "Portrait Of Rene", in *The Paris Hours Of Rene Of Anjou*, and 92, fig. 90. "Rene As Le-Roi-Mort", in *The London Hours Of Rene Of Anjou*. Both are fifteenth century texts, both provide an excellent insight into the overlap of public representations of death, and the personal viewpoint. In the first instance, Rene is depicted in life and at the height of his power; in the second, as a desiccated, worm eaten corpse.

M. Glasscoe: *English Medieval Mystics*, 30-2, 45.

A. Ross: "Notes", in, D. McRoberts: *Essays*, 217-8.

W. Macgilivray: "Notices", in, *Soc. Of Ant.* , Vol. 26, (1891-92), 98-101.

19.) L. Macfarlane: "The Book Of Hours Of James IV And Margaret Tudor", in, *I. R.* , Vol. 11, (1960), 3-6.

M. Dillworth: "Book Of Hours Of Mary Of Guise", in, *I. R.* , Vol. 19, Miscellany, (1968), 77-9.

G. Hay and D. McRoberts: "Rossdhu Church And Its Book Of Hours", in, *I. R.* , Vol. 16, (1965), 7-8, 15.

D. McRoberts: "Catalogue", in, *I. R.* , Vol. 3, (1952), 55.

W. Macgillivray: "Notices", in, *Soc. Of Ant.* , Vol. 26, (1892), 89-97.

W. J. Anderson: "Andrew Lundy's Primer", in, *I. R.* , Vol. 11, (1960), 39-50.

D. McRoberts: "Dean Brown's Book Of Hours", in, *I. R.* , Vol. 19, (1968), 144-5, 147, 159-61, 164.

In terms of the decorative features mentioned on 31, the following brief references are included to aid the reader's appreciation of the effort involved in the production of such works, thus the value attached to them, the effect they were designed to engender and finally the relevance of such material in terms of this thesis as a whole.

1.) The *Arbuthnott Hours Of The Blessed Virgin Mary*, held within Paisley museum. The first miniature, that of St. Ternan, is a bold piece, not as finely executed as some of those examined in the course of this thesis, -the facial features simply, perhaps even crudely portrayed- it nevertheless retains a certain colourful attraction through the bold floral border which surrounds it. In the second miniature, depicting the Salutation, again the approach is fairly basic, but once more a colourful floral border with a gold illuminated frame within enlivens the scene. The Virgin herself is portrayed with long fair hair, She wears a blue cloak with yellow lining, a red robe beneath; at Her feet, the symbol of her purity, a pot of lilies. The third miniature depicts the Virgin and Child; both figures are surrounded by a rays of yellow light which contrasts sharply with the dark blue background to this page. Here the Virgin is depicted as wearing a white cloak with a blue robe beneath; a gold crown surmounts Her head, Her long fair hair falling to the level of Her elbows. The fourth miniature as stated shows the Rich Man and Lazarus, the fifth the Crucifixion, the Wounds of Christ clearly emphasised, the sixth the Holy Eucharist. In terms of the latter miniature, it should be noted that the figure of Christ dominates the scene around the altar. Depicted from the waist up, He displays the wounds on his hands and head; from His side, blood drops into a chalice on the altar. Again like the other scenes described above, it is simply executed but nevertheless provides a wealth of valuable detail. The tiles on the area surrounding the altar for example are shown in alternating triangles of light and dark green colour. The altar frontal a matching colour scheme, picked out to achieve a foliage style of effect.

2.) The Arbuthnott *Missal*, held within Paisley museum. The one and only illumination here is a of a bishop dressed in his full regalia, which -as stated by W. MacGillivray in *Soc. Of Ant.* (8 February 1892)-, does indeed have "all the appearance of a portrait". The visual appeal of this volume therefore may be said to lie in the numerous illuminated letters which appear in use throughout, and in its sheer physical presence.

3.) The Arbuthnott *Psalter Of The Chapel Of Our Lady*, held within Paisley museum. Here the immediate attraction of the book may be said to lie in the pleasing balance of red and black lettering in use throughout, and in the finely executed pages with illuminated capitals which appear from time to time. The first of these for example possesses an attractive floral border featuring strawberries and Perriewinkle, all set to a background of interwoven rambling foliage, its fruit picked out in gold. The first illuminated letter of this page moreover may in itself be described as a work of art. Within the letter "B", king David kneels, his hands clasped in prayer, a gold crown rests on his head, his red cape has a white ermine collar and is thrown back to reveal a blue robe beneath; before him on the ground, a gold harp. Despite the small size of the figure, the king's features are clearly picked out, as indeed is his beard and long hair. Of additional interest, the letter "D", fol. 61, fol. 84, fol. 104; the letter "S", fol. 122; the letter "E", fol. 147; the letter "A", fol. 170 and the letter "D" fol. 193.

4.)*Andrew Lundy's Primer*, held within the National Library, Edinburgh (Dep. 221, No. 5) . Here the art work is not of the same quality arguably as that seen in the above volumes. In fol. 17 for example, the Virgin and Child are surrounded by a rather heavy handed floral border consisting mainly of violets; a gold background picked out with small red dots does little to enhance its decorative appeal. Of the Virgin, Her gold hair is secured by a black braid across Her forehead, She wears a blue outergarment edged with gold, a red robe with gold braided collar beneath. The Child, naked, is held within a white cloth. Of the other scenes depicted, the Annunciation, the portrait of St. Jerome in a bishop's regalia and the Crucifixion are perhaps the best examples.

5.) *Dean Brown's Book Of Hours*, held within the National Library, Edinburgh (Ms. 10270) . Here, a small neat script is used throughout, numerous gold embossed capital letters completing an overall delicate appeal. Of the subjects depicted, fol. 17 depicts Dean Brown at prayer; this scene and the facing page surrounded by a colourful floral border featuring daisies, speedwell, violets and carnations. All of these flowers are faithful copies of the actual plants, they are not stylistic representations; in turn, all are further enhanced by a golden yellow backdrop. Of the picture of Dean Brown itself, he is shown kneeling before an altar, his hands clasped in prayer; he is wearing a black birreta, a light pink alb with a white collar, whilst around his shoulders he wears a pale gold robe fastened at his breast. Draped over his left arm a pale grey almuce, with dark brown fringe at the base. Immediately behind the dean, a saintly bishop rests his right hand on the on the supplicant's shoulder, the garb of this figure is equally colourful; on his head, a light blue mitre picked out in gold, around this in turn a gold nimbulus. Over his shoulders hangs a red cope, again with a pattern

delicately picked out at regular intervals; beneath, a green alb with a white collar, his badges of office completed by an ornate gold pastoral staff in his left hand.

Of the large statue of the Virgin -before which the dean is kneeling-, a gold nimbulus surrounds Her head, She wears a light coloured blue grey overgarment and matching robe beneath; the Child Christ is depicted as naked. Both these figures stand within a large niche, framed in dark brown wood, enriched with gold highlights; the rear of the niche has a gold background, merging into crimson towards its outer edges. Of the decorative features surrounding all of these figures, the floor tiles are alternately brown and light green with a gold yellow pattern. The altar cover is white with a blue frontal enhanced with fine gold stitching, to the north of the altar, a bright green riddel curtain.

In fol. 50, a half length portrait of the Virgin within an ornate gold frame, a gold nimbulus surrounds both Her head and that of the infant Christ. The artist here has favoured a realistic depiction of both subjects, the infant naked, cradled in a white cloth, the Virgin wearing a striking blue outer garment with matching robe beneath; both edged with a delicate gold braid. Around this scene, and the text of the following page again the natural depiction of a range of flowers, violet, speedwell, anemone; through all of them winds a vigorous golden foliage. Both pages in turn are given an added vitality through the use of a pale pink/red background.

In fol. 50, King David appears kneeling in prayer before a magnificent Church. Before him the symbols of his authority, a gold sceptre, a blue domed hat with red rim surmounted with a gold crown. He wears a red cloak picked out with gold thread and lined with white fur; around is neck a gold chain and cross. Beneath his cloak, a grey robe fastened at the waist with a whitebelt; both robe and belt are picked out in gold thread. Both this scene and the facing page are enlivened with the same natural use flowers and foliage; in this instance given an added appeal through the presence of 2 peacocks, a butterfly and numerous small insects; all in turn are provided with a golden yellow backdrop.

In fol. 111, no fewer than 11 figures are included in a detailed depiction of the raising of Lazarus. As with the other examples, great care has been taken to ensure a realistic reproduction of the subject matter involved, the artist concerned working to a high standard throughout. Again a naturalistic background has been added to this scene; here in addition to strawberries, violets, speedwell and thistles, the artist has seen fit to include 3 large white butterflies, 2 meadow brown butterflies and 2 pink shelled snails alongside a variety of insects. All are painted on a golden yellow background, the overall effect such as to make this the finest work examined thus far.

In terms of drawing the reader's attention to the fact that such Scottish examples were in line with their Continental counterparts the following brief references are included to enable the reader to make the necessary comparisons.

6.) Within Paisley museum for example, a small crimson velvet bound book of hours dedicated to the Virgin may be examined which bears out the above trends. Of the numerous illustrations within, the first depicts the Annunciation, both Virgin and angel possessing life-like features, the whole piece given an added appeal through the use of a backdrop in the form of a multicoloured tiled wall, some of the tiles picked out in gold. The third shows the Virgin and Child in the stables; it has a similarly colourful background as the above, a golden nimbulus surrounds the heads of both Virgin and Child, the former dressed in a striking blue cloak over a red robe. The fourth depicts the three Magi; colour again an important feature. The first king presents a small chest of gold, its bright colour matching the long overgarment he wears, the 2nd. wears a blue cloak trimmed with a white fur collar, a gold crown rests on his head, the third figure wears a red cloak trimmed with white fur. The Virgin for Her part wears a blue cloak with a gold robe beneath; the whole scene is given an added air of splendour with a background consisting of the night sky, dark blue, with gold stars.

The eighth scene shows the Coronation of the Virgin, the ninth king David, the twelfth a fascinating depiction of the office for the dead. In the latter illustration, 3 priests read from an open book on a lectern before them, behind them, 3 figures cowled figures dressed in black look down on another open book; 2 candles burn in tall stands before the altar, the latter covered in a blue altar cloth with red highlights. The whole of this book of hours is in turn enhanced by an extremely delicate foliage which forms part of the text itself as opposed to a separate border as witnessed above; in addition, the book is written in a small, fine script, elaborated at frequent intervals by the use of illuminated lettering.

7.) Within Glasgow University library, a small French book of hours (Ms. Gen. 288, fol. 197v) containing a similarly informative illustration of contemporary Church services and ecclesiastic garb. The scene in question depicts a group of monks singing from a lectern; 2 figures are dressed in plain grey habits, the figure behind them dressed in light purple, 2 others appear all in white, 2 others still in blue cloaks bearing a gold pattern with gold braid around the edges, these outer garments covering white habits beneath. The leading figure of the group has a green and gold patterned cloak, edged with gold; beneath he too wears a white habit. The scene is further interesting in that it clearly shows the use of alternating dark and light green floor tiles to decorate what is presumably the choir or area around the altar. Around this illustration, a complex border of interwoven flowers and foliage, emphasising differing shades of blue, green, red and brown; gold highlights in turn increase the visual appeal of the page in question.

8.) Again within Glasgow University Library, another French book of hours (Ms. Euing 3. Fol. f 68v) , containing a depiction of the nativity. Here a rich floral border surrounds both this and the facing page, bright red and gold flowers contrasting with a variety of pink, green and gold leaves. The figure of the Virgin for Her part is dressed in a blue cloak with a brown robe beneath, a gold nimbulus surrounds Her head and long gold tresses which fall to Her shoulders.

9.) The above emphasis on colour as an aid to instruction may again be seen in yet another French book of hours (Ms. Euing 4. fol. 45v) from the same source. In this example, a similarly bright, colourful surround has been provided to enhance the artist's depiction of the angel informing the shepherds of the birth of Christ. Within this border, a

detailed, realistic reproduction of the event in question, the 1st. shepherd dressed in a blue cloak, red tunic and grey breeches; the 2nd. in a purple cloak and red breeches. Additional emphasis is given to the picture by the inclusion of a backdrop consisting of a clear blue sky with white clouds over a walled city with many turrets breaking the distant skyline.

10.) Finally, the reader might like to view what is perhaps the grandest example of all the manuscripts mentioned thus far, a large bible, Italian, fully 2 feet in length, 1 foot across which contains (Ms. Gen. 1060. fol. 4r) a magnificent record of the history of the Creation of Man and his ultimate fate. Each of the numerous individual scenes depicted therein, executed in a life like manner; the messages they contain therefore, conveyed in a direct and forceful manner.

In summing up the value of these texts in terms of the component parts of this thesis, not merely the present chapter, the following points should be borne in mind. Firstly, in relation to chapter 8, the repeated emphasis laid on a devotion to the Virgin, and the sacrificial importance of the Passion and Wounds of Christ, both vital means whereby man could gain favourable intercession between himself and his Creator. Equally relevant to the topics raised in chapter 8, the importance placed on the need to intercede for those already dead, as seen in the Arbuthnott psalter, Dean Brown's book of hours and the in the French book of hours held in Paisley museum. The evidence presented in most of the above works regarding the variety of colours and styles featured in ecclesiastic dress of the period in question, as witnessed in the Arbuthnott *Hours of the Virgin*, the Arbuthnott *Missal*, *Andrew Lundy's primer*, *Dean Brown's book of hours*, and the French book of hours in Paisley museum, bears great relevance not only to the evidence presented in chapters 2, 3, 5, 6, 7 and 9 relating to the high profile lives and burials of the individuals concerned, but more particularly perhaps to the attempts to curb these excesses as related in chapter 6. Evidence relating to the decoration of contemporary religious foundations, -particularly to features of the choir and the area around the altar, seen in the Arbuthnott *Hours of the Virgin*, *Dean Brown's book of hours*, the French book of hours at Paisley and the 1st. book of hours examined at Glasgow, relates directly to the evidence presented in chapters 8 to 11 as to the importance placed by the pre-Reformation Church on an appeal to the senses, and the creation of a suitably receptive frame of mind in which to both impart and receive her teachings. Similarly, the general evidence relating to the use of colour as a means of not only holding the attention of the reader, but of conveying messages through the use of particular colours in relation to particular figures. Thus, for example, the Virgin is usually associated with the colours white and blue since they relate to purity and innocence; gold was employed to signify constancy and wisdom, red as a witness to spiritual virtue, green to signify immortality and triumph over death and brown as a sign of penitence just a few of the numerous combinations used in the above works.

F. E. Hulme: *Symbolism*, 16-18, 20-1, 25-27.

J. C. Cooper: *Illustrated Encyclopedia*, 40-2.

20.) M. Rubin: *Corpus Christi*, 77-80.

T. N. Tentler: *Sin And Confession*, 6-7.

J. A. MacCulloch: *Medieval Faith And Fable*, 127.

E. Duffy: *Altars*, 310.

T. S. R. Boase: *Death*, 110, 113-14, 116.

N. Llewellyn: *Death*, 104-5.

D. H. Farmer: *Saints*, St. Barbara, 37;
St. Catherine of Alexandria, 88;
St. Joseph, 268;
St. Margaret of Antioch, 318.

21.) R. Ombres: Purgatory, in *The Downside Review*, No. 99, (1981), 279-287.

A. Goldhamer(trans.): *Purgatory*, 237.

R. C. Finucane: *Appearances Of The Dead*, 56.

J. Gill: "A Tractate About The Council Of Florence", in, *Journal Of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 9, (1958), 30-7.

J. Gill: *The Council Of Florence*, (Cambridge, 1959), vii, 95, 120, 315, 412-15.

F. Kramer(trans.): M. Chemitz: *Examination Of The Council Of Trent*,(St. Louis, 1971-8), part 1, 26 (1) , 30 (8) , 33 (12) , 34, 40 (6) , 65 (3) , 66 (4) , 82 (20). Hereafter, F. Kramer(Trans.): *Trent.*

H. J. Schroeder (trans.): *Trent*, 99-101.

F. X. Schouppe: *Purgatory*, 146-7, 155.

E. Duffy: *Altars*, 342-3, 346-8.

E. J. Becker: *Medieval Visions*, 2-4.

Chapter Nine

The Collegiate Kirk, a fresh approach to intercession or old ideals in a fashionable format?

"By devout and continuous prayers, especially masses where the Son of God is offered for sins, sins are remitted and the pains of Purgatory destroyed, and souls set free therefrom to enjoy the delights of Paradise.... "

[Taken from a charter issued by Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen, 10 April 1528, in keeping with the last will of Edward Stewart, Bishop of Orkney; in J. Anderson: *Laing Charters*, 93 - 94.]

Introduction

In the above chapter, a detailed examination was made of matters relating to lay, and indeed religious, perceptions of death and the world to come, the intention being to lay the ground rules necessary for examining the claims that the services of collegiate communities were - by the period under examination - more sought after than the traditional intercessionary activity of the older regular Orders, and that the very issues which led to this popularity were inevitably to cause more damage to the subjects of this thesis than any of the criticisms analysed thus far. Given the basic premise, that the collegiate houses were the most favoured intercessors of the time, a series of questions arise. Was their popularity due merely to the horrors examined in chapter 8, as would seem to be the case in the above extract from the last will of Edward Stewart, or were there other factors at work which, when combined with such dread beliefs, saw the members of collegiate communities win the respect of both the laity and, as above, religious alike? What, for example, were the standards of behaviour required of these communities, what were their duties, to what degree were these individuals meeting the demands which their benefactors placed upon them? To what extent might it be said that these highly personal foundations matched the architectural "requirements" of the older, established centres of prayer, which ranged from the parish church to the centre of diocesan power? In turn, to what degree might such structural and decorative features be said to reveal the enthusiasm of collegiate patrons for the services which such a community offered? Having examined such features, the chapter will conclude by attempting to provide a balanced explanation as to how these communities could enjoy such popularity, yet, at the same time, sow the seeds of their own ultimate decline.

In terms of the above questions, it is proposed to begin with an examination of what may be termed the positive aspects of collegiate life. Here, perhaps the first praiseworthy aspect of these communities may be seen in the common demands of their founders that the inmates actually reside in the foundations which supported them. At Seton collegiate kirk for example, the foundation charter stated that the:

> "prowest, channonis, barnis and clerk mak continual resedens at ye said kirk... to say Matenis, he mess, euynsang and complen.... excep ye vicar and clerk.... [when they visit] ye seyk folkis of ye parochyn...."

Above all, the head of the community was to remain in residence so that he could maintain continuous supervision of the other members of the house. The importance of this demand seen also in the terms stipulated for his replacement, for such an individual was only to be drawn from the ranks of the community itself; the earlier monastic ideals regarding the crucial importance of a resident head therefore were once more demanded. No one therefore was to absent themselves for any other reason than that stated above, the founder - George, Lord Seton - and his successors reserving the right to fine them in accordance with the length of their absence, and the services which they failed to perform. Other regulations still stated that if any member of the community were found to be keeping a concubine, he could be dismissed; similarly, if any inmate indulged in violence the founder or his successors was empowered to have that individual removed. Nor was illiteracy to be tolerated, for all the inmates were to possess enough in the way of an education to be able to perform the demands placed upon them by the founder; again therefore, standards of behaviour were being dictated by earlier monastic ideals.

An equal emphasis on the importance of residing at the place of service and in the good behaviour of the inmates may be seen in the foundation of Tain collegiate church, the Chapel Royal at Stirling and in the collegiate community at Cullen, where it was stipulated that:

> "Before the beginning of masses and hours, all the prebendaries will gather at the church and there, without gossip, whispering, laughter and without vain and empty looks during silence, in peace and with due gravity sing and so continue to the end [of the service]...."

Similarly, the degree to which the patrons of a collegiate house would go to ensure the highest standards were maintained may be seen in the action of Aberdeen town council, who on one occasion, sacked all but one of the choir of St. Nicholas's collegiate kirk and employed a new one more to their liking.

Thus at first glance there was much to be said in favour of the collegiate communities of the period in question. In terms of raising the standards of the Church's servants, the collegiate houses provided a grounding for many in the rudiments of education in the schools attached to them, and in a few cases, such as King's College, Aberdeen, the College of Arts, Glasgow, and the colleges of the Pedagogy, St. John's, St. Leonard's, St. Mary's and St. Salvator's, St. Andrews, they possessed direct links with universities. The collegiate ideal therefore consisted of the head of the college, the provost or dean, responsible for the admission of the prebendaries, the members of the house. Beneath him, the sacrist, responsible for such duties as the ringing of the house bells and the appointment of the altar and choir. Of the other members of such communities, at Biggar for example one of the prebendaries was charged with the instruction of the community's school - responsible for training the boys attached to such foundations so that they could serve in the choir - another was placed in charge of the almshouse attached to the college, and its attendant bedesmen within; the almshouse seeming to have replaced the older hospital of St. Leonard's. Despite differences in the size of such communities therefore, such a basic format was the norm; in terms of charitable functions, other examples of aid to society's less fortunate members may be seen. At Biggar and Carnwath for example bedesmen were provided for, at the wealthy house of Corstorphine provision was made for both bedesmen and women, Dalkeith provided aid for the poor, Dumbarton aided bedesmen and women, Dunbar and Dunglass aided the poor, St. Giles possessed a hospital, St. Mary in the fields provided a measure of succour for the poor, whilst Trinity college and Lincluden college made provision for bedesmen. At the very least therefore, the collegiate houses of the period in question may be seen as working to maintain the traditional role of the Church, as the dispenser of education and social services in late medieval society.

In turning now to the negative aspects of such foundations, it should be noted that the common stipulation for residence must often have been ignored when some examples of past members of these communities are examined, for among their names appear some of the leading figures in Scottish society in the late fifteenth to mid sixteenth centuries. In chapter 1 for example it emerged that George Hepburn, Abbot of Arbroath had been the Provost of Lincluden collegiate church before his promotion, further that James Beaton [1st] had been the Provost of Bothwell collegiate church before gaining control of the Abbey of Dunfermline. Beaton's career is further

relevant to the topic in hand since on promotion to the Bishopric of Galloway he automatically became head of the collegiate Chapel Royal at Stirling, moreover, in this capacity he only narrowly missed gaining additional control of the college of Lincluden. The career of David Arnot followed a similar pattern for he too had been the Provost of Bothwell before assuming control of the Abbey of Cambuskenneth. Likewise, he was promoted in time to the Bishopric of Galloway, assumed control of the Chapel Royal, and like Beaton only narrowly missed possession of Lincluden. William Douglas for his part was the Provost of Methven before his promotion to the Abbey of Holyrood, there being some doubt as to whether he actually renounced Methven on his promotion. As witnessed in chapter 1, such promotions were granted as a result of proving oneself useful to the crown in a variety of roles; it is extremely unlikely therefore that such highly ambitious individuals were overly concerned with the demands for residence placed upon the heads of collegiate houses, for as seen above, on promotion to abbatial rank, absenteeism, pluralism and devotion to the work of the state remained the foremost concerns of such individuals as they sought additional honours still. Appointment to the head of a collegiate foundation therefore was doubtless seen by such men - as indeed was promotion to an abbacy - as merely one more rung in the ladder of their careers. Such a claim may be further supported by additional examples taken from other chapters of this thesis. In chapter 2 for instance, it emerged that William Cunningham, provided to the Bishopric of Argyll on 7 May 1539, had been the Provost of Holy Trinity collegiate church in Edinburgh prior to his promotion, whilst Robert Stewart, provided to the see of Caithness in 1542, had previously held the office of Provost of the collegiate church of St. Mary in Dumbarton. Similarly, in chapter 3, it emerged that John Fraser, provided to the Bishopric of Ross in 1498, had been the Dean of Restalrig collegiate church in Edinburgh, whilst Columba de Dunbar, provided to the Bishopric of Moray in 1422 was a past Dean of the collegiate church of Dunbar. Other instances still of the way in which the charge of a collegiate house could be seen as a stepping stone to better things may be seen for instance in the careers of William Foulis, Provost of Bothwell who was Keeper of the Privy Seal from 1427 to 1439, Alexander Gordon, the past Chaplain of Tarlogie in the collegiate church of Tain, who gained the Bishopric of Aberdeen [1516], Gavin Douglas a past Provost of St. Giles who was promoted to the Bishopric of Dunkeld [25 May 1515] and Robert Crichton, who also held the office of Provost in St. Giles before his promotion to Dunkeld [1544].

Lincluden collegiate kirk for its part, so sought after by the crown as a means of increasing the prestige of the Chapel Royal, could lay claim to have formed the basis of several episcopal careers, for Provost John Cameron became the Bishop of Glasgow [22 April 1426], Provost John de Winchester became Bishop of Moray [23 March 1435], Provost Thomas Spens became Bishop

of Galloway [7 January 1449 - 50] thereafter Bishop of Aberdeen [21 November 1457], Canon Andrew Durisdere [or Muirhead] became Bishop of Glasgow [1455], Provost Andrew Stewart became Bishop of Moray [7 August 1482] and Provost William Stewart became Bishop of Aberdeen [consecrated in 1532]. Moreover, it should be remembered that there were other honours to be had outwith an episcopal calling, for earlier still - 24 February 1433 - Provost John Methven held the office of Royal Secretary to James I, and that in the reign of James III, Provost James Lindsay had functioned as the Royal Treasurer and Keeper of the Privy Seal.

In terms of demands for celibacy, as seen in chapter 5, the inmates of collegiate communities were no more consistent in their observation of this rule than many of their regular counterparts. Alexander Buchanan for example, a canon of the Chapel Royal in Stirling, sought legal recognition on 7 January 1529/30 for his children, Andrew, Alexander and Jasper. Alexander Scott, another canon of this community sought the legitimisation of his sons John and Alexander, whilst a chancellor of this house, Michael Disart, laid claim to no fewer than 5 children, Duncan, Andrew, John, Oliver and Agnes. Evidence of immorality, ambition and a breach of the prohibition on nepotism by members of the Church in turn may be seen in the career of William Stewart, Bishop of Aberdeen, this past Provost of the collegiate house of Lincluden, seeking legal recognition of his son John, the Treasurer of Aberdeen, on 25 September 1542.

Further evidence still of the way in which such houses could be seen as providing their provosts lay standing as opposed to spiritual responsibilities may be seen in the example of the Provostship of Tain, where the holder of this office seemingly enjoyed secular authority over the inhabitants of Tain and the neighbouring villages of Newmore, Morangie and Tarlogie; similarly, the Provost of Lincluden would seem to have enjoyed equal powers in and around the vicinity of his community. [1]

To these faults could be added those derived from the use of appropriation to pay for the upkeep of these communities, for as seen in chapter 7, collegiate houses were just as guilty as the larger monastic communities of exploiting the wealth of the Church in this way. Thus the majority of the laity who had no stake in such a foundation, could see the level of parochial care they received diminish, as the appropriating bodies either appointed poorly paid stand - ins to cover the cure of souls, or merely deputised one of their own members to cover such duties, as witnessed for example at the collegiate houses of Bothans and Cullen; they might even take control of the existing parish church itself, their patron transforming it to serve their needs. While the appropriating bodies may well have covered themselves in terms of the requirements of Trent therefore, concerning those with the responsibility of the cure of souls, in terms of the population at

large such an outlook can hardly have helped their popular standing outwith the ranks of their patrons. Equally galling for those excluded, the nature of the buildings used by such collegiate communities, for although they ranged in size and style from the smaller private examples such as Dunglass and Semple to the larger guild examples of St. Giles, Edinburgh, and Holyrood, Stirling, the emphasis lay on the choir as opposed to the nave. Here, perhaps no better example of such an outlook may be seen in the collegiate church of Roslin, an intensely personal monument to the Sinclair family, where despite the astonishing array of carvings, there was never any attempt at the provision of a nave. At Seton, it is possible to argue that a similar emphasis on the importance of the choir may be seen. Here a division of opinion occurs, for Dr. J. Durkan and C. McWilliam for example argue that rubble remains to the west of this building are all that survive of a nave, Dr. J. Durkan suggesting that it was destroyed by the English predations of the sixteenth century. S. Cruden however argues that they mark the remains of an older building demolished for the present structure, or the foundations for the planned construction of a nave which never reached completion. A similar defence in turn may be mounted for the collegiate house of Crichtoun, for it too has been accused of failing to possess a nave; again however C. McWilliam argues convincingly that one was indeed provided. [2]

Regardless of such arguments, the majority of the laity would nevertheless have been aware of the essentially selfish, commercial aspects of the masses held within these structures. Here it could be said that the model for the services of a collegiate community lay in earlier monastic precedents, such as the eleventh century community of Fonte Avellana under St. Peter Damian which used 2 psalters, one for the living and one for the dead. Given this, and indeed earlier examples of the perceived need to intercede on behalf of the dead, and the subsequent repeated messages from the Church and in texts such as Dante's *Inferno* - all examined in detail in chapter 8 above - the ministrations of the colleges may be seen as an extreme expression of this same desire for succour, expressed in the upper echelons of society through the patronage of the royalty, nobility and the trade and craft guilds of Scotland in the period c.1450 to 1560. In collegiate houses therefore, whilst mention might be made of "all the faithful" the emphasis nevertheless clearly rested on a relatively small number of named individuals. Thus at the collegiate church of Crail - founded in 1509 by Sir William Myrtoun, Vicar of Latherick - when the community agreed the terms of their employment on 16 December 1536, those listed as the chief beneficiaries of their services were the king and his kingdom, Sir Thomas Myrtoun, archdeacon of Aberdeen and Provost of Crail, the souls of the late William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, Mr. John Myrtoun, the parents, brothers, sisters and kin of Thomas Myrtoun, the souls of his ancestors, parishioners

and benefactors, the souls whom he [Thomas] had treated unjustly and "all the faithful dead in the pains of Purgatory.... " In terms of the content of chapter 8, it should be recalled that accruing personal merit was the key to gaining effective remission from the punishments in the life to come. Given such a well established rule from which to draw conclusions therefore, it is fair to argue that in the above example of Crail, those named would derive an inordinately large amount of spiritual kudos relative to that imparted to those covered in the vague references the "kingdom", and "all the faithful". Furthermore, if the laity could accuse the mendicants of currying the favour of the episcopacy - as witnessed in chapter 5 - those with no involvement in these select communities could well level the same criticism at the colleges, for they too depended on episcopal approval both for their erection, and for the appropriation of parish churches in their support; hence, as seen in the above reference to Crail, the inclusion of the bishop in the list of those destined to benefit from the prayers of the community was a wise move on the part of the founder. In terms of those who could benefit from the services of such a foundation, an even more limited social strata may be seen in a charter granted by Margaret, Countess of Douglas, sister of James I, to the house of Lincluden - a foundation which as will be seen below was to contain her own tomb - on 29 September 1429. Here, the grantor expressed the desire that her gift benefit the souls of her parents Robert III and his queen Annabella, her brother, James I, her father - in - law, Archibald ["the Grim"] Earl of Douglas, her husband, Archibald, 4th. Earl of Douglas, Duke of Touraine, their son, Sir James Douglas, and finally her own. Such an essentially self centred approach to attaining intercession therefore was commonplace, and may be seen in the intentions of most founders of such communities. At this point it should be noted that the charity on offer in connection with such foundations was, like the idea of intercessionary prayers, based on monastic precedent, such an attitude ably summed up by St. Caesarius of Arles [c. 470 - 572] who stated that "if nobody were poor, nobody could give alms and nobody could [therefore] receive remission of his sins". In terms of the period in question therefore, the charity extended to the bedesmen of collegiate communities was not without strings, for such individuals were also expected to pray for the soul of their patron and contribute to the smooth running of the community in general. [3]

Thus the majority of the laity could see themselves as being excluded from what was now perceived as the most efficient means of securing remission from, as seen in chapter 8, the long established horrors of the world to come. All of the beliefs involved in the crucial role of saintly intercession, in having a personal guardian to act as a guide through the perils of the afterlife - as seen in contemporary texts, prayers and Books of hours for example - may be witnessed again in both the dedication of nearly all such houses to a particular saint - as witnessed in the introduction

to this thesis - and the way in which the altars they contained - as examined in chapter 11 - provided further scope still for the expression of such personal tastes. Of the popularity of such a means of attempting to ensure a more favourable reception in the life to come, perhaps the most telling example lies in the exemption of such communities from parliament's attempts to limit the worst excesses of appropriation in the Church, in 1471 and 1488. [4]

What then of the extent to which it might be said that such highly personal foundations matched the architectural grandeur, the visual appeal of the older, more established centres of prayer, which ranged from the parish church to the centre of episcopal power, the cathedral? Was the enthusiasm for individuality - as witnessed in the dedication of such houses to the benefit of relatively few souls, in the stipulations regarding for instance the dress of members of Tain collegiate church, and the regulations against unsuitable attire [as examined in chapter 7] - equally evident in the architecture of these "private" buildings? In order to answer these questions, and thus gain a further insight into the world of the collegiate communities of the period under study, the following section of this chapter will examine certain architectural features taken not only from the colleges, but also from contemporary episcopal, abbatial and parochial structures. To aid the reader, and to try and analyse such examples as provided in as systematic a fashion as possible, particular features from all 4 categories will be isolated and examined alphabetically.

In the first instance therefore, it is proposed to turn to the coats of arms and tombs which such buildings contain, for as witnessed in the latter stages of chapter 3, and in chapters 10 and 11, both the religious and the laity of Scotland often took great care to ensure that they left behind some visual reminder of their earthly existence. Here it should be remembered that such features were works of art in themselves, the effigies which adorned the tombs in particular, for they were executed in such a fashion as to remind the onlooker of the status enjoyed by the subject in life. In addition to those examples referred to above therefore, the reader's attention is drawn for instance to Elgin Cathedral and the royal arms which appear above the main west window, and in the chapter house; of further relevance, the now detached arms of Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar and Lord of Garioch in the ground floor room of the south - west tower of the same foundation are worthy of examination. In terms of an abbatial example, the reader's attention is drawn to the arms of Sir Alan Cathcart, the knight responsible for returning the Bruce's heart to Scotland, and for funding the reconstruction of the nave of Paisley Abbey where they are displayed. [5] In terms of tombs, the Abbey of Saddell it has been suggested held the tomb of Somerled, whilst Arbroath Abbey contained what must once have been the proud tomb of William the Lion. In the choir of Culross Abbey, the tomb and effigies of John Stewart of Innermeath and his wife; in the nave of

Dunblane Cathedral, the effigies of Earl Malise of Strathearn and his Countess, in Dundrennan Abbey, in the north wall of the east aisle of the north transept, the effigy of Alan, Lord of Galloway. In Dunkeld Cathedral, the imposing fifteenth century monument of a knight, his identity unknown, although it has been suggested that it depicts Alexander "Wolf of Badenoch". Moving on alphabetically, Elgin Cathedral provides a wealth of evidence relating to the importance attached to such favoured interments. Here for example may be seen a fine tomb bearing an effigy of a member of the Stewart family [south wall of south transept]; ascribed to either Walter Stewart, Duke of Albany or Alexander Stewart, Duke of Albany, its true dedication remains a matter of controversy. Similarly impressive, the effigies of Sir William de la Hay [St. Mary's Aisle], Sir Alexander Gordon, 1st. Earl of Huntly [St. Mary's Aisle], Robert Innes of Innesmarkie [south wall of south transept, occupying a tomb originally dedicated to Bishop James Stewart, the Innes effigy having been transferred from its original site near St. Peter's altar, at the crossing between the south transept and St. Mary's aisle] and Sir Alexander Dunbar of Westfield [north wall of north transept]. Moving on alphabetically, in the neighbouring diocese of Ross, within the fragmentary remains of Fortrose Cathedral, a tomb ascribed to Eufamia Leslie, Countess of Ross, whilst on the island Priory of Inchmahome, the effigies of the Earl [Walter Stewart] and Countess of Menteith appear in the company of the mutilated effigy of a knight; all three now displayed within the chapter house. [6]

In turning to the smaller parish churches of the period under examination, again in terms of alphabetical appearance, the churchyard of Aberdalgie, Perthshire, contains the monument of Sir William Oliphant, a once doubtless impressive piece of carving. In Arbuthnott church, Kincardineshire, the effigy of Sir Hugo de Arbuthnott lies within; at Bathgate, Lothian, the grave stone of Andrew Crichton of Drumcorse may still be seen; at Borthwick church, Lothian, the fine tomb and effigies of Lord Borthwick and his wife still survive; at Ceres, Fife, the well preserved effigy of an anonymous knight; at Creich church, Fife, the effigies of David Barclay and his wife Helen Douglas, whilst at Cupar, Fife, the well preserved effigy of a knight [perhaps a member of the Scott family of Balwearie] may still be seen.

At Dalgety Bay, Fife, within St. Bridget's church, the graveslab of William Abernethy, at Dalmeny, Lothian, what is probably the sarcophagus of the founder; now much worn and lying in the church yard, in its day a doubtless fine piece given pride of place near the altar. At Douglas, Lanarkshire, within St. Bride's church, the splendid tomb of James "the gross", 7th. Earl of Douglas and his wife, Lady Beatrice Sinclair, is particularly worthy of note. Of equal interest within the same

building, those of Archibald, 5th. Earl of Douglas, Marjory Abernethy, and "the good" Sir James Douglas.

Within Falkirk parish church, Stirlingshire, of the 2 sets of effigies which this building contains, those which may be attributed to "either Sir Alexander Livingstone and his wife, a daughter of James Dundas of Dundas, or their son James, 1st. Lord of Callendar and his wife Marian", would have been on display within this church in the period under study. At Fordyce, Banffshire, within the remains of St. Tarquin's church, the well preserved, anonymous effigy of a knight in full armour; at Houston, Renfrewshire, the effigies of Sir John Houstoun and his wife Agnes Campbell, and at Kilmodan, Bute, among other slabs, a fine memorial to a member of the Lamont family.

At Midcalder parish church, Lothian, the arms of Sir James Sandilands, Baron of Midcalder, may be located within; the church of St. Moloc, Mortlach, Banffshire, contains the well preserved remains of the effigy of Alexander Leslie whilst in the burial ground of Old Kilpatrick parish church, Dumbartonshire, the figure of an unknown knight, his head supported on a cushion held by 2 angels, may still be found. Moving on alphabetically, at Ormiston, Lothian, within St. Giles parish church, an arched recess marks the location of the tomb of Alexander Cockburn; at Renfrew parish church, the fine tomb of Sir John Ross and his wife, Marjory Mure; at Rodel, Harris, within St. Clement's church, of the three tombs therein, the finest that of Alexander Macleod, whilst at Rothesay, Buteshire, in the chapel of St. Mary there are 3 effigies; one to an unknown warrior of the Stewart dynasty, the others of a woman and child which lie together in the same building. At Sanquhar, Dumfriesshire, the present parish church stands on the site of an older structure which once served as the resting place of first the Ross family, thereafter the Crichtons; their tombs "wrought in freestone" once visible therein, now sadly vanished. At Swinton parish church, Berwickshire, the tomb of Sir Alan Swinton; at Torphichen, Lothian, the fragments of the tomb of Sir George Dundas, whilst at the old parish church of Tyningham, Lothian, a worn, anonymous fifteenth century effigy to a once highly privileged woman lies within. [7]

The Church therefore, had long encouraged the support of patrons lay and ecclesiastic through the promise of such prominent and spiritually efficacious burials; the question remains however as to the extent to which the beliefs inherent in such interments - as examined in chapters 10 and 11 below - were continued in the more intensely personal collegiate houses. To answer this question it is necessary to turn now to a similar - equally brief - summary of the evidence which remains in the latter foundations.

In terms of coats of arms and effigies, the remaining fragment of the collegiate church of Carnwath, Lanarkshire, contains the effigies of Hugh, Lord Summerville and his second wife, Janet Maitland. In the collegiate house of Corstorphine, Lothian, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, it is still possible to see the fine monuments of Sir John Forrester of Corstorphine and his third wife, Marion Stewart, those of the second Sir John Forrester and his wife, and that of Sir Alexander Forrester, his successor. At Cullen, Banffshire, the magnificent tomb of Alexander Ogilvie of Findlater, examined in chapter 8, lies within the choir, whilst that of John Duff of Muldavit lies - in civilian dress - within the south transept of the same building. At Dalkeith, Lothian, within the choir of the collegiate church of St. Nicholas, the visitor may examine the impressive tomb of James Douglas, 1st. Earl of Morton - again significantly in civilian dress -, and his wife, Princess Joanna - daughter to James I -, whilst at the collegiate church of Dunglass, Haddingtonshire, dedicated to St. Mary, the remains of a fine tomb may be seen in the north wall of the sacristy, and in the end walls of the north and the south transepts; that in the latter location bearing the arms of "Sir Thomas Home and his wife, the grandparents of Sir Alexander Home, founder of the college at Dunglass.... "

At Foulis Easter collegiate kirk, Perthshire, dedicated to St. Marnock, the arms of Andrew, 2nd. Lord Grey, and his wife Elizabeth Wemyss appear on the south east skew stone of the building, in addition, those on the south west bear the arms of Wemyss of Reres, those on the north east the lion rampant of Scotland, those on the north west again the lion rampant, the dedication in this instance uncertain. At the apex of the grand south west doorway, the arms of Lord Grey may still be seen, whilst within the Grey arms are repeated on an ornate font, and on the tenth panel of a series of paintings of saints now displayed in the east end of the building. Within the same shire, the collegiate house of Innerpeffray, dedicated to St. Mary, bears the arms of its Drummond patrons on the lintel of the window in the south east wall, and above the doorway.

In moving on alphabetically, Lincluden collegiate church, Kirkcudbrightshire, contains numerous examples of heraldic art, amongst which appear the royal arms of Scotland, those of France, those of Moray, and those of Moray and Douglas; the arms of John Haliburton, Provost of Lincluden, bearing testimony to the provost's pride in being associated with such a prestigious foundation. Above all however, the much damaged yet still resplendent tomb and effigy of Margaret Stewart, daughter of Robert III, wife of Archibald Douglas, 4th. Earl of that line. Slightly less prestigious, though equally rewarding to visit, the collegiate house of Roslin, Lothian, dedicated to St. Matthew; examined in chapter 8 in relation to the relevance of the *Dance of Death* in Scotland in the period in question, it is significant to note that the engrailed cross of the Sinclair family appears time and again among the astonishing array of carvings within this building, whilst in the sacristy the

arms of the founder, William Sinclair, 3rd. Earl of Orkney, may be seen in the company of those of his wife, Elizabeth Douglas. Within the church itself the figure of a now unknown knight, once doubtless an honoured benefactor of the community this building housed.

At Castle Semple collegiate church, Renfrewshire, the magnificent tomb of John Lord Semple who fell at Flodden, is surmounted by his arms; at Seton collegiate church, Haddingtonshire, dedicated to St. Mary and the Holy Cross, on the corbel of the west angel buttress of the south transept, the arms of the Seton family, within, the arms appearing again in the company of others on the foundation's font. Within the choir, the effigies of what might be William, 1st. Lord Seton and his wife, or, perhaps those of George, 2nd. Lord Seton - the founder of the college - and his wife. In the collegiate house of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, dedicated to the same, among the monuments within, effigies of John Collison and his wife Margaret Seton and those of Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum and his wife, Elizabeth de Keith. Finally, in the collegiate church of St. Salvator, St. Andrews, although the figure of the founder Bishop Kennedy is now missing from within this foundation, the remainder of his tomb survives and it can be seen to easily rival any of the others examined thus far. It is also relevant to note that Kennedy's arms appear not only on this structure but on the nearby sacrament house, and on the exterior of the foundation's tower. [8]

In summarising the above features therefore, the pride exhibited in these collegiate foundations, in terms of the tombs and arms they contain, is easily the match of any of the other categories examined above. Again the point to remember however, is that although non - collegiate foundations awarded similar prestigious burials to valued benefactors, and whilst the altars they contained may well have made particular mention of certain individuals, the combined spiritual output of such houses was still nevertheless perceived to contribute to the spiritual welfare of the nation as a whole; those of the collegiate houses of the period under study however were, as seen above, unquestionably biased in favour of the founder and his relatives, past, present and future. Moreover, again as witnessed above, excepting such burghal examples as the Holy Rude, Stirling, and those which held relics - as seen in chapter 11 - such as St. Giles, Edinburgh, and St. Triduana's, Restalrig, the idea of even admitting the laity to enter in any numbers was foreign to such foundations, even in terms of their very physical construction.

Given such a limited remit therefore, and the fact that all contained personal reminders of their founders, principal benefactors, the question arises as to the extent to which such individuals were still nevertheless keen to ensure that their foundations matched those of the older spiritual centres in terms of architectural decoration and instruction. In order to determine the answer to this question, the following section of this chapter will follow a similar format as to that used above,

examples of particular architectural features being examined from each of the above categories of foundations in alphabetical order.

In terms of general decorative features such as "figures", "heads" and "angels", at Arbroath Abbey for example, on the effigy of king William the Lion the remains of 4 small figures, the one at the king's feet clearly an angel, at Crossraguel Abbey, 2 figures playing bagpipes on the exterior of the chapter house, and a bearded head within the sacristy. At Dunfermline Abbey - as will be seen in chapters 10 and 11 - several carved heads may still be seen within the surviving complex, their style in some instances matching others at the churches of Dalmeny and Leuchars. At Elgin Cathedral, above the main west doorway, a vesica shaped panel, now empty, thought to have contained a carving of the Holy Trinity, now bears only the carving of 2 angelic attendants, one on either side of the panel. At Glasgow Cathedral, an impressive array of figures adorn the choir screen, whilst in the lower church, 2 finely carved figures are on display depicting men holding scrolls. Their style is similar to that of a figure carved on the exterior of the south transept of Melrose Abbey, both foundations having enjoyed the attention of the master mason John Morrow, who saw fit to leave a carved panel at Melrose listing the foundations on which he was employed. In the latter foundation, on the same portion of the building, the figure of a mason holding the tools of his trade, a hammer and chisel, an angel playing a lute and a man counting on his rosary; on the apex of the great west window, the Coronation of the Virgin. At Paisley Abbey - as will be seen in chapter 11 the visitor may still see the work of the sculptor Thomas Hector, the individual responsible for the curious mix of figures which stare down on the interior of the nave.

What then of the collegiate counterparts of the above features, do they compare favourably, or having established their narrow, personal claims to intercession were their patrons content to leave them relatively unadorned?

At Bothwell collegiate kirk, within the choir, a figure playing a lute, at Carnwath, a glum head looks down on the tomb of Hugh, Lord Somervile and his wife Janet Maitland, whilst at Lincluden in addition to another lute player, stone carvings of the apostles may be found. At Roslin collegiate church, angels appear as musicians, whilst the foundation also boasts numerous other angelic, saintly and apostolic figures; at Seton the round smiling face of a monk[?] greets visitors to this foundation.

Thus far the collegiate foundations might be said to compare favourably with the other categories examined, but here it is perhaps appropriate to pause and consider a closely related field of decorative features, that is of the grotesques, gargoyles, animals and "green men" which adorned the foundations of the period in question.

In terms of non - collegiate examples of the above features, at Aberdeen Cathedral, on the south west pillar of the crossing, a mermaid appears in the company of a merman and mariner; at Cambuskenneth Abbey, on the tower, among a variety of small human heads may be seen that of a lion, whilst a large grotesque human figure is matched by that of a dragon, and a rather impressive demon. At Crossraguel Abbey, a mermaid adorns the exterior wall of the chapter house, whilst within the sacristy 2 squirrels feed on a corbel; at Dornoch Cathedral, although the gargoyles are modern copies, they may be said to have remained faithful to original ideas and bear favourable comparison with any similar features from the period under examination. At Dunblane Cathedral, on the choir stalls, now within the west end of the building, the carved figures of a mermaid and centaur look down on the visitor. At Elgin Cathedral, within the chapter house, two lions; at Glasgow Cathedral, on the exterior of the Blacadder aisle, in addition to Robert Blacadder's coat of arms, the visitor may still see a unicorn, camel, dog[?], dragon, a "composite" winged beast and a centaur with spear in its hand. Within this aisle, two grotesque heads stare down from capitals, on the roof bosses, a series of 7 intertwined snakes coiling round a flower [signifying death?], 4 boldly coloured dragons clamping down on a gold ring, 3 dragons stalking each other through thick foliage, 3 wild boar chasing each others tails, whilst just inside the doorway a fearful man stands astride the devil's[?] head. Above the present day modern porch entrance to the cathedral, an impressive array of dragons heads, their mouths open and snarling, in each case, below the lower jaw a separate subject depicted; within the building itself, on a roof boss at the east end of the north aisle a lion and serpent locked in battle, in the lower church 2 dragons feeding on foliage decorate a roof boss, whilst at the entrance to the sacristy, a large grotesque head snarls down from the shadows. At Melrose Abbey a pig plays a set of bagpipes, at Paisley Abbey, on the exterior of the reconstructed choir, a wide variety of modern gargoyles - faithful, as at Dornoch above, to pre - reformation themes - survey the ground beneath them, whilst at Pluscarden Abbey, the visitor may see a roof boss which depicts the strange combination of the head of a nun, in the company of a cat with a mouse in its mouth! [9]

In turning now to search for collegiate examples of such art, it would appear that the patrons of these exclusive establishments were just as keen to exercise their imagination as any of the individuals responsible for commissioning the above features.

At Dalkeith collegiate church for example, a number of such features may still be seen; amongst the "foliage" for instance a small dragon's head, the jaws drawn back in a snarl, flame issuing from its mouth; a small squat man, his body hunched, stares from the undergrowth whilst above him a well executed griffin grins down; on another section still, a small goblin like figure, like

the man above, squat and powerful; the grandest example of all however the large, badly mutilated figure of a dragon[?] which stares down from the exterior of the east end. At Lincluden, a small headless lion[?], and the badly worn figure of a monkey[?] among the foliage at the foot of the sacristy door, whilst at Roslin, a bewildering range of creatures merge with the intensive use of decoration within. Here a mermaid, dove, eagle fighting a dragon, a bat, a camel, rams, a goose being saved from a fox, and a fox preaching to a goose have all been carefully executed; on the exterior a variety of gargoyles and grotesques. At Seton, among the masks which appear on the exterior of the building, 2 dragons heads - one inverted - and 2 grotesque face masks, one of which juts menacingly from between two fronds of foliage; within, on the base of an ornate piscina, what would appear to be a demon, its wings extended, large pointed ears erect. [10]

What then of that strange symbol of a mixture of pagan belief and folklore, the "green man" ? [11] Here examples may be seen at Borthwick church, Crossraguel Abbey, Culross Abbey, Dalmeny church, Dornoch Cathedral - albeit it is a modern feature - Dunfermline Abbey, Dunkeld Cathedral, Glasgow Cathedral, Melrose Abbey and St. Brides church, Douglas. That these features were also deemed necessary to the completion of a collegiate foundation may in turn be seen by their presence at, for instance, Dalkeith, Restalrig, Roslin, St. Giles and the collegiate church of the Holy Rude in Stirling. [12]

In turning now to a comparison of the surviving remnants of choir stalls, choir screens, misericords and paintings, a comparison between non - collegiate and collegiate styles is rendered largely a matter of conjecture, for few examples of such art remain; nevertheless it is to this task which this chapter will now turn.

In terms of alphabetical appearance, the chapter house of Dryburgh Abbey is worthy of note in terms of the painted arcading which appears on the walls, in decorative form around the windows and on the ceiling of this structure; further evidence of the use of paint to enhance this foundation may be seen in fragmentary remains in the sacristy and the north transept of the abbey church. Within Dunblane Cathedral, a wide range of images appear on the choir stalls and misericords of this foundation. Within the nave of this house, a series of stalls and misericords associated with Bishop James Chisholm; in addition to his arms, the misericords display a fine carving of a dragon, the monogram "I. H. S.", the stalls a green man and, as stated above, a centaur and a mermaid. Of the stalls in the choir, the misericords thereof display an excellent carving of a green man, a snarling leopard and a bat. Of the 2 misericords within the cathedral museum, that which bears the grotesque face would seem again to repeat the theme of the green man as seen above. Within Dunfermline Abbey, on a vault in the north aisle of the nave, four of the

Apostles; within the tower of Dunkeld Cathedral, a depiction of the Judgement of Solomon; within the National Museum, Edinburgh, 3 misericords from Elgin Cathedral, depicting an angel, 2 four legged beasts and a dragon. Moving on alphabetically, within Glasgow Cathedral a magnificent choir screen, at Melrose Abbey an equally impressive feature designed by the same master mason, John Morrow, contains a fine carving of the head of Christ. From North Berwick, a detailed carving of the Adoration of the Magi, from St. John's Church, Perth, a painting of St. Bartholomew, from St. Andrews, within the Church of the Holy Trinity, two choir stalls bearing the arms of James IV and Gavin Dunbar, - archdeacon of St. Andrews, 1503 to 1508 -, and within Turriff Church, Aberdeenshire, a wall painting of St. Ninian. [13]

In terms of how collegiate foundations fared against such craftsmanship, the reader's attention is drawn to the following examples. At King's College, Aberdeen, of the 7 misericords which survive, the emphasis is on foliate forms of decoration, the monogram "I. H. S" also occurring as in Dunblane. At Foulis Easter, in addition to a fine oak choir screen, the foundation contains a wealth of "educational" painting, the topics analysed in chapter 8 above; here it is enough to say that in addition to a large painting of the Crucifixion, the building contains material relating to a devotion to the Virgin, the saints and an attempt to link its Grey family patrons to the spiritual merits thought to accompany such an investment. In the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh, a surviving fragment of the royal collegiate church dedicated to the Trinity in the form of a painted altar panel; from Lincluden, a fragment of a painting depicting a female figure, wearing a gold crown from beneath which her long hair falls to her elbows. Over her shoulders she wears a blue/grey cloak with gold border, beneath she wears a red dress; opinions differ as to the identity of this subject, it being possible to suggest that it is either the Princess Margaret or the Virgin. From the same foundation, a finely carved remnant of a choir stall, the quality of this piece in its completed state doubtless high, in light of the 2 misericords preserved within the National Museum from the same house. The first bearing the stylised carving of a snake, the second in a composite beast bearing human, animal, amphibious and mythical features. Of the other surviving decorative features from this house, the reader's attention is drawn to the presence of a fine choir screen which bears favourable comparison with that of Glasgow Cathedral and Melrose Abbey above. [14]

In turning to ceremonial features such as fonts, piscina, sedilia, sacrament houses and easter sepulchres, notable, non - collegiate examples for the purposes of comparison, may be seen in many locations.

In beginning with examples of fonts, at Birnie church, Moray, for instance, a plain, unadorned example may still be seen; at Broxburn, Lothian, a large octagonal example dedicated

to St. Nicholas bears traces of earlier decoration, whilst at Dryburgh Abbey, within the chapter house, what would appear to be an ornate font/stoup carved with intertwined serpents and foliage - which one source describes as perhaps part of a heart reliquary -. At Forteviot church, Perthshire, a relatively plain example bearing a coat of arms, perhaps that of the Drummond family, whilst at Fortrose Cathedral a large plain octagonal font still stands within the present ruins. At Inverkeithing a remarkable hexagonal font bearing an impressive array of carved work in addition to a series of well executed shields, all supported by angels; namely the royal arms of Scotland - of king Robert III -, those of Scotland and the king's wife Annabella Drummond, the Stewart arms, those of Ramsey of Dunoun, those of Melville of Glenbervie, thereafter, the bay leaves of Foulis of Colinton and the saltire and chief of Bruce of Balcaskie together in the final shield. At Kinloss Abbey, another plain font may be seen, as indeed are the examples surviving at Lennoxtown, Luss, Lyn and Strathblane; another excellent instance of the carvers art however may be seen within Meigle church where the Crucifixion, instruments of the Passion, Christ's wounds and His Resurrection are still clearly visible on an ornate, octagonal font. [15]

In terms of piscina, the reader's attention is drawn to the following non - collegiate examples. Within Beauly Priory a fine double piscina, a more ornate example still, visible at Crossraguel Abbey. Relatively plain examples may be seen at Elgin Cathedral, Fortrose Cathedral, and Inchcolm Abbey, such restraint in execution compensated for by those which survive at Melrose Abbey. Those at Restenneth and Torphichen likewise may be termed purely functional, whilst a more elaborate twin variety may be examined at St. Bride's church Douglas. [16] Notable examples for comparison of sedilia in turn may be seen at Crossraguel Abbey, Dunblane Cathedral, Inchmahome Priory, Paisley Abbey and St. Monance. [17] In terms of sacrament houses, Scotland possess a number of fine survivals from the pre - Reformation era. In the parish church of Airlie, Forfarshire, a sacrament house bearing a depiction of the Cross, the five wounds of the Passion and the instruments of the Passion. At Auchindoir Church, Aberdeenshire, a larger, more ornate sacrament house, crowned with the figure of Christ on the Cross, a skull, doubtless signifying His triumph over death lies at His feet. At Deskford church, a large ornate example, commissioned by Alexander Ogilvy and Elizabeth Gordon his wife, at Elgin Cathedral a small relatively unadorned example, whilst that at Inchcolm Abbey is little more than a simple cupboard. At Kinkell church, Aberdeenshire, another exceptionally ornate example, matched in terms of grandeur by that at nearby Kintore church. At Leuchars church, Fife, a large fairly simple structure survives; more ornate examples found again in the north - east within the religious house of Pluscarden, and in the fragmentary remains of a sacrament house at Turriff church, Aberdeenshire.

Finally, in terms of Easter Sepulchres, examples may be found in the churches of Borthwick, Creich, Temple and Torphichen. [18]

What then of comparable features in the collegiate houses of the period in question? Briefly, in terms of fonts, the reader's attention is drawn to the badly damaged yet still impressive octagonal font within Foulis Easter collegiate church; on each of its faces scenes from the Life of Christ, the skill with which they are executed easily the equal of any of the above examples. In terms of heraldic decoration, the font within Seton collegiate church, whilst hardly the rival of that at Inverkeithing, may however be said to be of a finer quality than that at Forteviot, Perthshire. Moving on to piscina, a small elegant example may be seen in the east end of what was Bothwell collegiate church, whilst relatively plain examples may be seen at Corstorphine, Crichtoun, and Dunglass; at Lincluden, a fine decorative example may be examined, those within Roslin and Seton arguably more elaborate still. In turning to look at examples of sedilia from within collegiate foundations, those within Bothwell, Corstorphine, Crichtoun, Dunglass, Lincluden and Tain bear favourable comparison with any of those examined in non - collegiate foundations above. In turning to the sacrament houses which survive within the colleges of the period in question, those within Cullen, Foulis Easter and St. Salvator's again prove that the patrons of such communities were anxious that their houses should be the equal of any previous religious foundations; in terms of Easter Sepulchres, the same conclusion may be formed, the reader's attention is drawn to those in for example Dunglass, Maybole, Seton and the Holy Rude of Stirling, the second named example if such indeed was this feature's purpose perhaps the finest of this grouping. [19]

What then of the care expended on the seemingly purely functional aspects of religious architecture of the period in question? Here, using the same format as that above, a brief reference to such features as doorways, roofs and windows will now be made. In terms of the first category, matters relating to the visual impact which many of these features were designed to exert, in terms for instance of education and an appeal to the senses, will be covered in chapters 10 and 11 below, with regards for example to such foundations as Dunfermline and Dalmeny. Here therefore the reader's attention is drawn merely to the general grandeur of such examples as those found at Cambuskenneth Abbey in the form of the west doorway, at Dryburgh Abbey, where great care has obviously been exerted in the construction of the western doorway, the doorway between the cloister and the nave of the abbey church and that which provides access to the chapter house. At Dunblane Cathedral, the western doorway and that placed on the north side of the nave are worthy of note for the same reasons; at Elgin, again the west doorway is particularly beautiful, a feature which it shares with the west door of Glasgow Cathedral, and that on the south side of the lower

church of the same foundation. At Inchmahome Priory, the west door is again worthy of note, as indeed are those of the Abbeys of Jedburgh, Kelso, the south transept doorway of Melrose, and again the west doorway of Paisley. [20] Corresponding examples from collegiate houses may in turn be seen at Biggar, where the door inserted in the south transept provides a relatively simple yet imposing access, and at Bothwell, where the door to the sacristy possesses a similarly restrained appeal. At Dalkeith, the south doorway is a far grander affair than either of the 2 above examples, as is the entrance to Dunglass, Foulis Easter - as seen above - the sacristy door of Lincluden, and the entrance to Maybole, situated in the south west wall. [21]

In terms of roofs and roof bosses, although a great deal of the detail on show is obviously too high for close inspection, the roof of St. Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen, is decorated with roof bosses bearing the arms of numerous leading figures from the world of the Church and the state; those for example of Gavin Dunbar and Pope Leo X appearing in the company of the royal arms of Scotland. A similar display of individual pride may also be seen for example in Fortrose Cathedral which bears the arms of Bishop John Bullock, and in the Blackadder aisle of Glasgow Cathedral which carries reminders of Archbishop Robert Blackadder. Such forms of decoration could be used for a variety purposes however, and the following brief examples are included as a guide for the reader. At Dryburgh for instance, the figure of Christ in Majesty in the vault of the north transept, may also be seen in the chapter house at Elgin and at the entrance to the chapter house in Glasgow Cathedral. In the latter location, in the Blackadder aisle, the lamb of God - present also on the base of an arch in the same portion of the building - appears in the company of the Trinity - seen again on a capital of the same aisle - the symbols of the Passion and a colourful arrangement of four heads surrounded by foliage. In the lower church, another roof boss displays the lamb of God, another - detached - the arms of the city of Glasgow, whilst of the others still, three which resemble portraits of a bearded king, the head of a mailed knight, and a bishop; of equal curiosity, a combination of heads on yet another roof boss in the same location, the lower head perhaps a depiction of Christ. Here, it is perhaps valuable to pause and briefly consider the prevalence of such "educational" religious themes in terms of non - collegiate foundations, for this material may be seen in many instances throughout Scotland; at Crossraguel Abbey for instance, within the sacristy the three heads of the Trinity appear as they do at Elgin Cathedral, on the exterior of the "bishop's house", and on some of the shields within the chapter house. In returning to Glasgow Cathedral, in the lower church, on the capitals of the pillars surrounding the site of the tomb of St. Mungo, birds feeding on fruit symbolise souls in Paradise, a theme repeated on 2 roof bosses in the Blackadder aisle; on one of these examples, the souls of the damned would seem to be represented, for the

birds here alternate with dragons which snap at foliage bereft of any fruit. In the upper church of this foundation, on a capital next to the entrance to the vestry, what has been described as "three representations of good overcoming evil"; in the first scene a man drives a spear into a dragon, in the second a knight draws his sword as he approaches a similar adversary whilst the third is said - see above - to depict the "figure of St. Martha kneeling on an outstretched serpent of Tarasque". A similar, yet more direct approach to educating the onlooker was also employed for example at the Abbey of Melrose, where in the north transept the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul appear holding their respective emblems of the keys and sword; the reader's attention is also drawn to the doorway of the south transept and the mutilated figures of the apostles - Andrew, Peter, Paul and James - which decorate it. Finally, in terms of the windows which the above foundations possess, since these will be more fully analysed in chapter 11 below, it is perhaps enough at this stage to say that the care exerted on their construction equalled that expended on all of the features examined thus far.

What then of the corresponding features of the collegiate houses under examination? Here the reader's attention is drawn to the roofs which remain at Bothwell, Carnwath, Roslin, Seton and the Holy Rude Stirling, and reminded of what must once have been similarly impressive examples at Holy Trinity, Edinburgh - as witnessed in chapter 11 - and Lincluden; in terms of roof bosses, the pieces stored within what survives of the collegiate house of Restalrig provide an idea of the variety of subjects once on show. In terms of windows, those collegiate houses at, for example, Carnwath, Castle Semple, Corstorphine, Dalkeith, Dunglass, Foulis Easter, Maybole, Seton and the Holy Rude in Stirling show that the same thought and effort was being employed on the collegiate communities of the period in question, as had hitherto been lavished on their monastic counterparts. In terms of instructional symbolism, perhaps the most numerous examples may be seen within the collegiate house of Roslin; here for instance - as seen in chapter 8 above - the *Dance of Death* is acted out, this in the company of similarly graphic portrayals of the 9 orders of angels - again as seen in Dante's description of the afterlife as analysed in chapter 8 -, the 7 Acts of Mercy, the 7 Deadly Sins, the Jaws of Hell, Satan, and above all the ultimate promise of eternal life as witnessed in Christ's Resurrection. Further symbolic links still between non collegiate and collegiate symbolism, may be seen in the presence of a central pillar in the lower chapel of Restalrig and the appearance of similar features in the chapter houses of Elgin Cathedral, Crossraguel Abbey and Glenluce Abbey; the suggestion being that they represent the idea of a sacred spring. [22]

With regards to architectural features therefore, the same motivating factors, desires, as witnessed in the construction of non collegiate foundations may be seen to have been equally at work in the minds of the patrons of the collegiate communities of the period under study. The importance attached to the founder or privileged patron of a monastic house for example was again witnessed in the creation of all collegiate foundations in terms of coats of arms and prestigious tombs. Similar individual desires to personalise the latter houses were also seen in the examples covered above, for there was no shortage of carved features ranging from the angelic to the demonic, nor of the instructional or artistic, as witnessed for example in the evidence which survives within Foulis Easter. Likewise, the theological importance accorded to such features as fonts - in terms of baptism -, piscina - in terms of the disposal of the remains of the Mass -, sacrament houses - in terms of the storage of the body of Christ, an object of adoration in itself as seen in chapter 11 -, Easter sepulchres and rood screens in non - collegiate foundations was again matched by the principle subjects of this chapter. [23]

In summing up therefore, the successful expansion of the collegiate ideal may be said to have been derived from the monastic practice of offering intercessionary prayers for the souls of dead religious and lay benefactors. Such ideals therefore were well established in Scotland in the period under examination, and there is no shortage of evidence relating to lay and ecclesiastic requests for intercessionary activity on behalf of one's soul in parochial, monastic and episcopal centres of power. In the larger foundations however, and indeed even the smaller parish structures, although the presence of private altars and tombs pointed to the favoured treatment of a privileged few, the general idea remained unchanged that the services of these foundations were still of immense benefit to society as a whole. Similarly, as seen in chapter 6, there can be little doubt that whilst the friars did not entirely supplant these older supplicatory bodies in the eyes of the laity, there was clearly a significant shift in favour of the services of the mendicants; again however, the activities of the friars were seen as providing a direct spiritual service for society as a whole. [24] In time however, as the increased emphasis on the horrors of death and the afterlife grew apace in the minds of both religious and laity alike - as witnessed in chapter 8 - clearly the most efficacious means of securing the essential intercession on behalf of one's soul lay, primarily, in the hands of the secular colleges of the period in question. Why should this have been so? arguably for many of the reasons examined in this and previous chapters. Although many of the perceived failings of the more established intercessors, the monks and friars, could be applied to the inmates of collegiate communities, the latter individuals, strangely, do not appear to have attracted the attention of popular critics; the resultant temptation for the laity - and indeed some religious - therefore was to

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try and secure the best of both worlds, for in founding these colleges a patron gained in effect the combined benefits of an abbey - foundation charters as examined above displaying certain monastic ideals relating to residence, behaviour and morality - and arguably those of the more prestigious cathedrals, for as witnessed above, many of the architectural delights of these much larger communities were to be found in a collegiate setting. The essential difference between these foundations and the others examined however, lay in the emphasis which they placed on the spiritual welfare of a relatively small number of individuals, for although a collegiate foundation charter might stipulate that prayers should be said for all the faithful, this was usually after those for the founder's soul, those of his family and friends - past, present and future - and certain other named individuals. The creation of these communities therefore satisfied an intense desire to meet the pressures exerted by the material examined in chapter 8; significantly however, it did so only for those who could afford it. In terms of a rough guide to the cost of maintaining such a community as opposed to a monastic house or a friary for example, the reader's attention is drawn to the table in chapter 4 detailing estimates of monastic income, these in turn should be compared to the figures for 1561 for Bothans collegiate house, £162, Corstorphine, £434, Crichtoun, £233, Dunglass, £160, Lincluden, £540, Restalrig, £530 and the Chapel Royal at Stirling which accrued the impressive figure of £1, 270. Comparative examples from the mendicant houses of the period may be taken for instance from the Dominican house at Aberdeen with an estimated income of £108, that at St. Andrews, £67, Stirling £2 whilst the Franciscan Conventuals of Dundee accrued the sum of £135 in 1560.

Thus in terms of outlay, what by the period under examination had come to be recognised as the most efficacious means of securing favourable intercession on behalf of one's soul, was no cheap alternative to the older enclosed and mendicant Orders which the colleges had effectively undermined. Here it might be argued that burgh foundations such as the Holy Rude in Stirling would have contained numerous altars to the various craft guilds/confraternities within the town and would therefore have been concerned with a much larger number of souls than the private collegiate foundations which formed the majority grouping; thereby they at least might be said to have escaped a charge of selfish elitism. Even this argument may be dismissed however for the majority of the population of Scotland in the period c.1450 to 1560 was still essentially a rural one, largely lacking the financial benefits enjoyed by the above groups, they therefore had no access to the services which these communities offered. Further, even for those fortunate enough to belong to a craft guild, it was still impossible to achieve the same spiritual return as that accrued by a family who controlled their own foundation, for given the arguments put forward in chapter 8 regarding the

overwhelming need to secure personal spiritual merit, the greater numbers involved in a burgh college would logically produce a correspondingly lower spiritual return for each individual guild member. Nor was such an arrangement a simple means of meeting the costs involved, for in an entry in the *Register of the Privy Seal* - dated 24 March 1540/1 - regarding the foundation of an altar in Holyrood Abbey by the Hammermen of Edinburgh, the craftsmen were granted permission to "ressave and uptak fra all maner of personis hammermen, inhabitantis within the toun of Leith, Sanct Leonardis gait.... siclike proffittis and dewiteis as thai tak fra the inhabitantis of the.... burgh of Canongait...." to help finance their project. Thus, if the reader considers that such efforts were required to establish a single altar, the degree to which the majority of the populace were excluded from the collegiate "market" becomes apparent. The result? an increasingly selfish - and in light of the Church's use of fear as seen in chapter 8, desperate - approach to securing personal intercession, whereby the greater the financial outlay equalled a greater spiritual return, perhaps the most extreme form of which may be seen in the "Trental of St. Gregory", a complex ritual spread throughout the year. Designed to bring relief to souls in Purgatory, it mirrored in effect the underlying reasoning behind the foundation of all collegiate communities. In Scotland, and indeed in neighbouring England therefore, the emphasis in devotional texts on "Judgement", and the need to seek grace and forgiveness before and - more importantly still - after death, gave rise to an ever increasing desire on the part of both laity and religious to secure multiple, personal masses; hence when the Scottish crown attempted to curb the improper annexation of benefices in 1471 and 1488, collegiate foundations were declared exempt. It is also important to remember that such communities were fashionable statements of family power and prestige, most therefore were the equal of any structures that had gone before; hence the comparison of architectural features drawn from abbatial, parochial and episcopal examples. By association therefore, it may be suggested that those who served within these colleges were accorded a particular prestige, for the traditional intercessionary role of the clergy between man and God was, arguably, given an added dimension still by the emphasis which these communities placed on alleviating the inevitable horrors which awaited all but the saints and martyrs in Purgatory to come. [25] Thus, whilst the Church consolidated the position of the colleges through the use of such powerful and dramatic material as that examined in chapter 8, it effectively undermined the older established pillars of the Faith, the regular and mendicant Orders, in terms of intercessionary ability, by effectively isolating the majority of the populace. This is not to say however that such servants of the Church were a spent force in the period under study, for there were other means whereby they could continue to perform a role in society's search for favourable intercession on their behalf, in this world and in that to come; that

is in their involvement in the equally emotive and complex issues surrounding pilgrimage. In the following two chapters therefore, an attempt will be made to analyse the role played by the regular Orders and the colleges in this essential element of popular piety, and the way in which this involvement shaped society's perceptions of the enclosed, mendicant and collegiate personnel of the period under study.

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John de Winchester, 159.

Alexander Stewart, 163.

John Cameron, 319.

Andrew Durisdere, 324.

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A. P. S. Vol 2, 47, 84, 87, 89, 93, 108, 114 - 5, 133 - 4, 136, 301, 496,

2.) S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 183 - 4, 186 - 9, 194.

D. E. Easson: "Collegiate Churches, part 1", in, *R. S. C. H. S.*, Vol. 6, (1936-8), 201, 204.

D. E. Easson: As Above, Vol. 7, (1939-41), 30 - 3.

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D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 3, 149 - 79.

R. C. H. M. S. *Midlothian*. 98 - 106.

C. McWilliam: *Lothian*, 144, 414, 425.

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3.) O. J. Blum: *St. Peter Damian His Teaching On The Spiritual Life*, (Washington, 1947) 155 - 59.

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D. E. Easson: As Above, part 2, Vol. 7, 31, 35 - 42.

J. Anderson: *Laing Charters*, 109 - 10.

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M. Rubin: *Corpus Christi*, 50 - 1.

4.) D. E. Easson: "Collegiate Churches, part 2", in *R. S. C. H. S.*, Vol. 7, (1939-41) 31 - 2.

A. P. S., Vol 2, 99, c. 4, 6 May 1471, exemption of collegiate churches; 209, c.13, 1488 clause stipulating the same.

5.) J. Durkan: "Seton", in, *I. R.* Vol. 13, (1962), 72 - 3.

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J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 38, 55 - 6.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Arms of Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar, Lord of Garioch; see Vol 2, Plate 163,163.

Arms of Sir Alan Cathcart, Paisley Abbey; See Vol 2, Plate 164,164.

6.) R. Brydall: "Monumental Effigies", in, *Soc. Of Ant.*, (13 May 1895), 330, 339, 343 - 5, 350, 352, 376 - 8, 384, 386 - 7, 393, 398, 402.

R. Brydall: "Scottish Costume", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.*, N. S. 4, (18 January 1900), 227, 249 - 50.

J. Gifford: *Fife*, 149.

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PHOTOGRAPHS
Culross Abbey, Tomb of John Stewart of Innermeath, Lord of Lorn, and his wife; see Vol 2, Plate 165,165.

Tomb of Earl Malise of Strathearn and his Countess, Dunblane Cathedral; see Vol 2, Plate 166,166.

Unidentified effigy, sometimes ascribed to Walter Stewart or Sir Alexander Stewart, its true designation a matter of controversy; see Vol 2, Plate 167,167.

Tomb of William de le Hay; see Vol 2, Plate 168,168.

As above; see Vol 2, Plate 169,169.

Tomb of Sir Alexander Gordon; see Vol 2, Plate 170,170.

Inchmahome Priory, effigies of Walter Stewart, Earl of Menteith, his Countess, and unknown knight, see Vol 2, Plate 171,171.

Inchmahome Priory, Knight; see Vol 2, Plate 172,172.

7.) R. Brydall: "Monumental Effigies", in, *Soc. Of Ant.* (13 May 1895), 329, 334, 342 - 3, 345 - 9, 355 - 6, 361 - 5, 367 - 76, 378 - 80, 389, 396, 398 - 99, 402 - 3, 405.

C. McWilliam: *Lothian* (Harmondsworth, 1978), 95, 117, 170, 323, 373, 449, 455.

J. Gifford: *Fife*, 104, 123, 171.

T. S. Muir: *Descriptive Notices*, 35, 47 - 50, 108 - 9.

R. Brydall: "Scottish Costume", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.*, N. S. 4, (18 January 1900), 233 - 7, 246, 251.

R. Brydall: "Notices", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.*, N. S. Vol 5, (1901-3), 28 - 31.

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A. Ross: "Notice", in, *Soc. Of Ant.* Vol. 19, (1884 - 85), 120 - 131.

B. Lawson: *St. Clements Church At Rodel*, 3.

W. W. McMillan: "The Church Of Sanquhar", in, *Trans. Dum. And Gall.*, (1929 - 30), 89.

PHOTOGRAPHS

Bathgate, grave slab of Andrew Crichton of Drumcorse; see Vol 2, Plate 173,173.

Dalgety Bay, St. Bridget's Church; see Vol 2, Plate 174,174.

Dalmeny Church, Coffin of founder; see Vol 2, Plate 175,175.

As above; see Vol 2, Plate 176,176.

As above; see Vol 2, Plate 177,177.

Douglas, St. Bride's Church, Tomb of James the Gross, 7th. Earl of Douglas, and his wife, Lady Beatrice Sinclair; see Vol 2, Plate 178, 178.

Arms of James the Gross; see Vol 2, Plate 179,179.

Detail from the front panel of tomb of James the Gross; see Vol 2, Plate 180,180.

The head of James the Gross, on the base of the right span of the canopy of his tomb; see Vol 2, Plate 181,181.

The head of Beatrice Sinclair, on the base of the left span of the canopy of the tomb of James the Gross; see Vol 2, Plate 182, 182.

Tomb of Archibald, 5th. Earl of Douglas; see Vol 2, Plate 183, 183.

As above; see Vol 2, Plate 184, 184.

Tomb of Marjory Abernethy; see Vol 2, Plate 185, 185.

Tomb of Sir James Douglas; see Vol 2, Plate 186, 186.

Falkirk Parish Church, effigies assigned to either Sir Alexander Livingstone and his wife, or to their son, James, 1st. Lord Livingstone of Callander and his wife Marian; see Vol 2, Plate 187, 187.

Fordyce Church, the effigy of an anonymous knight in full armour, and, an empty tomb adjoining the same; see Vol 2, Plate 188,188.

As above, empty tomb; see Vol 2, Plate 189, 189.

Mortlach Church; see Vol 2, Plate 190, 190.

As above, effigy of Sir Alexander Leslie; see Vol 2, Plate 191,191.

Old Kilpatrick Church, the effigy of an unknown knight in full armour; see Vol 2, Plate 192, 192.

As above, two angels support the cushion on which the knight's head rests; see Vol 2, Plate 193, 193.

Renfrew Parish Church, tomb of Sir John Ross of Halkhead and his wife, Marjory Mure; see Vol 2, Plate 194, 194.

As above, the heads of Sir John and Lady Marjory; see Vol 2, Plate 195, 195.

As above, the lion which rests on Sir John's feet; see Vol 2, Plate 196, 196.

Of the heraldic devices carved on this tomb, the reader's attention is drawn to the arms of Semple - a chevron cheque and three hunting horns -, and those of Erskine - a pale -, immediately to their right and featured in the same photograph; see Vol 2, Plate 197, 197.

The arms of Lauder of Hatton. a griffin; see Vol 2, Plate 198,198.

The arms of Scotland and Stewart - a lion rampant and fesse - on the same shield, to their right the lion rampant of Scotland, and a fesse cheque for Stewart, all featured in the same photograph; see Vol 2, Plate 199, 199.

An unidentified shield bearing a bend, the arms of Ross and Halbet to their left - a "chevron cheque between three water budgets" - and a complex shield which suggests a union between Semple and Ross; see Vol 2, Plate 200, 200.

For the above details see D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol 3, 525-7.

8.) R. Brydall: "Monumental Effigies", As Above, 336, 382 - 4, 393, 404, 406 - 7, 409 - 10.

D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*,
Vol. 1, 428 - 9, 431.
Vol. 2, 387 - 9, 391 - 2.
Vol. 3, 179, 188 - 9, 199, 203 - 5, 209 - 14, 223, 226, 228 - 9, 234, 351, 509.

S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 177 - 8, 193 - 4.

C. McWilliam: *Lothian*, 152 - 4, 192 - 4.

W. R. MacDonald: "Notes", in, *Soc. Of Ant.*, (9 April 1900), 419, 421.

T. S. Muir: *Descriptive Notices*, 50, 53 - 4, 66, 68, 70 - 1, 74.

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J. Gifford: *Fife*, 377.

R. Brydall: "Scottish Costume", As Above, 237 - 8.

J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 55.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Carnwath Collegiate Church, effigies and arms of Hugh, Lord Summerville, and his second wife, Janet Maitland; see Vol 2, Plate 201, 201.

St. Mary's Collegiate Church, Cullen; see Vol 2, Plate 202, 202.

As above, arms of Alexander Ogilvie, on the south wall of the choir; see Vol 2, Plate 203, 203.

As above, centre shield on the south wall of the choir; see Vol 2, Plate 204, 204.

As above, west shield on the south wall of the choir; see Vol 2, Plate 205, 205.

As above, effigy of Alexander Ogilvie of Findlater; see Vol 2, Plate 206, 206.

As above, figure of Alexander Ogilvie kneeling in prayer, mounted on the top left hand corner of his tomb; see Vol 2, Plate 207,207.

As above, figure of Elizabeth Gordon kneeling in prayer, directly opposite Alexander Ogilvie; see Vol 2, Plate 208, 208.

As above, detail of one of the eight figures which line the base of the frontal of Alexander Ogilvie's tomb; see Vol 2, Plate 209, 209.

As above, effigy of John Duff of Muldavit in the south aisle; see Vol 2, Plate 210, 210.

As above, armoured knight surmounting the tomb of John Duff; see Vol 2, Plate 211, 211.

As above, armoured knight on the right hand panel of the frontal of the above tomb; see Vol 2, Plate 212, 212.

As above, armoured knight on the opposite panel; see Vol 2, Plate 213, 213.

As above, slab commemorating John Duff of Muldavit; see Vol 2, Plate 214, 214.

Dalkeith Collegiate Church, effigies of James Douglas, 1st Earl of Morton and his wife, Princess Joanna, daughter of James I; see Vol 3, Plate 215, 215.

As above, detail of cushions on which these heads rest; see Vol 3, Plate 216, 216.

As above, the lions on which their feet rest; see Vol 3, Plate 217, 217.

St. Marnock's Collegiate Church, Foulis Easter, Apex of south west doorway and arms of Lord Grey; see Vol 3, Plate 218, 218.

St. Mary's Collegiate Church, Innerpeffray, Drummond arms on lintel of window in south east wall; see Vol 3, Plate 219, 219.

As above, over doorway; see Vol 3, Plate 220, 220.

Lincluden Collegiate Church, Lion Rampant; see Vol 3, Plate 221,221.

Arms of France; see Vol 3, Plate 222, 222.

The Three Stars of Moray; see Vol 3, Plate 223, 223.

The Arms of Douglas And Moray; see Vol 3, Plate 224, 224.

Tomb and effigy of Margaret Stewart; see Vol 3, Plate 225, 225.

Castle Semple Collegiate Church, monument of John, Lord Sempill; see Vol 3, Plate 226, 226.

St. Mary and the Holy Cross Collegiate Church, Seton, effigies of George, 2nd Lord Seton, and his wife (?); see Vol 3, Plate 227, 227.

St. Salvator's Collegiate Church, St. Andrews, Arms of Bishop James Kennedy on the exterior of the tower; see Vol 3, Plate 228, 228.

As above, arms of Bishop James Kennedy, adjacent to his tomb; see Vol 3, Plate 229, 229.

9.) D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 1, 238, 240, 242, 256.

J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 15, 40, 43 - 6, 49, 57 - 8, 62 - 3.

R. Brydall: "Monumental Effigies", As Above, 339, 341 - 2.

W. R. MacDonald: "Notes", As Above, 346, 353.

J. S. Richardson and H. B. Mackintosh: *Elgin Cathedral*, 8.

C. J. P. Cave: *Roof Bosses*, 193.

J. Gifford: *Fife*, 178, 184.

PHOTOGRAPHS

Crossraguel Abbey, Bagpipe player on the exterior of the chapter house; see Vol 3, Plate 230,230.

As above; see Vol 3, Plate 231,231.

Bearded head in the sacristy; see Vol 3, Plate 232,232.

Elgin Cathedral, vesica shaped panel, angelic supporters; see Vol 3, Plate 233,233.

As above, detail of angelic supporter; see Vol 3, Plate 234,234.

Glasgow Cathedral, figures on northern altar panel of choir screen; see Vol 3, Plate 235,235.

As above, southern panel; see Vol 3, Plate 236,236.

Amongst the figures carved on the chair screen of Glasgow Cathedral, a knight and bear; see Vol 3, Plate 237,237.

A youth pulling the beard of an old man; see Vol 3, Plate 238,238.

A youth and maiden; see Vol 3, Plate 239,239.

A maiden and demon; see Vol 3, Plate 240,240.

Two maidens; see Vol 3, Plate 241,241.

Within the lower church, the reader's attention is drawn to the fragmentary remains of two men bearing scrolls which may be compared with a similar figure at Melrose Abbey. For Glasgow examples; see Vol 3, Plate 242-3,242-3.

Melrose Abbey, Man holding a scroll; see Vol 3, Plate 244,244.

Angel playing a lute; see Vol 3, Plate 245,245.

Man and Rosary; see Vol 3, Plate 246,246.

Coronation of the Virgin; see Vol 3, Plate 247,247.

Carnwath Collegiate Church, mournful head; see Vol 3, Plate 248,248.

Lincluden Collegiate Church, angel playing a lute; see Vol 3, Plate 249,249.

Seton Collegiate Church, smiling head of a monk; see Vol 3, Plate 250,250.

Cambuskenneth Abbey. Small heads on tower; see Vol 3, Plate 251,251.

Head of lion; see Vol 3, Plate 252,252.

Large Human Figure; see Vol 3, Plate 253,253.

Dragon; see Vol 3, Plate 254,254.

Demon; see Vol 3, Plate 255,255.

Crossraguel Abbey, mermaid; see Vol 3, Plate 256,256.

As above, 2 squirrels; see Vol 3, Plate 257,257.

At Dornoch Cathedral, although the gargoyles and heads which crowd the exterior of the building are modern, they nevertheless convey something of the variety which were once in use. For example:

An old man; see Vol 3, Plate 258,258.

A bearded youth; see Vol 3, Plate 259,259.

A king; see Vol 3, Plate 260,260.

A scowling man; see Vol 3, Plate 261,261.

An old man, mouth twisted; see Vol 3, Plate 262,262.

An old man, crouched; see Vol 3, Plate 263,263.

A mouth puller; see Vol 3, Plate 264,264.

Small goblin, tongue protruding; see Vol 3, Plate 265,265.

Small goblin, fists clenched; see Vol 3, Plate 266,266.

A pig; see Vol 3, Plate 267,267.

A pig; see Vol 3, Plate 268,268.

A lion; see Vol 3, Plate 269,269.

As above; see Vol 3, Plate 270,270.

A bear; see Vol 3, Plate 271,271.

Dunblane Cathedral, mermaid on choir stalls; see Vol 3, Plate 272,272.

As above, centaur on choir stalls; see Vol 3, Plate 273,273.

Exterior Of Blacadder Aisle, Unicorn chained ; see Vol 3, Plate 274,274.

Camel " " " "; see Vol 3, Plate 275,275.

Dog " " " "; see Vol 3, Plate 276,276.

Dragon " " " "; see Vol 3, Plate 277,277.

Composite winged beast " " " "; see Vol 3, Plate 278,278.

Centaur " " " "; see Vol 3, Plate 279,279.

2 grotesque heads within Blackadder Aisle; see Vol 3, Plate 280-1,280-1.

Roof boss, 7 snakes round a flower, within Blackadder Aisle; see Vol 3, Plate 282,282.

Roof boss, 4 dragons biting on a gold ring, " "; see Vol 3, Plate 283,283.

Roof boss, 3 dragons within foliage, " "; see Vol 3, Plate 284,284.

3 wild boar chasing their tails, " "; see Vol 3, Plate 285,285.

Figure of man on Devil's head, " "; see Vol 3, Plate 286,286.

Dragon's head and associated figures, above modern porch, Glasgow Cathedral;

Man playing bagpipes, see Vol 3, Plate 287,287.

Demon; see Vol 3, Plate 288,288.

Griffin; see Vol 3, Plate 289,289.

Young woman; see Vol 3, Plate 290,290.

Roof boss, east end, north aisle, Glasgow Cathedral, lion and serpent in battle; see Vol 3, Plate 291,291.

Roof boss, lower church, Glasgow Cathedral, 2 dragons feeding on foliage; see Vol 3, Plate 292,292.

Grotesque head near sacristy door; see Vol 3, Plate 293,293.

Paisley Abbey, a variety of modern grotesques on the exterior of the choir:

A small demon; see Vol 3, Plate 294,294.

A frog; see Vol 3, Plate 295,295.

An Eagle; see Vol 3, Plate 296,296.

A blindfolded man; see Vol 3, Plate 297,297.

Death; see Vol 3, Plate 298,298.

10.) J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 44.

D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 3, 154 - 5.

C. McWilliam: *Lothian*, 412, 414.

T. S. Muir: *Descriptive Notices*, 73.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Dalkeith Collegiate Church, Small dragon's head; see Vol 3, Plate 299,299.

Small squat man; see Vol 3, Plate 300,300.

Griffin above; see Vol 3, Plate 301,301.

Small goblin like figure; see Vol 3, Plate 302,302.

Large, badly worn dragon; see Vol 3, Plate 303,303.

Lincluden Collegiate Church, Headless lion; see Vol 3, Plate 304,304.

Monkey (?), base of door of sacristy; see Vol 3, Plate 305,305.

Seton Collegiate Church, inverted dragon's head and mask; see Vol 3, Plate 306,306.

As above, dragon's head and mask; see Vol 3, Plate 307,307.

Piscina, demon carved on base; see Vol 3, Plate 308,308.

11.) A. Weir and J. Jerman, *Images Of Lust, Sexual Carvings On Medieval Churches* (London, 1968), 105 - 108, refer to images which depict " foliage spewing ", stating that they are " often confused with " Jack - In - The - Green " or " Green Man " motifs, and indeed the distinction often becomes unreal ". The first category is thought to derive from classical images of such individuals as the Medusa and Neptune. The second, drawing from the May day celebrations, the third, the Green Man, may be said to originate in popular superstition over the regenerative aspects of Spring, as a symbol of fertility. See 105 - 8, 123 - 4, fig. 52 - 3, 148 - 50 of the above. However, most of the masks examined in the course of the present thesis might be said to have a menacing appearance. Here it might be suggested that the above ideas had merged with such depictions of demons and, moreover, the Devil himself, from such popular works as the *Vision of Tundale*. As seen in chapter 8, these figures appeared in many contemporary ecclesiastic buildings, most were depicted as having thick matted hair, which symbolised wild untamed, and demonic energy from c.12th. century onwards. Such carvings may be said to represent more the forces of evil than those of rebirth and fertility. see: R. Hughes: *Western Art*, 12, 21, 33, 170 - 1, 183, 209 - 210, 271.

F. E. Hulme: *Symbolism*, 107 - 8.

W. Swann: *The Gothic Cathedral*, 215.

C. J. P. Cave: *Roof Bosses*, 67.

12.) J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 18 - 20, 43, 62.

T. S. Muir: *Descriptive Notices*, 36.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Crossraguel Abbey, Green Man; see Vol 3, Plate 309,309.

Culross Abbey, Green Man; see Vol 3, Plate 310,310.

Dornoch Cathedral, Green Man (modern) ; see Vol 3, Plate 311,311.

Dunkeld Cathedral, Green Man ; see Vol 3, Plate 312,312.

Glasgow Cathedral, Green Man ; see Vol 3, Plate 313,313.

As above; see Vol 3, Plate 314,314.

St. Brides Church Douglas, Green Man ; see Vol 3, Plate 315,315.

As above; see Vol 3, Plate 316,316.

Dalkeith Collegiate Church , Green Man ; see Vol 3, Plate 317,317.

Restalrig Collegiate Church, Green Man ; see Vol 3, Plate 318,318.

Stirling, Church of the Holy- Rude, Green Man ; see Vol 3, Plate 320,320.

13.) G. L. Remnant and M. D. Anderson*: A Catalogue Of Misericords In Great Britain With An Essay On Their Iconography* (Oxford, 1969), 187 - 9. Hereafter, G.L. Remnant and M.D. Anderson: A Catalogue Of Misericords In Great Britain.

M. R. Apted*: The Painted Ceilings Of Scotland, 1550 - 1650*, (Edinburgh, 1966), 1 - 7.

J. Gifford*: Fife*, 180, 380, 382.

T. S. Muir*: Descriptive Notices*, xxviii.

J. H. Cockburn*:* "The Ochiltree Stalls And Other Medieval Carvings In Dunblane Cathedral", in, *The Society Of Friends Of Dunblane Cathedral*, vol. 8, (1961), 102 - 8, 142 - 5.

J. H. Cockburn*: The Medieval Bishops Of Dunblane And Their Church*, (Edinburgh, 1959), 145 - 6.

J. S. Richardson*: Med. St. Carver*, 51 - 2.

C. J. P. Cave*: Roof Bosses*.

PHOTOGRAPHS

Interior of the chapter house, Dryburgh Abbey; see Vol 3, Plate 322,322.

Dunblane, stalls in nave. Dragon; see Vol 3, Plate 323,323.

Monogram, I. H. S. ; see Vol 3, Plate 324,324.

Green Man, in nave; see Vol 3, Plate 325,325.

As above, in choir; see Vol 3, Plate 326,326.

Detail of the above; see Vol 3, Plate 327,327.

Leopard, in choir; see Vol 3, Plate 328,328.

Bat, in choir; see Vol 3, Plate 329,329.

Dunfermline Abbey, Vault, 4 Apostles; see Vol 3, Plate 330,330.

Melrose Abbey. Choir Screen; see Vol 3, Plate 331,331.

As above; see Vol 3, Plate 332,332.

Head Of Christ; see Vol 3, Plate 333,333.

14.) T. S. Muir: *Descriptive Notices*, xviii, 135.

G. L. Remnant and M. D. Anderson: *A Catalogue Of Misericords In Great Britain*, 187 - 8.

M. R. Apted: *The Painted Ceilings Of Scotland, 1550 - 1650*, (Edinburgh, 1966), 2, 6.

M. R. Apted and W. N. Robertson: "Late Fifteenth Century Church Paintings From Guthrie And Foulis Easter", in, *Soc. Of Ant.*, vol. 45, (1964), 262 - 79.

F. D. Bargett: *Scotland Reformed: The Reformation In Angus And The Mearns*, (Edinburgh, 1989) 21.

S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 177 - 8.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Choir Screen, Foulis Easter; see Vol 3, Plate 334,334.

Choir Screen, Lincluden; see Vol 3, Plate 335-6,335-6.

15.) T. S. Muir: *Descriptive Notices*, 114, 144 - 7.

A. MacPherson: "Scottish Sacrament Houses", in, *Soc. Of Ant.*, (1890 - 91), Vol. 25, 89 - 116.

C. McWilliam: *Lothian*, 124.

J. Gifford: *Fife*, 249.

J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 33 - 4.

W. R. MacDonald: "Notes", in, *Soc. Of Ant.*, (9 April 1900), 400 - 1.

D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 2, 549 - 51.

A. D. Lacaille: "Notes On A Loch Lomondside Parish", in, *I. R.*, Vol. 16, (1965), 151.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Font, Birnie Church, Moray; see Vol 3, Plate 337,337.

Broxburn, Font; see Vol 3, Plate 338,338.

Dryburgh Abbey, Font *(?)*; see Vol 3, Plate 339,339.

Forteviot Church, Font; see Vol 3, Plate 340,340.

Fortrose Cathedral, Font; see Vol 3, Plate 341,341.

Inverkeithing Church, D. MacWilliam and T. Ross - see the above reference - suggest the following interpretation of the heraldic displays on the font within this church. The present author's views differ in places - as witnessed in the text of the chapter - and where this occurs, an alternative explanation will be included in brackets.

The Stewart arms, on the shield to the left in the first photograph; see Vol 3, Plate 342,342.

A "lion rampant within a double tressure. Lyon of Glamis." (The Royal arms of Scotland, King Robert III) ; see Vol 3, Plate 343,343.

"Per pale, dexter side, a lion rampant within a double tressure. Lyon of Glamis. On the sinister side, bars wavy for Drummond". (The arms of Scotland, King Robert III, and those of his wife, Annabella Drummond); see Vol 3, Plate 344,344.

"An eagle displayed, surmounted by a bend with three crescents. Ramsay of Dunoon"; see Vol 3, Plate 345,345.

"Fesse between three crescents. Melville of Glenbervie"; see Vol 3, Plate 346,346.

"Quarterly 1st and 4th; three bay leaves, for Foulis of Colinton; 2nd and 3rd, saltier and chief, wavy. Bruce of Balcaskie"; see Vol 3, Plate 347,347.

Meigle Font, Crucifixion, Passion, Resurrection; see Vol 3, Plate 348-50,348-50.

Kinloss Abbey, Font; see Vol 3, Plate 351,351.

Lennoxtown, Font; see Vol 3, Plate 352,352.

Luss, Font; see Vol 3, Plate 353,353.

Lyn, Font; see Vol 3, Plate 354,354.

16.) PHOTOGRAPHS.
Beauly Priory, double piscina; see Vol 3, Plate 355,355.

Crossraguel, double piscina; see Vol 3, Plate 356,356.

Elgin Cathedral, piscina; see Vol 3, Plate 357-8,357-8.

Fortrose Cathedral, piscina; see Vol 3, Plate 359,359.

Inchcolm Abbey, piscina; see Vol 3, Plate 360,360.

Melrose Abbey, piscina; see Vol 3, Plate 361-4,361-4.

Restenneth Priory, piscina; see Vol 3, Plate 365,365.

Torphichen Preceptory, piscina; see Vol 3, Plate 366,366.

St. Bride's Church, Douglas, piscina; see Vol 3, Plate 367,367.

17.) J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 58.

T. S. Muir: *Descriptive Notices*, xxiii, 122.

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Crossraguel Abbey, sedilia; see Vol 3, Plate 368,368.

Crossraguel Abbey, sedilia; see Vol 3, Plate 369,369.

Inchmahome Priory, sedilia; see Vol 3, Plate 370,370.

Paisley Abbey, sedilia; see Vol 3, Plate 371,371.

18.) A. Macpherson: "Scottish Scarament Houses", in, *Soc. Of Ant.*, Vol. 25, (1890 - 91), 96 - 107, 109 - 114.

T. S. Muir: *Descriptive Notices*, 146 - 7.

W. R. MacDonald: "Notes", in, *Soc. Of Ant.*, (9 April 1900), 423 - 4.

T. S. Muir: *Descriptive Notices*, xxiii.

J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 46.

D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 2, 156, 283, 489; Vol. 3, 384, 386, 402, 406, 452, 514.

S. R. MacPhail: *History Of The Religious House Of Pluscarden*, 166 - 7.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Deskford, sacrament house; see Vol 3, Plate 372,372.

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Elgin Cathedral, sacrament house; see Vol 3, Plate 374,374.

Leuchars Church, Fife, sacrament house; see Vol 3, Plate 375,375.

Pluscarden Priory, sacrament house; see Vol 3, Plate 376,376.

19.) D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 2, 540; Vol. 3, 185, 196, 234 - 5, 341, 402.

C. McWilliam: *Lothian*, 144, 193, 427.

T. S. Muir: *Descriptive Notices*, xxiv, xxii, xxiii, 26 - 7, 31, 41 - 2, 52, 54, 70, 72, 113 - 4, 137 - 8.

S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 178, 187.

J. Gifford: *Fife*, 377.

A. MacPherson: "Scottish Sacrament Houses", in, *Soc. of Ant* , Vol. 25, (1890 - 91), 90 - 6, 107 - 9.

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Lincluden Collegiate Church, piscina; see Vol 3, Plate 379,379.

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Bothwell Collegiate Church, sedilia, see Vol 3, Plate 381,381.

Lincluden Collegiate Church, sedilia; see Vol 3, Plate .382,382.

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Cullen Collegiate Church, sacrament house; see Vol 3, Plate 384,384.

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St. Salvator's Collegiate Church, sacrament house; see Vol 3, Plate 389,389.

Maybole Collegiate Church, Easter Sepulchre; see Vol 3, Plate 390,390.

Holy Rude Collegiate Church, Easter Sepulchre; see Vol 3, Plate 391,391.

20.) D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 2, 228.

J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 111, 113.

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Cambuskenneth Abbey, west doorway; see Vol 3, Plate 392,392.

Dryburgh Abbey. Western doorway; see Vol 3, Plate 393,393.

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Dunblane Cathedral. Western doorway; see Vol 3, Plate 397,397.

As above; see Vol 3, Plate 398,398.

Doorway on north side of nave; see Vol 3, Plate 399,399.

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Elgin Cathedral. Western doorway; see Vol 3, Plate 401,401.

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As above, niche to the right of Western doorway; see Vol 3, Plate 403,403.

Interior of western doorway; see Vol 3, Plate 404,404.

Glasgow Cathedral. Western doorway; see Vol 3, Plate 405,405.

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Doorway in south wall of lower church; see Vol 3, Plate 407,407.

Inchmahome Priory, west doorway; see Vol 3, Plate 408,408.

Kelso Abbey, west doorway; see Vol 3, Plate 409,409.

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21.) PHOTOGRAPHS
Biggar Collegiate Church, doorway in south transept; see Vol 3, Plate 412,412.

Bothwell Collegiate Church, doorway to sacristy; see Vol 3, Plate 413,413.

Dalkeith Collegiate Church, south doorway; see Vol 3, Plate 414,414.

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As above, interior of door; see Vol 3, Plate 417,417.

22.) C. J. P. Cave: *Roof Bosses*, 4, 17 - 18, 20, 23, 38, 61, 64, 189 - 90, 193, 200, 205 - 6.

J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 28, 33, 38 - 9, 48, 50, 62.

W. R. MacDonald: "Notes", in *Soc. Of Ant.*, (9 April 1900), 350 - 53.

D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 2, 333- 4; Vol. 3, 3.

C. McWilliam: *Lothian*, 192, 416 - 7, 425 - 7.

S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 185.

T. S. Muir: *Descriptive Notices*, 32, 54 - 5, 68 - 9, 134.

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Maybole Collegiate Church, doorway in south wall; see Vol 3, Plate 418,418.

Glasgow Cathedral, Blackadder Aisle, Lamb of God, roof boss; see Vol 3, Plate 419,419.

As Above, on base of arch; see Vol 3, Plate 420,420.

As Above, The Trinity with 3 dragons, roof boss; see Vol 3, Plate 421,421.

As Above, The Trinity, on capital; see Vol 3, Plate 422,422.

As Above, Passion Symbols, roof boss; see Vol 3, Plate 423,423.

As Above, Four heads surrounded with foliage, roof boss; see Vol 3, Plate 424,424.

Glasgow Cathedral, lower church, Arms of Glasgow, roof boss; see Vol 3, Plate 425,425.

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Elgin Cathedral, the " Bishop's house ", Trinity dated 1557; see Vol 4, Plate 430,430.

Glasgow Cathedral, lower church, birds feeding on fruit; see Vol 4, Plate 431,431.

As Above, Blackadder aisle, roof boss, birds feeding on fruit; see Vol 4, Plate 432,432.

As Above, roof boss, birds alternating with dragons; see Vol 4, Plate 433,433.

Glasgow Cathedral, capital in north aisle, east end, good overcoming evil, overall picture; see Vol 4, Plate 434,434.

Detail, man spearing a dragon; see Vol 4, Plate 435,435.

Detail, knight drawing sword against serpent; see Vol 4, Plate 436,436.

Detail, kneeling figure of St. Martha; see Vol 4, Plate 437,437.

Restalrig Collegiate Church, roof bosses; see Vol 4, Plate 438-43,438-43.

Carnwath Collegiate Church, windows; see Vol 4, Plate 444-6,444-6.

Castle Semple Collegiate Church, windows; see Vol 4, Plate 447-8,447-8.

Dalkeith Collegiate Church, windows; see Vol 4, Plate 449-50,449-50.

Maybole Collegiate Church, windows; see Vol 4, Plate 451-3,451-3.

Seton Collegiate Church, windows; see Vol 4, Plate 454-5,454-5.

Restalrig Collegiate Church, Central Pillar; see Vol 4, Plate 456-7,456-7.

Elgin Cathedral, chapter house, central pillar; see Vol 4, Plate 458,458.

Crossraguel Abbey, chapter house, central pillar; see Vol 4, Plate 459,459.

Crossraguel Abbey, vaulting in chapter house; see Vol 4, Plate 460,460.

23.) F. E. Hulme: *Symbolism*, 2, 10 - 15, 39, 88, 90 - 1, 101 - 3, 105 - 8, 111, 130 - 3, 138 - 47, 149 - 52.

J. C. Cooper: *Illustrated Encyclopedia* 22, 68, 94, 112, 118 - 9, 126.

D. H. Farmer: *Saints*, 517 - 8.

M. Glasscoe: *English Medieval Mystics*, 29.

Francis Bond: *Fonts And Font Covers*, (London, 1985), 57, 253, 259, 287.

A. D. Lacaille: "Stone basins", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.*, Vol. 12, (1953), 65, 72 - 3, 75 - 6, 85.

B. Webb: "Unbaptised Infants", in, *The Downside Review*, No. 71, (1952 - 3), 242 - 257.

P. Gumpel: "Unbaptised Infants: May They Be Saved?", in, *The Downside Review*, No. 72, (1953 - 3), 342 - 3, 345.

R. J. Pendergast: "The Supernatural Existential Human Generation And Original Sin", in, *The Downside Review*, No. 82, (1964), 2.

D. McKay: "Parish Life", in, D. McRoberts (ed.): *Essays*, 106.

H. J. Schroeder: *Trent*, 31, Ch. iv.

M. Rubin: *Corpus Christi*, 43, 48 - 9, 107, 272 - 3, 295.

A. Coutts: "The Knights Templar In Scotland", in, *R. S. C. H. S.*, Vol. 7, (1939-40), 126.

G. Hay: "The Architecture Of Scottish Collegiate Churches", in, G. W. S. Barrow: *The Scottish Tradition: Essays In Honour Of Ronald Gordon Cant*, (Edinburgh, London, 1974), 56 - 70.

24.) N. Hunt: *Cluny Under St. Hugh, 1049 - 1109*, (London, 1967), 69, 99 - 100, 105 - 6, 114.

J. Leclerq: "The Monastic Crisis", in, N. Hunt: *Clunaic Monasticism In The Central Middle Ages*, (London, 1971), 223, 226.

H. E. Cowdrey: *The Clunaics And The Gregorian Reform*, (Oxford, 1970), 123 - 7, 129, 131 - 32, 142 - 3.

For a comparison of the similar nature of the requests being levelled at non - collegiate foundations see the following examples:

W. Hay (ed.) *Charters, Writs And Public Documents Of The Royal Burgh Of Dundee 1292 - 1880.* (Dundee, 1880), 26, records a charter drawn up by King Robert III on 8 February 1404/5 which gifted:

> " a hundred shillings sterling, yearly, from the great custom of [the] burgh of Dundee.... for the weal of the soul of.... David, Duke of Rothesay, [his son] also for [his] own soul and those of all [his] predecessors and successors, and for the souls of those who [had] given or [should] afterwards give any goods to the altar of St. Salvator in the parish church of Dundee...."

Charters Of The Royal Burgh Of Ayr, in, *Ayrshire And Wigtonshire Archaeological Association*, Vol. 11 , (Edinburgh, 1883), 95 - 96, 96 - 102. The first records an " instrument " dated 30 December 1500, which gifted an annual rent of " six shillings and eightpence in favour of the Choristers of the Church of St. John, [Ayr] for an Obit Mass for Nicholas McRoye...." The second records the gift made by " Sir Andrew Makcormyll, vicar of Straiton " on 12 May 1502, " to the Choristers of the Parish Chapel of Ayr, for the Celebration of his Anniversary and Obit...." The terms of this gift are particularly relevant to the principle subjects of this chapter, and to the issues raised in chapter 8 with regards to the need to gain personal spiritual merit in preparation for the world to come, for Sir Andrew also stated that it was his belief:

> " that by pious alms and the celebration of masses, the Son is offered to the Father for the sins of men which on that account are remitted, [thus] the pains of Purgatory [were] ended, and the souls of the dead set free in greater numbers...."

Significantly however, despite such a broad remit, Sir Andrew was also careful to state that the services which he paid for were to be primarily credited to the " welfare of his own soul, the souls of his father and mother, and.... those who were intentionally his benefactors, both living and dead...." For other similarly intentioned benefactions see for example: D. H. Fleming: *Reformation* , 70, reference to the parish church of St. Andrews.

C. M. MacDonald: "The Struggle", in, *S. H. R.* Vol. 14, (1917), 26, reference to the Church of Torphichen, prayers for the souls of James IV's father and mother, and for the souls of James IV and " his dearest consort Margaret, Queen of Scotland ". See *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488 - 1529, No. 1899, given at Edinburgh on 20 June 1509.

In terms of chantry chapels, only one example has apparently been identified with any certainty, that is that founded by David Strachan of Carmyle in 1500, within the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Carmyle. See D. E. Easson: "Education", in, *R. S. C. H. S.*, Vol. 6, (1936-8) 19.

In terms of abbatial and episcopal examples, the reader's attention is drawn to the numerous examples contained in chapters 10 and 11; for a brief summary at this point however, the following sources may be consulted.

Archbishop Eyre: "The Hall Of The Vicars Choral, Glasgow Cathedral", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.*, N. S. Vol. 3, (19 December 1895), 81

As Above: "The Old Arrangements Of The Glasgow Cathedral", in, As Above, N. S. Vol. 1, (21 March 1889), 478 - 87, 490.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 138.

D. E. Easson: *Gavin Dunbar*, 91.

J. Durkan: "Archbishop Robert Blackadder's Will", in, *I. R.* Vol. 20, (1969), 138 - 9, 141, 143.

T. S. Robertson: "Arbroath Abbey", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.*, N. S. Vol. 4, (3 September 1907), 233 - 236.

25.) I. B. Cowan and D. E. Easson: *Med. Rel. Houses*, 213 - 4, collegiate examples; 116, 126, mendicant examples.

R. S. S. 1529 - 1542, Vol. 2, No. 3948.

E. Dufy: *Altars*, 370 - 1, 373 - 5.

D. E. Easson: "Collegiate Churches, part 2", in, *R. S. C. H. S.*, Vol. 7, (1939-41) 30 - 32, 35 - 44.

As Above, " Collegiate Churches, part 1 ", in, *R. S. C. H. S.*, Vol. 6, (1936-8) 16 - 17.

J. Dowden: *The Medieval Church In Scotland*, 105 - 8.

J. Anderson: *Laing Charters*, 109 - 110, No. 412.

W. Eden (ed.) *Richard Maidstone's Penitential Psalms*, in, *Middle English Texts*, Vol 22, (Heidelberg, 1990), 9 - 12, 21, 39; 48, l. 25 - 28, 37 - 40; 50, l. 49 - 52; 54, l. 121 - 2; 73, l. 401 - 4; 85, l. 595 - 6; 100, l. 835 - 40; 101, l. 845 - 8.

R. Whiting: *The Blind Devotion Of The People*, 18, 105 - 6.

R. N. Swanson: *Church And Society*, 51, 254, 258, 282 - 4, 296 - 7.

C. Haigh: *English Reformations, Religion, Politics And Society Under The Tudors*, (Oxford, 1993), 30, 34, 36 - 7. Hereafter, C. Haigh, *English Reformations*.

W. J. Shiels: *The English Reformation 1530-1570.* (London, 1990).

C. Harper- Bill: *The Pre - Reformation Church In England 1400-1530.* (London, 1989).

K. Thomas: *Religion And The Decline Of Magic: Studies In Popular Beliefs In Sixteenth And Seventeenth Century England*, (London, 1991). 46 - 7. Hereafter, K. Thomas, *Religion And The Decline Of Magic.*

E. Cameron: *The European Reformation*, 13, 15, 18 - 9.

M. Rubin: *Corpus Christi*, 13, 49 - 50.

E. Newton and W. Neil: *The Christian Faith In Art*, 209.

Chapter Ten

The Appeal Of Pilgrimage And Its Impact On The Religious Orders And The Secular Colleges.

"At the place where his [St. Cuthbert's] body lay, in the sure and certain hope of a glorious resurrection, the poor and needy and terrified continued to find peace."

[Benedicta Ward: *The Spirituality Of St. Cuthbert*, in *St. Cuthbert....*, ed. by G. Bonner, D. Rollason and C. Stancliffe, 75.]

Introduction

In the above chapters on the doctrine of Purgatory, and on the closely related issues examined in regard to the phenomenal popularity of the collegiate foundations - this as stated at the expense of the regular Orders - it emerged that the horrors which awaited individuals on their death must have been known to all. Through such popular means of communication as the exempla - episodes taken from the lives of saints and used as spiritual examples for others to follow, or to illustrate particular points - employed by the mendicant Orders, to the architectural and artistic means of communication employed by the Church in general, arguably the greater part of the population would have realised that they were being excluded from the services offered by the replacement - in terms of acting as an intercessionary power house of prayer - of the monastic houses, that is the collegiate foundations. Moreover, due to the harsh reality of their lives, - as examined in chapter 7 - in which war, dearth and disease were ever present horrors they, the majority of the laity, would have been arguably even more aware of the unspeakable suffering which awaited all but the most favoured of individuals.

Here, however, it could be said that the Church continued to hold out at least a modicum of hope, for if the preaching of the friars warned of the inevitability of judgement and punishment, it nevertheless offered some solace in the message that physical and spiritual succour could be attained in the world of the living through what was still the most universal demonstration of popular piety, pilgrimage, an area in which the houses of the enclosed Orders could, it might be argued, still compete with the colleges. In addition to the above physical and spiritual succour, the laity were informed that pilgrimage carried the more important boon still of indulgences, that is, all important remissions in terms of the duration of the canonical penance imposed by the Church; this in turn relating - albeit in a way which man could not calculate accurately - to the length of time an

individual would be expected to undergo punishment in the after life, cleansing his soul of the guilt which it had accrued in the present.

Again, therefore, as with the issues relating to the doctrine of Purgatory, and those promoting the growth of the collegiate kirk examined in chapters 8 and 9 - it is crucial to obtain a clear idea of the depth and range of emotions invoked by the saintly remains and their associated relics, of the beliefs entailed, beliefs which the Catholic Church had planted and nourished over many years until they had become an established part of the consciousness of early modern man, for it is the view of the present work that it was the role which the regular Orders and colleges performed in encouraging and serving these beliefs, that determined how the laity perceived these servants of the Church, and which gave an added dimension to the negative aspects of their behaviour examined thus far.

Before beginning the chapter itself, the reader is asked to bear in mind the following points. As stated in the introduction to this thesis, the members of the religious Orders and their secular counterparts, the men who served the colleges, cannot be viewed in isolation from the rest of the branches of the Catholic Church in Scotland at this time. Thus, in the following chapter, frequent references will be made to both the cathedrals and to ordinary parish churches of the realm, where they present evidence which helps shed light on the activities of the religious Orders and the inmates of the collegiate kirks. Evidence relating to monastic foundations, [as for instance Arbroath, Balmerino, Cambuskenneth, Coldingham, Dryburgh, Dunfermline, Holyrood, Inchcolm, Jedburgh, Kelso, Melrose, Paisley, Pluscarden, Restenneth and Iona] friaries, [such as those found in Ayr, Elgin, Stirling, and St. Monans] and collegiate foundations therefore, [such as Crail, Foulis Easter, Lincluden, Restalrig, St. Giles in Edinburgh and St. Salvator's in St. Andrews] will be used alongside such episcopal examples as Aberdeen, Dunblane, Glasgow and St. Andrews, and material relating to such parish churches as Dalmeny, Dundee, Inverkeithing, Leuchars, Linlithgow, Perth and Whitekirk. At this point, the reader may question the inclusion of material which at first glance bears no obvious relation to the confines of the present thesis, but it should be borne in mind that just as with the doctrine of Purgatory, the importance of an appeal to all of the senses should not be forgotten. Thus, a pilgrim could visit and experience the awesome grandeur once on show within St. Kentigern's house of Glasgow Cathedral, and thereafter take the feelings of awe, reverence and fear which such a visit would have instilled within him, on the short journey to Paisley Abbey where he would be confronted by St. Mirrin. Similarly, the pious traveller who marvelled at the display of wealth on show at St. Andrew/s Cathedral - where both the Apostle himself and St. Regulus would have watched his progress within its cavernous interior - would also

have doubtless made the journey to pay his respects to St. Margaret at her Abbey of Dunfermline. Should an individual travel from the Border region in search of solace, he might well have begun his journey by visiting Melrose Abbey and its saintly guardian, the Abbot Waltheof. Thereafter, he may well have travelled to seek aid at the shrine of Our Lady at the parish church of Whitekirk, thence to the royal collegiate foundation of Restalrig and the healing succour of St. Triduana, onwards still to visit St. Giles within his college at Edinburgh, thereafter turning his attention to one of the major centres of spiritual excellence such as St. Andrews or Glasgow; equally, it would be entirely feasible to reverse the order of each of the above journeys, for these monastic, collegiate and episcopal centres were so closely bound in this aspect of popular piety, so ably complementing each other, that to separate the two former bodies from the last would be unhelpful in the extreme.

At this point a further series of considerations should be borne in mind; that is, that at numerous points along the suggested routes above, the supplicant might well have stopped at any one of the many parish churches of the day, to offer a prayer to his favourite saint - or saints - at the altars which these buildings contained. Here again, the wealth of decoration and ceremonial splendour within many of these structures would have helped him achieve a suitably receptive frame of mind for his appearance at the shrine of the saint - or saints - whose aid he sought. Similarly, he might have stopped at one of the countless wells which dotted the Scottish countryside, and which were felt to be favoured by members of the Church's elite. It is also essential to bear in mind that many pilgrims did not confine their activities to Scotland itself. Thus material relating to England and the Continent will appear within the following chapters, for in all of the cases examined direct - and highly relevant - parallels may be drawn with the Scottish scene in the period under examination.

In terms of the emphasis placed on an appeal to all of the senses within this and the following chapter, the intention was one of demonstrating the importance of all of the myriad factors involved in the life of the Church, which in the final analysis - more than any of the above criticisms examined thus far - determined the decline and eventual fall of the religious who form the subject of the present work. For arguably, when the Protestant movement consolidated its hold on power in the 1560s, the measures it took to outlaw the Mass and these associated appeals to the emotional side of human nature - which will be examined in chapter 12 - effectively removed the means whereby the regular Orders and their secular counterparts in the colleges, shaped and guided popular piety - as seen in chapter 8 for example in relation to death, the doctrine of Purgatory, and chapter 9 in the intercessionary role of the monasteries and colleges - they also removed the means through which these individuals justified their existence, for if all of the colour, imagery,

drama and music they employed was dismissed as meaningless - as indeed it was - then so too by association were the actions of the men who employed them.

To help achieve an understanding of how all of the above factors may be seen to be relevant to a study of the regular Orders and the inmates of the collegiate foundations, the reader is asked to consider a variety of structures ranging from the smallest, humblest church - with little in the way of material resources, decoration - to the largest, most exotic example he can recall of Continental ecclesiastical architecture. Undoubtedly, amongst these buildings will appear those of the religious under examination. If the reader then thinks of these structures as individual spiritual power - houses, each may differ in the level of output which it produces, yet all contribute to the spiritual strength of the Church as a whole. No one structure - in this rough equivalent to a vast electricity grid - could exist alone, no matter how large it was, for it relied on the input of the countless smaller units to contribute to its own survival. Again, the reverse was true, for the smaller structure relied on the prestigious reputation of larger brethren. All relied on the same basic approach of an appeal to the senses; the limited range of religious trappings on show within a small parish structure might be all the majority of the rural populace might see of this, but they would have known that their local church was part of this network through a variety of means. Consider for instance, that the Scottish Church Council of 1549 specifically stated that the heads of religious houses were:

> "To use all manner of diligence for the discovery and apprehension of their apostates and fugitives who [had] escaped beyond the bounds of their jurisdiction....,"

this directive not only applicable to the male heads of monastic houses over wandering monks, but to their female counterparts, for there was to be a similar operation mounted to "recall in like manner.... apostate nuns...." Given such a situation, it is entirely feasible to suggest that such wandering monks and nuns would be able to supply details of the houses which they had left, thereby enabling the laity they encountered to experience - albeit second hand - many of the dramatic features which were in parts of these foundations outwith their reach. Similarly, all abbeys required sizeable quantities of food to cater for the inmates and for visiting dignitaries - as witnessed in chapter 5 for instance in relation to the inventory of supplies delivered to Arbroath Abbey c.1530 whilst it was held by David Beaton. Thus it would be possible for the lowest level of labourer to see, from the outside at the very least - if at no other time in his life - the wealth, for

instance, of such pilgrimage sites as Melrose and Dunfermline at first hand as he delivered these supplies. Equally likely, it would have been possible for a servant from a rural community to accompany his master to Edinburgh, for example, where the latter may have had business or have been on pilgrimage himself; while there he may well have had the opportunity to pay a fleeting visit to St. Giles. Under these circumstances such an individual may well have been able to enjoy a wide variety of the decorative and ceremonial delights which the Church offered, both within the confines of Scotland and abroad, delights which he could link to his own local foundation through such services as the celebration of the Mass and the burial of the dead; in turn his traveller's tales would have allowed those who never left the confines of their village to experience - again albeit by proxy - all of the features examined below. Thus, when such a suggestion is considered - that the forms of ceremony and decoration were widely known - alongside the evidence of the preaching of the mendicants, and that relating to the architectural features examined in the preceding chapter, all of the above mentioned features would easily be linked in the minds of the faithful with the houses of the regulars and their collegiate counterparts. At this point therefore the reader should note that the inclusion of detail which the laity would have been officially barred from seeing may be justified on several counts; firstly they might have learned of it from such sources as the wandering monks and nuns referred to above, secondly from the work of the friars, thirdly that in examining what survives of pre - Reformation art and architecture, it becomes apparent that what remains is merely a fraction of what once must have been in existence. Arguably therefore, the inclusion of such material compensates to a degree for this loss, and thus enables a fuller appreciation of the delights which were, on show for the laity.

In the opening stages of this chapter, much early information will be included, for it not only provides the foundation and framework for beliefs crucial to the existence of the regular Orders and colleges of the period in question, it also serves to illustrate one of the key arguments of the Catholic church in its defence against its Protestant critics, namely that the doctrines of the Church and thus the validity of her numerous representatives - among whom were the regular Orders and their secular counterparts, the personnel of the collegiate kirks - were dependent upon traditions which stretched back to the earliest times. In terms of the confines of the present work however, it would not be relevant to undertake too lengthy an analysis of these issues. Therefore, only those points thought necessary for an understanding of the importance of these traditions in terms of lay perceptions of the religious under examination, and the degree to which they - the regular communities and colleges - could be seen to be fulfilling their key role in maintaining such traditions will be included. Finally, the reader's attention is drawn to the fact that numerous examples will be

drawn from the ranks of the episcopate. The reasoning here is threefold; firstly, as stated in the introduction - numerous members of this exalted group still maintained a close interest in the monastic houses of the day through commendation. Secondly, those bishops who had never possessed any connection with either the regular Orders or the collegiate office, may still be considered to be of relevance, for arguably they shared the same outlook and aspirations - the continued acquisition of power within the Church and the lay state - as those who had. Thirdly, those religious belonging to the groups who form the subject of this thesis who had yet to attain such a promotion, and arguably this was the undoubted ambition of the great majority of these men within the period under study - nevertheless sought to emulate those who had; thus they too - for example - both sought and obtained burial within many of the leading religious houses of the day, both regular and secular, where they could rest in the company of God's elite, the saints.

In heading this chapter with such a quotation, the reader's attention is drawn to what was - and indeed still is - the ultimate hope of any pilgrim, a "glorious resurrection". Yet to think of the appeal of pilgrimage purely in this light is to place too tight a restriction on what is an extremely complex subject. Thus, in examining the concept of pilgrimage within this thesis, it is proposed to begin by defining the nature of pilgrimage itself. What motivated someone to undertake such a journey ? What did society perceive as the intrinsic values of the objects of their adoration, the saintly remains and their relics? In what ways were the regular and collegiate personnel involved in these emotive issues? An early glimpse of what served to draw an individual to these spiritual powerhouses - the buildings which served as a home for these individuals - may be gleaned from the Church's early definitions of saintly authority. Where the presence of a saint was required for instance, but could not be ensured in person, or through a relic, the Church was at pains to point out that this in no way limited his power, for it was believed that merely by the use of a document prepared by him - and containing his exhortation for a favourable outcome in times of dire necessity - his authority could still be transmitted. [1] Where however the remains of - or personal items associated with - a saintly patron could be directly approached, the spiritual aura emanating from such a source would be difficult to gauge in mere human terms. Gregory the Great for example once recounted an incident in which Pope Leo I proved the veracity of one such relic, a cloth, by cutting it; it was seen to bleed. [2] The power of the saint - or his relics - for instance could also be seen to act as a means of overcoming an individual's fear over the fate of the soul, and of helping negate the revulsion felt over the physical evidence of the body's decay after death. Here the horror of the inevitable consequences of the transitory nature of human flesh, may perhaps be best appreciated by referring to the words of St. Bernard of Clairvaux who stated that:

> "This flesh is no better than filthy rags.... that thou art reduced so low as to be esteemed Nothing. The flesh.... is in itself no better than froth and bubble, cloathed with a gay, but frail and decayed beauty; and the time will shortly come, when all its boasted charms shall sink into a rotten Carcass, and be only food for worms.... Consider a little those constant evacuations, the discharges of thy mouth, and nose, and other passages, without which the body cannot subsist.... For indeed this gaudy creature is no better than a bundle of Corruption; and food for insects: First, Blood, then Man afterwards Worms and no Man."

This fear therefore, of both the fate of the soul and the decay of the body, so clearly a part of the doctrine of Purgatory and the popularity of collegiate foundations - the saint in effect was powerful enough to overcome, by bringing into the present a glimpse of the twin rewards of the Resurrection, - both spiritually and physically - and Paradise to come. [3] In its use of the martyr, the Church further increased the link between the material world of the present, to the spiritual world to come through the powerful medium of the *passiones*. Their reading at the high point of a religious festival, served to increase the incredible level of emotional energy being generated and released at that moment, [4] in a way which brought the past sufferings of the saintly martyr into the present time for the congregation; the suffering which they - the onlookers - may well have experienced in their lives, compared in its own way with those of the saints, both a path to salvation. [5] The result of this phenomenon therefore, served as a means whereby the Divine power involved in the repair of the martyr's body - left for the faithful as a visual reminder of the Resurrection to come - would be released in such a way as to provide healing and succour, to those in need of either spiritual or - perhaps more importantly in term's of the present life - physical solace. [7] Evidence that such a belief was still current in the period under examination seen - for example - in the endowments made by Dean James Lindsay in 1486 to the chapel of the martyrs saints, Stephen and Laurence, within Glasgow Cathedral. [8]

For the majority of the faithful, these reasons alone might have served to provide the devotional impetus to go on pilgrimage, [9] but there were numerous others which also served to prompt the pious traveller to undertake such a journey. Following confession for instance, an individual - although now free from guilt - was still open to the myriad of horrific punishments, examined in chapter 8, which were the inevitable consequence of his earthly sins, in Purgatory or Hell. In relation to Purgatorial sufferings, the obvious question which many might ask, why should individuals be so punished for their misdeeds, after such a pardon had been achieved? Here, the answer may be said to lie in the dual result of the action of sin on an individual's soul, that is, that it produced "the debt of guilt and the debt of pain." While the former could be forgiven in life - by baptism for example in the case of original sin - the latter still had to be met, either in this life, or in the life to come. Thus although in death, the guilt arising from venial sin might be erased, "the debt of pain" still had to be met, hence the soul's sojourn in Purgatory. This formula was particularly relevant to the mortal sins which an individual acquired; failure to pay for these sins in life would necessitate a much higher price being exacted in the next. [10] By the prescription of penance however [11] - perhaps in the form of pilgrimage - the sinner could negate at least part of the punishment which awaited him at life's end - that is in Purgatory - an idea expanded upon by the

practice of issuing indulgences, whereby an individual received a written certificate, stating the length of time in Purgatory which had been remitted by such a penance as pilgrimage.

Here however, it is important both to distinguish between the forms of indulgences on offer, and to consider their significance with relation to punishment before and after death. Indulgences in themselves did not originally refer directly to the time to be spent in Purgatory, rather they referred to the length of time of the canonical penance imposed by the Church on sinful members of her flock. The most sought after was the "plenary" indulgence, for it excused the recipient from all the earthly punishment which he would otherwise have undergone; the partial indulgence for its part, consisted of a specified period of time which would remitted from the "account" of the sinner in question. The point to remember here however, is that both were measured in terms of a human interpretation of time, and as such were rendered meaningless when applied to time in Purgatory, for there the concept of time was Divinely interpreted, and therefore wholly beyond the power of man to comprehend. Such was the doubt - arguably - which must have existed in the minds of many therefore, that - as with the desperate need to acquire prayers as examined above in relation to the doctrine of Purgatory in chapter 8 - a strong incentive existed to participate in as many acts of faith as possible, for there could in effect be no point at which the individual could say - safely - that he had done enough to save himself from the horrors of Divine discipline. [12]

It is perhaps appropriate to turn now to analyse specific ways in which the authority of these saintly individuals was perceived to manifest itself in the society surrounding them. Here, certain incidents taken from the Church's early campaigns to eradicate paganism and superstition in the "West", maybe seen to establish many of the beliefs still valid in relation to assessing the way in which the laity viewed the inmates of the regular Orders and colleges in fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland. From around the fifth century onwards for instance, the cult of the ascetic monk, or bishop was being used by the Church to strengthen its assault on pagan religions and beliefs. Like saints and martyrs, ascetics could increasingly be seen as a more powerful alternative to the ancient gods and the power of their shrines to protect their followers from a variety of fairly common disasters, such as warfare, plague and drought. At this point it should be noted that the Church would be at pains to stress several points; in the first instance, the absence of fear shown by the martyr in the face of what should have been certain death - perhaps even his eagerness for it - reflecting the martyr's certainty of greater rewards in the life to come. In the second, the intervention of an unseen - yet tremendously powerful - force capable of protecting those who serve it, destroying those who did not; the third point, the equally important ability to heal, in a world where

war, disease, plague, injury and famine were ever present horrors, just as they were in fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland as witnessed in chapter 7. Finally, the notion that God, through the mediation of his saintly, earthly representatives, catered for forgiveness when faced with the entreaties of a genuinely repent sinner. Numerous examples exist therefore, of the early use by the Church of the Christian miracle, to strengthen and reinforce belief in the authority of her elite guardians, the saints, and by association their servants the Church's earthly hierarchy. [13]

Moving forward in time, the Church's cultivation of this belief may be seen to continue in an analysis of the work of the twelfth century chronicler monk Gervase, and his account of the saintly remains enshrined within Canterbury Cathedral, an account of great relevance since this source provides many relevant examples which may be equally well applied to the later situation in Scotland.

Here the chronicler was at pains not only to describe a building which - in view of its lofty magnificence, sense of light, space and ceremonial display - would have had a powerful impact upon the senses of the pilgrim, but to stress the spiritual benefits to be derived from close association with the earthly remains of the spiritual elite. In talking of the foundation's saints - St. Dunstan and St. Elfege - Gervase stresses throughout the "physical" presence of these - and all the other - exalted patrons within the building, [14] and here he exhibits a belief common in an earlier era of the Church's exist, yet still held well in to the early modern age - and indeed beyond - that of the saint protecting the religious who attended his shrine, and the wider society who paid the appropriate veneration due to the saints remains, and associated relics. [15] In addition he talked of the privilege of burial within their house; Queen Ediva and numerous past holy bishops of the foundation interred either in close proximity to the remains of these individuals - or where their remains were absent - at the altars erected in their honour. [16] Note too, his description of the construction of the building, not only to aid access to the altars and shrines of the foundation's many saintly patrons - thus avoiding the horror of a building ill equipped to accommodate the faithful who thronged to feast days and saints festivals - but to draw the attention of the pilgrim ever onward to the centre of spiritual authority within the building, the high altar and shrine of St. Thomas himself. [18]

Here the body of the saintly archbishop was held in an iron chest, placed in turn within a wooden coffin, the whole encased with plates of gold and set with precious stones; a canopy, decorated with sacred pictures, shielded the shrine, the religious in attendance raising it at times for the edification of the faithful. The material emphasis in, for example, the *Vision Of Tundale* - examined in chapter 8 - relating to the fabulous wealth on display in Paradise, and the theological

importance thereof, was given prominence in many shrines of the day; the riches of the life to come in effect surrounding the saint in the present.

In addition, - again as in many centres of pilgrimage - regardless of the country in which the saint was honoured, the pilgrim would normally visit the various spiritual stations within these buildings associated with the foundation's spiritual benefactor. In the case of Canterbury, the Corona, where a piece of St. Thomas's skull was displayed in a silver reliquary, at another site a piece of the martyr's brain within a silver and crystal case, the now empty tomb in the eastern crypt, the location of his martyrdom, the point of the assassin Richard le Bret's sword, [19] all of these features - in addition to the architectural and ceremonial aspects of the foundation - served to create an atmosphere heavy with the constant expectation of the miraculous, of awe at the visual splendour of the saint's surrounding's, all merging to produce an appeal to the senses, founded on the central issues of the individual's genuine piety and belief in the efficacy of pilgrimage. Therefore, while the spiritual benefits of burial near a saint, or his altar, may have been reserved for those belonging to the upper reaches of society, the crucial point to note is that the presence of the saint implied and ensured that even society's less privileged members could still derive immense spiritual and physical benefits from worshipping at these shrines as humble pilgrims. Throughout, the intercessonary power of the saints was emphasised as providing a tangible link between man and God; a point clearly illustrated by Gervase's account of the pilgrims who are seen to range from the humblest peasant to the king himself. [20]

In turning now to determine the component beliefs in pilgrimage, this work will proceed by examining the evidence presented by one of the most powerful media through which the reputation of a saint could be spread and enhanced, that of hagiography. Here, evidence may be gleaned from such early work as that of Jocelin, a monk of Furness, and his "Life" of St. Kentigern, since in his introduction to this work the author expresses a number of sentiments which could - arguably - be applied to all such "Lives"; a theory which would withstand comparison with the relevant features present in the Lives of two other leading Scottish saints, Ninian and Columba.

In his opening comments to his work, Jocelin said that he had written a Life of St. Kentigern which would be "acceptable to the more simple" yet "neither useless to those of moderate ability, nor contemptible to those who are more richly endowed"; [21] in light of this it is fair to say that the miraculous events contained in Kentigern's Life would be fairly widely known, even amongst the illiterate - and most numerous - members of society, perhaps especially through the work of the Franciscan and Dominican Orders. In both communities, the material most commonly used as sermon aids were "exempla", spiritual, moral examples of the ideal Christian existence,

taken from the Lives of saints and used by the preaching Orders who adapted their sermons to suit the audience of the moment, whether lords or commoners. [22] In terms of the importance of the ideas put across in such a work in relation to the authority of the Church and her servants, in chapter 7 of this life, - *Of the Cook Raised From The Dead By The Prayers Of St. Kentigern* - many of the features applicable in the doctrine of Purgatory were again driven home with great force, tailored to ensure a firm belief in Kentigern's holiness, his ability to intercede between man and God, to aid the individual in this life through healing and spiritual succour, and most importantly of all, to mediate on behalf of the individual when he stood before "the tribunal of the terrible Judge". [23]

In terms of the atmosphere within the buildings which housed these remains, it is important to bear in mind that fear was a major component, for there was ample evidence within such works that God was quick to strike - just as he was perceived to be doing to the whole of Scottish society in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as witnessed in chapter 7 of this thesis -, irrespective of their earthly station, those who opposed His will, the will of these His most favoured servants, and significantly the religious who cared for them, for they too had to be treated with adequate respect. [24] This atmosphere of dread was in turn complemented with one of an expectation of the miraculous, as was so ably encapsulated in the miracles surrounding the shrine of St. Ninian. All of the four examples which Ailred recounts for instance deal with healing, the removal of physical suffering in an age when medicine could do little to either cure or provide solace. [25] "The efforts of the physicians [give] place to despair, and Ninian, the only hope that remained is sought". [26] The social strata of supplicants is also worthy of note, in the first two cases at least - *On a Deformed Poor Man*, and *On a Poor Man Afflicted With Scales* -, [27] the lowest Orders of the community are represented, whilst the fourth example provides a clear demonstration of a saint's ability to transmit his powers through objects which - although associated with the saint in life - are at some distance from the confines of the shrine itself. [28] Within his foundation however the atmosphere was electric; in the cure of the "deformed poor man" for example, the scene opens with a description of this individual's tragic, crippling deformity, and of the highly emotional almost frantic appeals of his parents to Ninian as they leave him before his shrine. The mood then changes as Ailred tells of the son's silent, lonely vigil beside the relics, the tranquil image of the scene however charged with a tense expectation of the miraculous. "In the stillness of the midnight" the saint duly appeared, not however - it is important to note - as a somewhat abstract spiritual presence, but as "a man shining with a celestial light, resplendent in the insignia of a bishop" who touches the cripple's head before commanding "him to arise up and be whole". At the shrine of a saint therefore, the pilgrim might encounter the physical presence of the foundation's patron saint, an idea ably portrayed in Ailred's

account [29] which goes some way towards explaining the awe exhibited by many of these pious travellers, among whom could be numbered Margaret, wife of James III, who visited the shrine of St. Ninian within the Premonstratensian Priory of Whithorn following the birth of her son, the future James IV.

In turning now to the two "Lives" of Columba - by Cuimine the fair and Adamnan respectively - whilst the setting for the events recounted was that of the western seaboard, it is still true to say that the saint's reputation exerted a powerful influence on the society of the Scottish crown's power bases in central and southern Scotland. In Iona, the community could not only claim to possess the body of an indisputably historical holy man - their patron Columba - but also to be the mother church of Lindisfarne. Columban traditions therefore undoubtedly left their mark not only on the religious of the Holy Island of Lindisfarne, but also on the far wider community of the mainland through the cult of
St. Cuthbert. [30]

Here again, the importance of the senses may be seen in the example which the author provided of the experiences of a monk of this community, who described "a fragrance of such wonderful sweetness.... also a glow of fire not painful but in a certain manner pleasing, and a certain unusual and incomparable gladness poured into my heart, which of a sudden comforts me.... and so refreshes me that i am able to remember neither grief nor weariness of any kind." The explanation given for these phenomena, was that they arose from St. Columba's presence, and here, surely, a glimpse may be had of the quality, and strength of the solace proffered to the pious traveller in his search for, or in the presence of the bodily remains - or relics pertaining to - members of this spiritual elite. [31]

In producing such a work therefore, the author's aim was not so much an attempt to portray the personality of his subject with complete accuracy, [32] rather it was to provide a selective account of their miraculous actions to show to his audience - regardless of their educational or social standing - to reinforce in their minds the events, common to all such individuals "Lives", which marked them out as especially worthy of veneration, not only during their earthly existence, but more importantly in terms of an incentive to go on pilgrimage, also in their heavenly after lives. [33] It was a traditional approach which arguably underpinned the popularity of many of the monastic houses and their counterparts the secular colleges, a tradition which the defenders of the Catholic Church quoted as their principal means of denying the authority of the Protestant challenge, as seen in the works of Ninian Winzet and Quintin Kennedy.

Having established the role of the hagiographer in helping to create and nurture a belief in the efficacy of pilgrimage, and thereby the spiritual efficacy of those who served in the above mentioned communities, it is perhaps appropriate to turn now to the contribution made by the chronicler in reinforcing such ideals.

In Henry II [1154/1189] of England's desperate pilgrimage to Canterbury in search of divine aid - both to quell the rebellion of his sons and certain members of the English nobility, whilst he fended off Louis of France - the chronicles record that the king "submitted himself to.... scourging" not as Christ had done "for our sins", however, but "for his own", [35] the implication being that his present trials were a direct result of his part in Becket's death. [36] The dramatic nature of the account of Henry's visit to St. Thomas's shrine may be said to give a clear indication of the awe and dread with which these centres were viewed by the faithful drawn from across the spectrum of society, even as late as the early sixteenth century. In approaching the saint's town for example, the king "as soon as he saw the Church of Canterbury", leapt from his horse "and continued" on foot, over marshes and sharp stones, with bare feet. [37]

Here it is perhaps useful to pause and consider briefly the remark "as soon as he saw the Church of Canterbury", and what this has to say in terms of the Scottish situation. Arguably, such a statement must surely refer to what was - at a distance anyway - the most prominent feature of most ecclesiastical structures, that is their towers. Here it should be recalled, that as stated in the introduction to this chapter, the houses of the regular Orders and their secular equivalent in the colleges, were inextricably linked to both the larger cathedrals and the humbler parish churches by the "spiritual grid" which connected all of these centres of salvation. Consider for example, the effect on the mind of an early pilgrim to St. Andrews, on his first sighting of the tower of the original Church of St. Regulus, constructed in the late tenth or eleventh century and comprising of the tower and chancel, the relics it contained - perhaps in an upper sanctuary within the tower itself - those of St. Rule and - more prestigious still - those of the apostle St. Andrew. [38] That the idea of such an elevated shrine was by no means unusual may be seen from the fact that a similar use has been attributed to the "late eleventh or early twelfth century" tower of Dunblane Cathedral. [39]

In terms of gauging the impact which such structures must have had on the faithful of the day, the dimensions of these features should be borne in mind; the western towers of Glasgow for example must have been an imposing sight indeed. It has been said that the north - west tower of the pair:

"was a perfect square, 32 feet by 32 feet, and 21 feet inside measurement. Its walls were 118 feet high, and the spire to the cross was 26 feet high, making it a total of 144 feet. There was one buttress on each of its three sides, each buttress being 24 feet high.... The imposing effect of this tower, 118 feet up to the spire, can be judged from the fact that the height of the nave is 85 feet, thus giving a difference of 33 feet."

As to the:

"corresponding tower on the south - west.... the dimensions of this tower show it to have been 34 feet from north to south, and 32 feet from west to east in external measurement, and internally, 25 feet by 22 feet.... [it] was a more important building than its fellow, and of larger size, or 2 feet longer. On the west facade it had three buttresses, and one on the angle of the north end of the east side.... The height of this building was 70 feet - i. e., the walls 54 feet, and the two gables 16 feet. Though shorter by 74 feet than the north tower, there are many reasons for supposing that it was meant to be as important, if not a more important tower. These reasons are: [1.] That the buttresses were the same height as those on the other tower: [2.] On the west side there were three buttresses, whilst the other tower had only one on the west side: [3.] The stair in the strong projecting buttress[of the former tower] giving access to the upper stage, gives reason to believe that additional height was intended: [4.] Its wall was stronger than that of the north tower...."

Thus the author of this article continues, providing a picture of the two towers such as to suggest that their brooding mass would undoubtedly have provided a suitably awe inspiring landmark for the faithful who travelled to St. Kentigern's shrine. [40] In considering the impressive visual effect which these structures produce today, it is important to remember that their impact in pre - Reformation Scotland would have been much greater in comparison, as the population was but a fraction of its present level, - with infinitely fewer buildings therefore to surround and detract from their appearance - its population occupied in the main in rural pursuits; in short, there was less competition in securing the attention of the public. [41]

Again, when evaluating the importance of these structures their sheer numbers and diversity should be borne in mind; in terms of the country's cathedrals the reader's attention is drawn for instance to surviving examples at Aberdeen, Brechin, Dunkeld, Elgin and Fortrose. The tower of Brechin for its part, may in turn be grouped with those of Abernethy, Dunning, Muthill, and of course those of St. Regulus and Dunblane as examined above; in terms of antiquity that of the Priory of Restenneth perhaps also at home in this impressive group. Regarding the monastic foundations in Scotland, the warm tones of the towers of Melrose and Sweetheart for example, belie their actual mass, such a design feature perhaps better appreciated by a visit to the remains at Kelso. It should also be noted that many collegiate churches possessed similarly striking features; here fine examples may still be seen at the collegiate foundations of Biggar, dedicated to St. Mary and St. Nicholas; Castle Semple, dedicated to St. Mary; Corstorphine, dedicated to St. John the Baptist; Crail, to St. Macrubdha; Crichton, dedicated to St. Kentigern; Dunglass, to St. Mary; Roslin, to St. Matthew; Seton, to St. Mary and the Holy Cross; and Stirling to the Holy Rude. In turn, the pretty rose crown of St. Giles in Edinburgh may be favourably compared with that of King's College, Aberdeen. Further contrasts still are possible, for example, the tower of the parish church of St. Peter in Inverkeithing, and that of the parish Church of St. Mary in Dundee, still survive to show the Church's domination of the society which surrounded her, as do the towers of the Blackfriars house of St. Monans and that of the Carmelites of South Queensferry; by way of contrast, the simple structures of the north - east provide - arguably in their place - an impressive - though admittedly somewhat stark - balance to complete this all too brief guide. [42] Such features therefore served in effect as beacons of stone, both to proclaim and reinforce the Church's authority, and that of Her servants, within the surrounding countryside, [43] even to such a wilful monarch as Henry II whose actions provided a royal blueprint for others to follow, regardless of their social station or nationality. [44]

Here it may be said that just as in their lives, so too in the manner of their deaths, a nation's royalty may serve as examples for others to follow but also as a means of gauging the depth of belief in the spiritual efficacy of relics, and thus of the need to retain and venerate the foundations and their associated attendants - both regular and collegiate - as discussed above. A glimpse of the value attached to these items, may be seen for example in the deaths of the saintly Queen Margaret and the later David I. Both place an unquestioning faith in the ability of the Black Rude to ensure a favourable reception in the life to come; significantly, the record of the latter's death stated that the cross was "not less feared than loved by all the Scottish nation". [45]

Further early building blocks, in establishing the importance of this tradition for the faithful of the much later period under examination, c. 1450 to 1560, may be seen in such diverse sources as the Chronicle of Man in 1098 for instance [46] - which recounted the humbling of Magnus King of Norway, following his arrogant handling of St. Olaf - and the account rendered in 1104 by the chronicler Florence of Worchester, [47] of Earl Alexander, later king Alexander I, participating in the exhumation and examination of a number of saints remains, principally those of St. Cuthbert.

A direct parallel between these examples and the fame of the Abbey of Melrose as a centre of pilgrimage may be readily seen, for in addition to being able to lay claim to St. Cuthbert and the author of the seventh century vision of Purgatory - Dryethelme - amongst its past brethren, the abbey witnessed an identical ceremony to the one described above. In the case of Melrose, the Abbot Jocelin - 4th. Abbot of Melrose, consecrated Bishop of Glasgow in 1175 - in the presence of the brethren of the foundation, the Bishop of Glasgow, Ingelram, and "four other abbots", carried out an examination of the remains of Abbot Waltheof, to determine his admission to the ranks of the spiritual elite; here too the corpse was found to be perfectly preserved, its limbs pliant and lifelike. To appreciate fully the heady mixture of dread and wonderment surrounding such an occasion however, the reader's attention is drawn to the evidence relating to a later continental example, that of the somewhat grisly case of a "Sister Chiara of Montefalco" who died in 1308. [48]

Finally, in Symeon of Durham's account of the death of Turgot, [49] the reader - or indeed the preacher's audience - was informed that the latter obtained "from God the reward which he had diligently asked, that he should render his soul near the body of St. Cuthbert"; in the manner of his death therefore, and more importantly still perhaps in that of his burial within St. Cuthbert's own house, the long held belief in a saint's ability to favourably influence an individual's reception in the life to come - which as shall be shown was equally relevant in Scotland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries - may be clearly seen. [50]

In addition to the written and the preached word, it is important to remember that all of the above messages relating to saintly authority, and thereby the unquestionable power of the Catholic Church itself - and thus her servants the regular Orders and their secular counter parts in the colleges - could still be communicated - and more importantly, reinforced - in the minds of the populace, through the very fabric of the buildings which housed their invaluable remains. In examining some of the religious foundations which have survived to the present day, the impression is perhaps one of large, cold, grey, empty and silent buildings devoid of any warmth of feeling; such an impression perhaps initially understandable since only a fraction of the tombs, paintings, carvings and artefacts of the pre - Reformation Church survive today. [51] Consider for

example, the relatively recent loss of such buildings as Lochmaben Kirk, described in one article as having been "of moderate size", with, it "is reputed,.... a large choir". [52] Perhaps more regrettable still, the disappearance of Mary of Gueldres collegiate kirk, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and the memory of her husband King James II, demolished to make way for a railway station. David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross described this building in glowing terms as "a very fine specimen of the Scottish Gothic architecture of the fifteenth century", their views in turn supported by yet another authority who described it thus:

> "A more expressive and chastely designed roof than that in the choir and apse is seldom anywhere to be met with. The finely moulded groin - ribs gradually breaking apart from their clustered stems, and ramifying along the edges of the various cells; the heavy longitudinal rib with its bold mouldings; and the numerous and variously sculptured bosses with their jutting bud like forms and symbolic leafage, produce an extremely rich, graceful and satisfactory effect."

Of all this glory little now remains; the reader's attention is therefore drawn to the remains of an altar panel now housed within the National Museum at Edinburgh - said to depict "King James III.... his queen, Margaret of Denmark.... Sir Edward Bonkill.... and Mary of Gueldres herself...." - which serves as a reminder of just how impressive this foundation must once have been. [53] Equally regrettable is the loss through destruction and neglect of many of the principal monumental effigies which the religious foundations of Scotland once contained, the royal tombs doubtless highly ornate pieces, whilst even in the lesser tombs of both lay and ecclesiastic figures "colour" and gilt were doubtless used "to emphasise carving and to decorate". [54] In the ruined Abbey of Balmerino for example, before the high altar, the tomb of the abbey's royal founder, Ermengarde, - the widow of William the Lion - must once have provided a suitably grand centre - piece for the monastic church of the abbey. [55] Sadly it has now gone; that it would have been an impressive site indeed may be assumed by the description of the prominent tomb of Mary de Couci, wife of Alexander II, - successor to William the Lion - which was seemingly "supported by six lions of marble.... in the midst of the church" of the Cistercian house of Newbattle. [56] In terms of Ermengarde's husband's tomb, time has been little kinder, for although the "surface of the stone" had apparently been given a "polished finish capable of receiving gesso and gilt and also colour", to produce a "portrait of William" which one source suggests "must have been remarkable", it is sadly defaced and broken today. [57] Tantalising remains of other royal tombs may be seen in the piecemeal survivals from a

variety of sites; "small fragments of the alabaster tomb" of King Robert the Bruce for example, should be considered in conjunction with the evidence which survives in relation to the figure of "John of Linlithgow". On 5 August 1329 this individual is recorded as having spent "£19" in connection with the burial of the king; among the items covered by his expenditure, "two books of gold leaf and fine linen...." A further entry still referred to "5 pieces of fine linen and 5 books of gold leaf, for the illumination and furnishing of the king's tomb." This same individual, moreover, was responsible for "the painting of the chapel erected over the king's body...." Later still, [1378/9], one "Andrew the painter" may be seen to have received payment for his work on the tombs of Robert II and his father and mother; the payment to cover such services as the transport of stone and the purchase of alabaster. Such evidence in turn should be considered in conjunction with the "two marble plinth blocks" which survive from the tomb of St. Margaret, when considering the pre - Reformation interior of Dunfermline. Moving forward again in time, two payments dating to 1460 and 1466, for the sums of £3 and £16 18s 10d show that similar care was expended on the tomb of James II. [58]

Again, in terms of walking round the remains of the now much reduced Cambuskenneth Abbey, the work of a "David Pratt" should be called to mind. This individual was employed [1496/d. 1503] both in enhancing the home of his royal master at Stirling, and for the work which he carried out on the royal lair at the nearby abbey. In the former location he was paid, for example, for an "altar paynting" for use in the collegiate Chapel Royal, in the latter, numerous sums of money were paid to cover his services in relation to what must once have been the magnificent tomb of James III and his Queen, Margaret of Denmark. [59] Arguably, therefore, perhaps the finest remnant from a royal burial may be seen within Paisley Abbey, a building which once housed a number of prestigious monuments to mark the resting place of the high Stewards of Scotland, the two wives of Robert II, [Elizabeth Mure and Euphemia Ross] the tomb of Robert III and that of the unfortunate Commendator of Paisley, the Archbishop of St. Andrews John Hamilton. Here, "the effigy known as Marjory Bruce" lies within the choir, and though it is indeed a fine piece, even here the absence of any colour conveys a rather poor impression of how this figure must once have appeared to the onlooker. [60]

In turning to the tombs of the nobility and higher ecclesiastics, as the tombs of ecclesiastics have already been examined in some detail above, while those of the laity will receive more careful deliberation below, it is perhaps sufficient to say that a similar degree of care was exerted: consider for example, the attention which must have been lavished on the tomb of Dervorgilla Balliol and her husband John, since in the very foundation and construction of

"Sweetheart" itself, the lady intended to create a permanent monument to her unswerving loyalty to her husband's memory. [61] On a slightly less ambitious scale, the now vanished pre - Reformation church of Sanquhar, must have been an impressive sight indeed, for the choir of the building once served as the burial place of the Lord Crichtons of Sanquhar, their tombs "wrought in freestone", standing in the company of the earlier memorials "of the Rosses" - to whom they were joined through marriage - all now vanished. [62] Furthermore, it should be remembered that in this the period under examination, many of these buildings were the active centres of community life, [63] for with the masses held at the altars to a foundation's saintly benefactors, [64] coupled with the singing of the Divine Office in the course of each day - during which biblical material, patristic commentaries, material from saints lives played its part - [65] they would have presented a pleasing picture of colour, sound and movement.

Here it is perhaps necessary to pause to consider just how impressive the interior of one of the larger foundations must once have appeared, for the laity's favouring of individual saints could lead to a plethora of saints being honoured within a single building. In the parish church of Perth for example, in addition to the high altar itself, the visitor would have seen separate altars to:

St. Mark,

The Visitation Of Our Lady,

Saints Crispin and Crispinian,

St. Mary Of Consolation,

St. Gabriel The Archangel,

St. Felan The Abbot and St. Ninian, Bishop And Confessor.

On a more impressive scale still, in the parish church of Linlithgow, along with the religious who served the high altar, would have been those employed in ministering to the altars of:

All Saints,

The Blessed Virgin Mary,

Corpus Christi,

The Holy Blood,

The Holy Cross,

The Holy Saviour,

The Holy Trinity,

St. Andrew,

St. Anne,

St. Anthony,

St. Bridget,

St. Eligius,

St. John Baptist,

St. John Evangelist,

St. Katherine,

St. Mary,

St. Nicholas,

St. Ninian,

and St. Peter

Even this list however was dwarfed when compared to that for the collegiate church of St. Giles in Edinburgh, for within its walls sheltered the high altar and those of:

The Holy Blood, called The Black Rood Altar,

Altar Of The Virgin,

Our Lady,

Our Lady of Piety,

St. Andrew,

St. Anne,

St. Anthony,

St. Bartholomew,

St. Blaise,

The Blessed Virgin,

St. Christopher,

St. Colm,

St. Cuthbert,

St. Dionisius,

St. Duthac,

St. Eligius,

St. Eloi,

St. Francis, Confessor,

St. Gabriel,

The Holy Cross,

St. James,

St. Jerome,

St. John The Baptist,

St. John The Evangelist,

St. Katherine,

St. Kentigern,

St. Laurence,

St. Mary The Virgin, [Aisle of]

St. Michael,

St. Nicholas,

St. Ninian,

St. Roche,

St. Salvator,

St. Sebastian,

St. Severin,

St. Thomas The Apostle, [Aisle of]

and St. Vincent.

Emotions within these houses therefore were effectively controlled, raised to even greater heights - similar to those described above in the reading of the passiones - at set points in the ceremonial life of the Church - as at the time of the high point of the Mass when the host was raised for the adoration and edification of the faithful - through the use of a variety of media; some of these indeed were of a particularly dramatic nature, as witnessed in the terms of the will of one "Thomas Goisman, an alderman of Hull" who bequeathed the sum of £10 to cover the cost of constructing a device which would lower "angels" from the roof of the Holy Trinity Chapel when the Host was raised, and draw them upwards again on completion of the Pater Noster.

Lighting was another element which was of crucial importance; this could take the form of natural illumination - albeit that in many of these buildings this would itself be manipulated through the use of coloured glass, a practice examined at greater length below - and artificial, through the

use of candles and torches. Such illumination in its turn served to enhance the trappings of the interior of the building where the ceremony was being performed; that is for example the statues to the saints which the house contained, the furniture and decoration of the building itself - silverware, paintings, carvings, embroidered work for instance - and - where the budget of the house allowed - the sumptuous costumes of the celebrants themselves. Evidence of such practices in a Scottish context for example, could be seen in the collegiate church of St. Giles in Edinburgh where a large candelabrum hung in the "myds of the kirk" to banish at least some of the shadow within its spacious interior, and illuminate such wealth, among which the figure of the saint himself must have been of paramount importance. Evidence of the care lavished on this one piece may be seen in 1556, for example, for in this year in addition to the 6/- set aside annually to maintain the paintwork of the statue, a series of other outlays were added, namely, 6d. "for baring of him to the painter, and fra,.... 1s..... for mending and polesing of Sanct Gelis arme" and 10/ - "to Alexander Robesoun, tailyeour, for mending of Sanct Gelis capis". That he was to be displayed in suitably colourful surroundings may be assumed from the payment made, on 14 March 1554, to a Walter Binning, of 28/- for:

> "paynting of 18 pannalis of the quier, and the twa greit pannalis of the north gavil of the quier with osure...."

and a further £5 for:

> "paynting of the foure greit armis with the twa small armis of the quier, with oly coloris and gold...."

Similarly an inventory of the furnishings within the collegiate church of St. Salvator - referring to the year 1544 - provides evidence of both the wealth which could be on display and the means used for its illumination. Among the items listed it mentions:

> "sex chalicis of ye best Saluator with his agnus dei.... The grit monstour.... The meikill eucharist with ye litill eucharist.... The crysome stok.... The ammylt tyistar with ye figure of sanct saluator.... The little tyistar of birral with perls about it.... Item ten chandelaris sex grit and foir small.... The halie watter fatt with ye styk....

> The sensouris.... Ane schipe with ye spone all siluer.... Tua packettis of ye best kaipis and vestimentis.... sex chandelaris of brass...."

all once used to help create a suitable atmosphere for the ceremonial life of the college in question.

That the older monastic foundations were still able to compete in terms of the wealth on show may be assumed by an inventory of the goods held by William Sinclair of Roslin on behalf of the Abbey of Holyrood during the troubled 1540s, for amongst the items listed there appeared:

> "twa capis of quhit dammes bordourit with belew velvot, twa tynnaclis of blak velvot with ane chesabill, twa tynnaclis, chesable and haill stand caip of clayth of gold,.... ane tystour of silver ourgilt with gold, ane caip of blew velvot bordourit with gold, [and] twa capis of blak velvot bordourit with quhite satyne...."

That such display served as an important means of linking all of the Church's foundations - as stated above - regardless of their status as either episcopal, abbatial, collegiate or parochial standing may in turn be proved by a similarly impressive inventory compiled in 1454 in relation to the possessions of the high altar in St. Mary's Church, Dundee. Featured here were:

> "a chalyse of silver our gilt, with a cristale stane in the myddis,.... a spune of silver.... thre lang towalis for the altare, ane with a frontale of a blew clathe of golde, and ane uther of rede and divers colour.... a stand of vestiment of a clath of gold.... a cape of grene colour.... a vestiment of rede colour.... a censar of silver, with a schip of brasse...."

In the same house, amongst items belonging to the altar of the Holy Rude:

> "a messale claspyt with silver.... a psalter coveryt with a selch skin.... a silver chalyse.... a crowat of silver.... a Pax Bred of silver.... a gould ring, and thre stanys set in silver...."

On the Altar of St. Katherine:

> "a frontale of clath of gold.... a rede frontale.... a vestment of rede colour, with al grath pertenand thare to.... a messe buke notyt and claspyt with silver.... a spune of silver...."

Of lay enthusiasm to be directly associated with these visual symbols of belief there can be no doubt. On 4 February 1482 for example, "in the court house of Dundee.... Duncan Barry, master of the work of the Church of Dundee", acknowledged the gift of:

> "four pounds and ten ounces troy weight of good silver, by gift of Isabella, relict of the late David Spalding, for making a cross for the use of the forsaid church...."

Similarly, among the gifts made by "George of Spalding" were listed:

> "ane ewcaryst of silver owr gilt, ane gryt bell, ane silver chalyss owr gylt.... twenty shillings of annual - rent...."

all of this with the intention of supporting the visual wealth of the Church, to thus ensure her intervention on behalf of himself, his wife, his ancestors and their successors.

In terms of the picture thus created, the reader's attention is drawn to what is thought to be the "only extant painting of a medieval altar.... painted by a Scottish ecclesiastic", preserved within the Arbuthnott Book of Hours, the product of the church of the same name. In many other instances, the record of donations for candles to the religious foundations of the day - especially to mark saints' days, religious festivals - serve as a reminder of both the theological and practical necessities of illumination.

In terms of audio means of communication, the use of bells for instance was of prime importance in serving to reinforce the integral nature of the Church in the lives of faithful. Ringing the stages of their daily toil, warning them of danger - approaching armies for example - and even warding off both natural and supernatural disasters such as storms and demons. Bells were also of considerable importance in that they informed the populace of the routine services being rendered by the Church on behalf of mankind, and of such other boons as she offered, increasingly for example - in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as the fear of Purgatory grew apace - in connection with the services for the dead; in one instance of this - drawn from England but equally applicable in a Scottish context through the practice of leaving "bell money" in one's will - a "Joan

Tackle of Honiton" left "six shillings and eight pence" in 1528 "to eight local churches", with the request, "to have my knell rung in every of those churches immediately after my decease." Here, in general terms, the ministrations for the dead, involving light and sound, would be further enhanced by the use on these occasions by such features as additional light being placed around the body as it lay before the altar, the covering of the body or coffin by - where funds permitted - an ornate "mort - cloth", and - in the case of a wealthy member of society's upper echelons - perhaps the "arms" of the deceased.

Here too the artist played an important part in the visual spectacle of such an occasion. On 24 January 1515, for example, Alexander Chalmer was paid £8 for one hundred and forty "payntit armys to the obsequiss of our souerane lord king James the ferd, quham God assolze, this day deliverit in Sanct Gelis kirk price of ilk pece twelf pennys". On 8 July 1537, the sum of £40 was spent on "400 armys" for "the quenis obit" - Madeline - this being followed a year later by a payment of £4 to "Schir Thomas Cragy, and ane uther with him, for making of 4 dosane armes", for the "quenis saull mes and dirige". Similar outlays may be seen in the years which followed; on 7 July 1539, an anonymous painter received £6 for "6 dosane of armes to put about the queir and upoun torchis and candillis....", in July of 1542, Andrew Watson received £5 "for the painting of 5 dusane armes" for a similar purpose, the sum of £4 for the same task the year after. His work must have been appreciated, for on 21 December 1542 he received £4 for his work in connection with the funeral of James V, in that he supplied a "banar with gold and fyne cullouris."

Music also played an essential part in the daily life of the Church and there is plentiful evidence that the Scottish Church possessed men of considerable talent, capable of both writing the music for - and ensuring it was adequately performed by - the singers and musicians of the pre - Reformation Church. John Fethy for example was credited with the honour of being "the first organist that ever brought in Scotland the curious new fingering and playing on organs"; this remark in turn serves to illustrate the importance of this instrument in the services of the church since it functioned both as a "voice" within the choir itself, and as a means of ensuring that the members of the choir did not falter in their rendering of any of the services they performed. In terms of the music itself, Scotland was no isolated backwater, and drew heavily on Continental experience; evidence of this appearing - apparently - in the work of the Abbot of Inchcolm Thomas Inglis, and that of the priest Robert Johnson, also in both the "Scone" - now called the *Carver Choirbook* - and "Dunkeld" manuscripts which survive to this day. For an appreciation of the beauty of then contemporary works, the reader's attention is drawn to the easily accessible works of Robert Carver, a leading influence on the collegiate Chapel Royal in Stirling, since these alone serve as an excellent

example of how the Church could reach the minds of those - the majority - who possessed no grasp of Latin, through the power of emotion alone.[66]

Bright, vivid colour furthermore was in use everywhere, both in terms of the fabric present, - wall hangings, altar coverings - and in the very stonework itself. [67] In many cases wall paintings would be used to instruct the visitor, a popular theme being episodes from the saints lives, St. Margaret's Chapel in Edinburgh for example possessed a series of scenes illustrating the miracles of St. Margaret, [68] while in the northerly house of Pluscarden, frescoes once graced the choir and Lady chapel; in the entrance to the choir, the figure of St. John appeared in the company of his symbol the eagle, both in turn framed by a rainbow. In the Lady Chapel, near life size figures of the apostles were looked down on by the enthroned figure of God himself; all of the above picked out in colour. In the nearby Cistercian house of Kinloss, Abbot Robert Reid employed the artist "Andrew Bairhum" over a period of three years, during which time he:

> "decorated wih three seperate panels painted in a simple but beautiful manner three chapels in its church, viz those of Saint Mary Magdalene, John the Evangelist and St. Thomas of Canterbury. He also painted.... the abbot's cell and oratory, and at the same time a large chamber in front of the stair which leads to the abbot's cell...."

At Dunkeld Cathedral, the artist "William Valence" was employed at intervals during the period 1503/17; earlier still Bishop Thomas Lauder [1452/75] had "made for the high altar an antemurale [reredos] painted with twenty four miracles of St. Columba and two images of the same above, two pillars and two angels above them...." whilst during the same period [1480], Master John Donaldson, chancellor of Dunkeld "set up and painted" an altar of All Saints within the same building.

It is also important to remember that the stone itself could be both carved and painted in a range of visually stunning colours and styles; the choir at Culross Abbey for example once coloured red, [69] while similar striking painting techniques were doubtless applied to most of the religious foundations of the day ranging for example from the elegant remains of the Romanesque nave of St. Margaret's Abbey of Dunfermline [70] to the highly appealing, sometimes exotic carvings of Dalmeny church; arguably a religious site which many pilgrims would have visited on their way to South Queensferry and St. Andrews beyond. [71]

At this point, it is perhaps profitable to stop and analyse in detail some of the features which would doubtless have captured the imagination of any visitor.

In turning back to the above mentioned example of Dalmeny therefore, perhaps the most immediate and striking feature of the building, is its South entrance. Here the presence of the "Green Man" [72] - along with other architectural features - parallels a similar carving at the not to distant house of Dunfermline Abbey - which will be examined below - as do its numerous recessed orders, which at Dalmeny display an astonishing array of human figures, animals, and monsters all appearing in the company of the signs of the Zodiac. One analysis of the doorway revealed the presence therefore of a "Wivern", the "Terrabuli", an "Asp", a "Cockatrice", a "Dragon", an "Eagle", an "Amphisbaena", a "Griffin", a "Serpent" and finally the "Lamb of God"; all this in the inner order of the door alone. In the outer order - which is not quite so well preserved - appear the signs of the Zodiac in the company of - perhaps - St. Paul and St. Anthony, "two mermen" and a "whale", Christ as Judge, and - on either side of the arch - two warriors armed for battle. [73]

At this point, it is possible to offer an explanation for at least some of the decoration which appears here; the reference to saints serving as a visual instruction to the onlooker of biblical events, thus as an example of the ideal existence, the inclusion of the signs of the Zodiac for their part serving as a reminder of the passage of "Time", the figure of Christ in Judgement - if such it is - tying in neatly with the above two themes since it reminds man of the inevitable reckoning which he will have to make before the throne of God, for the sins of his earthly existence. Such imagery was of the greatest importance therefore, for as seen in Chapter 8 it helped form lay ideas of the world to come and the ways in which it was possible to mitigate at least some of the inevitable suffering which lay in store. It should not be forgotten, however, that many of the details which remain from pre - Reformation structures were never intended to carry some deeper theological significance, they could be picked at random from numerous manuscripts, bestiaries, pattern books, their inclusion - especially when it is remembered that they would almost certainly have been painted - a matter purely of decorative pleasure, to excite the interest and imagination of the viewer. [74]

That such care was exerted not only upon the entry points to these buildings - providing access as they did to what was in effect a physical interpretation of the world hereafter - may be seen for example at both the parish churches of Dalmeny and Leuchars, in the bold carving surrounding the windows, and in the grotesque heads which stare down - sometimes menacingly - from roof height. Within these same examples the emphasis on grandeur is repeated in - for instance - the heavy chevron carved arches which remain to mark the interior divisions within the

building; similarly in both Dalmeny and Leuchars, within the apse, each corbel bares a - seemingly purely decorative - carved mask.

In terms of pilgrimage, it may be said that both of these buildings would have served to provide the traveller with a foretaste of the grandeur and mystery which he would see on arriving at the major shrines of St. Andrews, - if travelling from northerly climes - and Dunfermline - if journeying from the south.[75]

Thus, monastic and collegiate houses may be seen to have been inextricably linked to a spiritual grid which spanned not only Scotland, but stretched also into England, Ireland and the Continent - as witnessed in chapter 8. Here however, it is important to note that such an emphasis on display was not merely confined to those buildings which straddled major pilgrimage routes, for Romanesque features can still be traced on many buildings which survive today. At Duddingston, the same powerful use of the chevron for example may be seen in the chancel arch, a similar prominent feature still much in evidence in the smaller ruined church at Gullane. For early examples of suitably impressive doorways, the reader's attention is drawn to the remains at Edrom, Kirkliston and Lamington; for fragmentary remains which might be used to argue that such features as examined above were once commonplace, the churches of Ratho, Uphall, Borthwick, Abercorn and Forgandenny arguably provide sufficient evidence between them.[76]

Visual imagery therefore - as emphasised in the above chapters relating to such interrelated issues as the doctrine of Purgatory and the popularity of the collegiate foundation in relation to the older houses of the regular Orders - were of prime importance to the pre - Reformation church in establishing a suitably receptive frame of mind in her spiritual charges, just as the towers examined above served to proclaim the power of the Church within the land, so too did the features examined above. However, it was within the major houses of the period, in particular within those which contained the remains of a saintly patron that this approach may be best seen.

In the following chapter therefore, an attempt will be made to convey something of the appeal to the senses which the pilgrim in Scotland would have experienced, to thus demonstrate the interrelated importance of local and foreign pilgrimage in relation to this aspect of the services provided by the regular communities and colleges of the period under study, thereby to further determine the nature of the activities of these individuals, and the way the laity perceived their relevance to their lives.

1.) For the references to the "discovery and apprehension of apostates and fugitives", see: D. Patrick(ed.): *Statutes*, 95

R. Van Dam: *Saints And Their Miracles In Late Antique Gaul*, (Princeton, New Jersey, 1993), 13, reference to a letter sent by St. Martin curing a young girl.

J. N. Hillgarth: *Christianity And Paganism, 350-750, The Conversion Of Western Europe* 14. Hereafter, J. N. Hillgarth: *Christianity And Paganism.*

2.) C. Straw: *Gregory The Great*, 56.
Should such an item seem too insignificant to have aroused such passion, the reader's attention is drawn to the example provided by E. I. Watkin in "A Month Of Saints", in *The Downside Review*, No. 69 1950/51, of one such object of adoration, a feather said to have come from the wings of St. Michael.

As to the appeal which such items could exert, see: S. Ozment: *Protestants*, 25, the example of Frederick the Wise, who possessed what was perhaps the largest collection of these prized objects, numbering more than 19, 000 pieces.

See also the collection of the Archbishop of Mainz, in, E. Cameron: *The European Reformation*, 14.

3.) H. Bettenson(trans.) and J. O'Meara(intro.):*City Of God*, 903-5. "The First Resurrection and the Second".

P. Brown: *Saints*, 70, 78.

T. Croft-Murray and H. Elsom(Trans.): *The Incorruptible Flesh, Bodily Mutilation And Mortification In Religion And Folklore*, (Cambridge, 1988), 108. Hereafter, T. Croft-Murray and H. Elsom: *The Incorruptible Flesh.*

For an example of the belief in a clear division between the nature of the body and the soul, see: W. L. Wakefield and A. Evans: *Heresies Of The High Middle Ages*, (Oxford, 1991), 47, the Bogomil belief that the soul was a Divine creation, the body by contrast under the sway of the Devil. Hereafter, W. L. Wakefield and A. Evans: *Heresies Of The High Middle Ages.*

4.) M. Rubin: *Corpus Christi*, 17, 18. The author points to the similar effect at the elevation of the host. For the strength of such communal experience, and the effect of the visual, ceremonial tools employed see for example:

M. Glasscoe: *English Medieval Mystics*, 21, 276.

5.) J. A. W. Bennet(ed.): *Devotional Pieces*, 14.

6.) J. Geary: *Furta Sacra, Thefts Of Relics In The Central Middle Ages* (N. Y. 1994), 33. Hereafter, J. Geary: *Furta Sacra.*

7.) P. Brown: *Saints*, 80-5.
The same factors of crucial importance in the office of the Mass; see:

M. Rubin: *Corpus Christi*, 334.

K. Thomas: *Religion And The Decline Of Magic*, 39. "The consecrated species were understood to effect a fundamental change in the nature of things; sickness into health, well-being into misfortune, the revelation of truth out of a mass of inconclusive facts in the working of ordeals. " It should be noted that a detailed knowledge of the ceremonial intricacies involved was not required; for the majority, arguably, it was enough just to be there.

8.) Archbishop Eyre: "The Old Arrangements Of Glasgow Cathedral", in *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.* , N.S., Vol 1 (1889), 147.

9.) B. Gordon: "Switzerland", in, A. Pettegree(ed.): *The Early Reformation*, 74.

10.) F. Schouppe: *Purgatory*, 86, 88, 93, 99.

G. H. Gerrits: "Inter Timorem Et Spem: A Study Of The Theological Thought Of Gerard Zerbolt Of Zutphen (1367-1398) ", in, H. A. Oberman(ed.) *Studies In Medieval And Reformation Thought*, Vol. 37, (Leiden, 1986), 108, 159, 170.

H. E. J. Cowdrey: *The Clunaics and the Gregorian Reform*, (Oxford, 1970), 123-4.

11.) J. A. W. Bennet(ed.): *Devotional Pieces*, 14, 16.

B. Davies: *The Thought Of Thomas Aquinas*, (Oxford, 1993), 327, the need for "restitution", and 328, the need for "satisfaction". Albeit it was possible in St. Thomas's mind for God to forgive and not exact a penalty. See 331 of the above.

A. I. Dunlop: *Bishop Kennedy*, 141.

W. L. Wakefield and A. Evans: *Heresies Of The High Middle Ages*, 197.

G. H. Gerrits: "Inter Timorem Et Spem: A Study Of The Theological Thought Of Gerard Zerbolt Of Zutphen (1367-1398) ", in H. A. Oberman(ed.) *Studies In Medieval And Reformation Thought*, Vol. 37, (Leiden, 1986), 134, 136, 159, 171-195.

12.) T. N. Tentler: *Sin And Confession*, 267, 318.

S. E. Ozment: *Reformation*, 26.

J. A. W. Bennet(ed.): *Devotional Pieces*, 21.

F. X. Schouppe: *Purgatory*, 48, 191-195. Note throughout the emphasis on the need to establish the correct frame of mind necessary to achieve forgiveness, of the doubt which must have been present in the minds of many as to whether they had achieved such a state, for if they had not, then their efforts would be wasted.

B. Webb: "Unbaptised Infants", in, *The Downside Review*, No. 71, (1952-53), 247-248.

13.) For a brief summary of the points raised in this paragraph see for example: L. Thorpe(trans.): *Gregory of Tours: History Of The Franks*, (London, 1988), 151-3.

J. N. Hillgarth: *Christianity and Paganism*, 31, 36, 37.

K. Thomas: *Religion And The Decline Of Magic*, 29, 51.

A. Gurevich: *Medieval Popular Culture*, 40.

R. Van Dam: *Saints And Their Miracles In Late Antique Gaul*, (Princeton, New Jersey, 1993), 22-3.

B. Webb: "Unbaptised Infants", in, *The Downside Review*, No. 71, (1952-53), 247.

14.) Elizabeth Holt: *Literary Sources Of Art History*, (London, 1988), 48-58.

R. Willis: *The Architectural History Of Canterbury Cathedral* (London, 1845), 33-62. Hereafter, R. Willis: *Arch. Hist. Cant. Cath.*

15.) J. Geary: *The Humiliation of Saints*, in, S. Wilson (ed.): *Saints And Their Cults, Studies In Religious Sociology, Folklore And History* (Cambridge, 1983), 123. Hereafter, J. Geary: *Humiliation Of Saints.*
The religious of a community might also chastise a saint if it were felt that he/she had failed in their duty to protect and nurture the faithful. See the above article for details and E. Cameron: *The European Reformation*, 11.

A. Gurevich: *Medieval Popular Culture*, 46.

16.) R. Willis: *Arch. Hist. Cant. Cath.*, 53, 55, 57.

C. Brooke: "The Cathedral in Medieval Society", in W. Swann: *The Gothic Cathedral*, 18

17.) E. Panofsky: *Abbot Suger, On The Abbey Church Of St. Denis And Its Art Treasures* (Princeton, 1946),43, 87-9. Hereafter, E. Panofsky: *Abbot Suger.*

18.) R. Willis: *Arch. Hist. Cant. Cath.*, 33-62.

19.) In terms of the significance of such wealth, it should be noted that Tundale described a wall of "red gold" around paradise, set with "crystal" and a variety of precious stones.

> "Berelle, jasper and crystal;
> Jacynte, Saphyre,
> Emerawante, Deamownde
> Amatyste and Charbunkull
> Onyx, Topase and [opal] "

Gold had long been of symbolic importance as one of the gifts presented to the infant Jesus; it represented the ideal of majesty therefore. In terms of precious stones, beryl signified hope; jasper, joy and happiness; chrystal, simplicity and purity; jacinth, modesty; sapphire, hope, chastity, truth, heavenly virtues; emerald, hope; diamond, constancy, sincerity, innocence, light; amethyst, humility, piety; carbuncle, determination; onyx, sincerity, spiritual strength; topaz, divine goodness, faithfulness; and opal, which signified fidelity, religious fervour and prayer.

R. Mearns: *The Vision Of Tundale*, (London, 1940), 150, l. 2086-2089, 2090-2094. Hereafter, R. Mearns: *The Vision Of Tundale.*

F. E. Hulme: *Symbolism*, 162-5.

J. C. Cooper: *Illustrated Encyclopedia*, 74, 90.

D. Ingram Hill: *Canterbury Cathedral*, (London, 1986), 16.

F. Barlow: *Beckett*, 247.

20.) For evidence relating to the above, see: Otto Von Simpson: *The Gothic Cathedral, Origins Of Gothic Architecture And The Medieval Concept Of Order* (London, 1956), Introduction xviii, reference to the dedication in 1130 of the new choir at Canterbury Cathedral, and the presence of Henry I and his court. Hereafter, Otto Von Simpson, *The Gothic Cathedral.*

That the saint's fame was truly international may be seen for example in the visit of Lotario, the future Pope Innocent III [1198-1216] and Louis VII of France, who took his son to St. Thomas's shrine in 1179. L. E. Binns: *Innocent III* (London, 1931), 3.

For the importance of images of the saints themselves providing such points of contact see for example: R. Whiting: *The Blind Devotion Of The People*, 55.

21.) W. M. Metcalfe: *Ancient Lives Of The Scottish Saints* (Paisley, 1895), 178. Hereafter, W. M. Metcalfe: *Anc. Lives.*

For a discussion on the common use of such an approach, see for example: A. Gurevich: *Medieval Popular Culture*, 17, 19, 21.

22.) See for example C. H. Lawerence: *Medieval Monasticism*, 207-208

23.) W. M. Metcalfe: *Anc. Lives*, 194-6.

Martin of Braga: *On the Correction of Peasants*, in, D. Herlihy (ed.): *Medieval Culture And Society* (London, 1968), 37.

K. Thomas: *Religion And The Decline Of Magic*, 28.

J. A. Lacy: "The Care To Be Taken For The Dead" in, R. J. Deferrari[ed.]: *St. Augustine, Treatises On Marriage And Other Subjects*, (New York, 1964), Ch. 12, 370-1. Note however that even here there was an element of doubt, for St. Thomas A Kempis warned all sinners that on the Day of Judgement:

> "no advocate can defend or excuse you, but each man
> will be hard put to answer for himself "

24.) For references to the ability of St. Kentigern to heal see: W. M. Metcalfe: *Anc. Lives*, 252, 254, 273-5, 277. For those who approached his shrine in anything less than an appropriate sense of awe and reverence however there could be lengthy ill health at the very least, perhaps even mutilation or sudden death. See: As Above, 222, 225. For St. Ninian's ability to punish see: 11-13, 25.

25.) K. Thomas: *Religion And The Decline of Magic*, 17.

26.) W. M. Metcalfe: As Above, 27.

27.) As Above: 25.

28.) " " : 27.

29.) *Two Celtic Saints, The Lives Of Ninian And Kentigern*, (Dyfed, 1989), 23-4.

30.) W. M. Metcalfe: *Anc. Lives*, 47.

31.) T. Croft-Murray and H. Elsom(Trans): *The Incorruptible Flesh*, 6.

W. M. Metcallfe: *Anc. Lives*, 116-7.

32.) A. Boyle: "St. Ninian: Some Outstanding Problems", in, *I. R.* , Vol. 19, (1968), 57-70.

33.) J. Geary: *Furta Sacra*, 10.

R. Kieckhefer: *Magic In The Middle Ages*, 79.

34.) Giraldus Cambrensis De Principis Instructione, in, A. O. Anderson: *Early Sources* Vol. 2, 284.

35.) Robert of Torigni: "Chronica", in, A. O. Anderson: *Early Sources*, Vol. 2, 264-5.

36.) The exclamation of wrath by Henry II, as reported by the cleric Edward Grim, "What miserable drones and traitors have i nourished and promted in my household, who let their lord be treated with such shameful contempt by a low born clerk". This being widely thought to have prompted the murderous actions of William de Tracy, Reginald Fitz Urse, Hugh de Moreville and Richard le Bret. See: F. Barlow: *Thomas Beckett* 235.

37.) F. Barlow: *Thomas Becket*, 285. That such an effect was not merely a feature of this early period may be seen in the later royal Scottish parallel of James V, who in 1527 approached the shrine of St. Duthac in the collegiate church of Tain in a similarly barefooted fashion. See: D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 2, 540.

38.) J. Gifford: *Fife*, 29, 359.

S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 17, 20. For the dating of the foundation. For the nature of the original structure,

J. Gifford: *Fife*, suggests the tower and a small chancel. 359.

S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, suggests a high tower and a choir. 16

39.) S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 151.

40.) Archbishop Eyre: "Notes On The Old Western Towers Of Glasgow Cathedral" , in *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.* N. S. Vol. 2, (1893), 253-9.

41.) For a comparison with the contemporary rural dwellings of the day, see: M. H. B. Sanderson: *Sc. Rural Soc.* , 8.

42.) S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 5, 6, 8, 10, 14.

Characteristics Of Old Church Architecture In The Mainland And Western Isles Of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1861), 20. Hereafter, *Characteristics Of Old Church Architecture.*

J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 8-10, 16.

Archbishop Eyre: "Notes On The Old Western Towers Of Glasgow Cathedral", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.* , N. S. , Vol. 2, (1893), 254.

J. H. Cockburn: *The Medieval Bishops Of Dunblane And Their Church* (Edinburgh, 1959), 8, 56.

PHOTOGRAPHS
St. Serf's Church, Dunning, see: Vol.4, Plate 461, 461.

" " " , " , Tower, see: Vol.4, Plate 462, 462.

As above, see: Vol.4, Plate 463, 463.

Muthill church tower, see: Vol. 4, Plate 464, 464.

Restenneth Priory, see: Vol.4, Plate 465, 465.

As above, tower, see: Vol.4, Plate 466, 466.

Kelso Abbey, tower, see: Vol.4, Plate 467, 467.

Biggar collegiate church, tower, see: Vol.4, Plate 468, 468.

Castle Semple collegiate church, tower, see: Vol. 4, Plate 469, 469.

Crail collegiate church, see: Vol.4, Plate 470, 470.

Seton collegiate church, tower, see: Vol.4, Plate 471, 471.

As above, see: Vol.4, Plate 472, 472.

Holy Rude collegiate church, Stirling, see: Vol.4, Plate 473, 473.

Inverkeithing church, tower, see: Vol.4, Plate 474, 474.

South Queensferry, Carmelite friary and tower, see: Vol.4, Plate 475, 475.

Dunnet parish church, see: Vol.4, Plate 476, 476

43.) R. Whiting: *The Blind Devotion Of The People*, 86.

44.) F. Barlow: *Thomas Beckett*, 270.

A. O. Anderson: *Early Sources*, Vol. 2, 290.

45.) A. O. Anderson: *Scottish Annals From English Chroniclers, A. D. 500 to 1286* (London, 1908), 234. Hereafter, A. O. Anderson: *Scottish Annals*.

46.) A. O. Anderson: *Early Sources*, Vol. 2, 102.

47.) A. O. Anderson: *Early Sources*, Vol. 2, 137.

48.) J. Morton: *The Monastic Annals Of Teviotdale*, 187-90, 210-6.

T. Croft-Murray and H. Elsom(Trans.): *The Incorruptible Flesh*, 3-6. G. R. Anderson: *The Abbeys Of Scotland*, (London, 1930), 14.

49.) A. O. Anderson: *Scottish Annals*, 132-5.

50.) For instance the 4th. century Sicilian example of the burial of the child, Julia Florentina, in front of the doors to a martyr's shrine. Brown: *Saints*, 69.
Similarly, the interment of the "Lady Johanna", queen of Scotland, "in the church of the nuns of Tarent", doubtless to receive the benefits perceived to be derived from burial in close proximity to one of God's chosen representatives , in this case the revered Richard, [past] Bishop of Durham. J. Stevenson: *The Chronicles Of Melrose And Holyrood* ,(Dyfed, 1988).

51.) D. McRoberts: "Material Destruction Caused By The Scottish Reformation", in, D. McRoberts(ed.): *Essays*, 456-7.

J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 58.

52.) R. Fraser: "The Story Of Lochmaben Kirk", in, *Trans. Dum. And Gall.* , Vol. 19, (1933-5), 297-8.

53.) D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 3, 89-104.

D. Hay: "Scotland And The Italian Renaissance", in, I. B. Cowan and D. Schaw(eds.): *The Renaisance And Reformation In Scotland*, 115.

T. S. Muir: *Descriptive Notices*, 10.

54.) Robert Brydall: Monumental Effigies, in, *Soc. Of Ant.* , (13 May 1895), 331-3, 337.

J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 1, 5.

55.) J. Gifford: *Fife*, 94.

J. Campbell: *Balmerino And Its Abbey*, 62.

56.) R. Brydall: *Monumental Effigies*, in, *Soc. Of Ant.* , (13 May 1895), 332.

57.) J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 68.

J. Gifford: *Fife*, 94.

58.) J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 68.

C. McWilliam: *Lothian*, 179.

M. R. Apted and S. Hannabus: "Painters In Scotland, 1301-1700, A Biographical Dictionary", in, *S. R. S.* , N. S. Vol. 7, 23, 53-4.

59.) J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 68.

M. R. Apted and S. Hannabus: "Painters In Scotland, 1301-1700, A Biographical Dictionary", in, *S. R. S.*. N. S. Vol. 7, 75-6, 113. That the work commissioned was of a high quality may be assumed from a payment of 28/- on 17 December 1497, made by James IV to "Dene James Gray", "chanoune" of Foulis Easter, for "ane payntit table " The editors of the above work point out that the king had recently been to this collegiate foundation, if the canon and the artist were one and the same it is thus possible to suggest that the quality of the work was high.

60.) R. Brydall: Monumental Effigies, in, *Soc. Of Ant.* , (13 May 1895), 333.

J. Cameron Lees: *The Abbey Of Paisley, From Its Foundation Till Its Dissolution* (Paisley, 1878), 97-8.

A. R. Howell: *Paisley Abbey, Its History, Architecture And Art* (Paisley, 1929), 2.

PHOTOGRAPH
Paisley Abbey, Tomb and effigy of Margaret Bruce, see: Vol.4, Plate 477, 477.

As above, Detail of plate 477, see: Vol.4, Plate 478, 478.

61.) M. H. McKerrow: "Sweetheart Abbey", in, *Trans. Dum. And Gall.* (1931-3), 227-8.

62.) W. W. McMillan: "The Church Of Sanquhar", in, *Trans. Dum. And Gall.* , (1929-30), 89.

J. Brown: *The History Of Sanquhar*, (Edinburgh, 1853),387.

63.) D. McRoberts: "Material Destruction Caused By The Scottish Reformation", in, D. McRoberts(ed.): *Essays*, 417.

64.) T. S. Robertson: "Arbroath Abbey", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.* , N. S. Vol. 4, (1907), 236, refers to 12 altars within the building in addition to the high altar.

The above mentioned church of Sanquhar for example in one source would appear to have contained 4 side altars as well as the high altar itself. These were the altar of the Holy Blood, the altar of the Holy Cross, the altar to St. Mary the Virgin, and the altar of St. John respectively; the author of the article in question suggests that an altar to St. Mary Magdelene may also have been present.

65.) D. McRoberts: "A Legendary Fragment In The Scottish Record Office", in, *I. R.* , Vol. 19, (1968), "Miscellany", 82.

66.) For Perth altars, see: W. Angus(ed.): "Protocol Book Of Sir Robert Rollock, 1534-1552", in *S. R. S.* Vol. 65, (Edinburgh, 1931), 4, 7, 20, 25, 40, 43, 49.

For Linlithgow altars, see: J. Beveridge and J. Russell(eds.): "Protocol Books Of Dominus Thomas Johnsoun 1528-1578". in *S.R.S.* Vol 52, (Edinburgh, 1920),

"High Altar", Nos. 80, 83, 367, 452, 690, 693, 709.

"All Saints", Nos. 71, 127, 179, 331, 372, 633, 650.

"Blessed Virgin Mary", Nos. 173, 237, 252, 314, 331, 353.

"Holy Blood", Nos. 237, 353.

"Holy Cross", Nos. 175, 237, 353,

"Holy Saviour", Nos. 237, 303, 629.

"Holy Trinity", Nos. 89, 90, 131, 189, 190, 191, 237, 325, 449, 726, 837.

"St. Andrew", Nos. 237, 238, 353, 772.

"St. Anne", Nos. 86, 87, 142, 174, 212, 237, 278, 307.

"St. Anthony", Nos. 12, 624, 883, 996, 997.

"St. Bridget", Nos. 43, 75, 109, 237, 744, 859.

"St. Eligius[Eloy]", Nos. 519, 815.

"St. John The Baptist", Nos. 115, 237, 331.

"St. John The Evangelist", Nos. 151, 232, 237, 300, 353.

"St. Katherine", Nos. 61, 143, 161, 162, 170, 366, 699, 798.

"St. Nicholas", Nos. 152, 331.

"St. Ninian", Nos. 171, 208, 227, 228, 237, 353.

"St. Peter", No. 391.

For St. Giles Altars, see: M. Wood(ed.): "The Protocol Book Of John Foular, 1503-13", Part 1, 1503-1509/10, in, *S. R. S.* Vol. 72, (Edinburgh, 1940).

"Altar Of The Holy Blood, Called The Black Rood Altar", Nos. 203, 224, 295.

"Altar Of Our Lady", No. 849.

"Our Lady Of Piety", No. 318, 801.

"St. Andrew", No. 869.

"St. Anne", No. 871.

A. Gurevich: *Medieval Popular Culture*, 42-3.

A. J. MacGregor: *Fire And Light In The Western Tridum: Their Use At Tenebrae And At The Paschal Vigil* (Collegville, Min. 1992).

C. Haigh: *English Reformations*, Prologue, 1-2, "The Religious World Of Roger Martyn".

D. McKay: "Parish Life In Scotland, 1500-1560", in, D. McRoberts(ed.): *Essays*, 104-6, 110-11.

J. Durkan: "Miscellany: St. Salvator's College, Castle Inventory", in, *I. R.* Vol. 16, (1965), 128-9.

A. Maxwell: *Old Dundee*, 553, 558, 561, 567-8.

For references to the colour surrounding contemporary altars, see: Chapter 8 of this thesis, note no. 19.

For a list of the wealth belonging to the Abbey of Holyrood, see: *Acts: Public Affairs*, 1501-1554, 540, 617-8.

D. McRoberts: "Catalogue Of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books And Fragments", in, *I. R.* Vol. 3, (1952), 55.

M. R. Apted and S. Hannabus: *Painters In Scotland 1301-1700, A Biographical Dictionary*, (Edinburgh, 1978), 28, 33, 36, 102, 114-6. For reference to work on the statue of St. Giles, see also, *Edinburgh Burgh Accounts*, Vol. 2, 29, 43, 58, 75.

R. Whiting: *The Blind Devotion Of The People*, 22-3.

A. Oldham: "Scottish Polyphonic Music", in, *I. R.* Vol. 13, (1962), 54, 56-8.

67.) S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 113.

J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 16-7.

68.) D. McRoberts: *Rhind Lectures*, Section 1, 5.

69.) S. R. MacPhail: *The History Of The Religious House Of Pluscarden*, 165, 169-70.

J. Stuart(ed.): *Records Of The Monastery Of Kinloss*, (Edinburgh, 1872), 25. Hereafter, J. Stuart: *Kinloss*.

M. R. Apted and S. Hannabus: *Painters In Scotland, 1301-1700, A Biographical Dictionary*, (Edinburgh, 1978), 97-8, 113.

D. McRoberts: *Rhind Lectures*, As Above.

70.) B. Walker and G. Ritchie: *Fife And Tayside*, 121, plate 62.

S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 27, plate 8.

71.) S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 128-31, plates 42, 43, 44, 46. This in addition to the building's splendid main doorway.

72.) See chapter 9 of this thesis, note no. 11.

73.) J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 20-1, 24-5.

S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 132, 135, 168-9.

T. S. Muir: *Descriptive Notices*, 91.

PHOTOGRAPH
Dalmeny church, see: Vol.4, Plate 479,479.

As above, south doorway, see: Vol.4, Plate 480, 480.

" " , see: Vol.4, Plate 481, 481.

74.) J. Evans: *Clunaic Art Of The Romanesque Period*, (Cambridge University Press, 1950), 51-2, 71, 79, 120. Hereafter, J. Evans: *Clunaic Art.*

M. D. Anderson: "The Iconography Of British Misericords", in, *A Catalogue Of Misericords In Great Britain*, xxiv, xxvi, xxvii.

S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 129-30.

F. E. Hulme: *Symbolism*, 167-8, 190, 216.

J. C. Cooper: *Illustrated Encyclopedia*, 58, 62-3, 198-200.

R. Salvini: *Medieval Sculpture*, plates 32, 86. Fig. 94.

E. Newton and William Neil: *The Christian Faith In Art*, 12-14, 106, 113.

75.) S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 128-9, 132.

D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 1, 309.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Dalmeny church, Detail of plate 481, see: Vol.4, Plate 482, 282.

" " , East end, see: Vol.4, Plate 483, 483.

" " , Carving around window, east end, see: Vol.4, Plate 484, 484.

" " , Grotesque head and intertwined snakes at roof height, see: Vol.4, Plate 485, 485.

Leuchars church, see: Vol.4, Plate 486, 486.

" " , Heavy emphasis on the use of Romanesque arches on the exterior, east end, see: Vol.4, Plate 487, 487.

" " , Detail of arch, see: Vol.4, Plate 488, 488.

" " , Grotesque heads at roof height, see: Vol. 4, Plate 489, 489.

" " , Detail of plate 489, see: Vol. 4, Plate 490, 490.

" " , Romanesque arch within, see: Vol. 4, Plate 491, 491.

" " , Romanesque pillar, capital and arch, see: Vol. 4, Plate 492, 492.

" " , Interior of apse, see: Vol. 4, Plate 493, 493.

" " , Detail of window in apse, see: Vol. 4, Plate 494, 494.

Dalmeny church, Heavy chevron arches within, see: Vol. 4, Plate 495, 495.

" " , Detail of plate 495, see: Vol. 4, Plate 496, 496.

" " , Detail of vaulting in apse, see: Vol. 4, Plate 497, 497.

" " , Head in apse, see: Vol. 4, Plate 498, 498.

" " , Head in apse, see: Vol. 4, Plate 499, 499.

" " , Head in apse, see: Vol. 4, Plate 500, 500.

" " , Head in apse, see: Vol. 4, Plate 501, 501.

Leuchars church, Head in apse, see: Vol. 4, Plate 502, 502.

" " , Head in apse, see: Vol. 4, Plate 503, 503.

" " , Head in apse, see: Vol. 4, Plate 504, 504.

" " , Head in apse, see: Vol. 4, Plate 505, 505.

76.) Duddingston, D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 1, 333

T. S. Muir: *Descriptive Notices*, 18-19.

Gullane, C. McWilliam: *Lothian*, 227.

Edrom, D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 1, 314, 316; 2, 162.

J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 20

Kirkliston, D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 1, 366.
C. McWilliam: *Lothian*, 273-4.

T. S. Muir: *Descriptive Notices*, 94-7.

Lamington, D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 1, 376.

Ratho, D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 1, 371.
T. S. Muir: *Descriptive Notices*, 47.

Uphall, D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 1, 342.
T. S. Muir: *Descriptive Notices*, 103.

C. McWilliam: *Lothian*, 460.

Borthwick, D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 3, 214.
C. McWilliam: *Lothian*, 117.

Abercorn, D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 1, 346.

C. McWilliam: *Lothian*, 69-71; note too the references to the remains of early crosses at this site, see: T. S. Muir: *Descriptive Notices*, 99-101.

Forgandenny: D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 3, 502.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Gullane church, see: Vol. 4, Plate 506, 506.

" " , Arch, see: Vol. 4, Plate 507, 507.

Kirkliston church, see: Vol. 4, Plate 508, 508.

" " , Norman arch in south wall, see: Vol. 4, Plate 509, 509.

" " , Detail of plate 509, see: Vol. 4, Plate 510, 510.

" " , Reconstructed doorway, see: Vol. 4, Plate 511, 511.

" " , Detail of plate 511, see: Vol. 4, Plate 512, 512.

Lamington church, Norman arch, see: Vol. 4, Plate 513, 513.

Ratho church, see: Vol. 4, Plate 514, 514.

" " , Romanesque fragment, see: Vol. 4, Plate 515, 515.

Uphall church, see: Vol. 4, Plate 516, 516.

" " , Reconstructed Romanesque doorway, see: Vol. 4, Plate 517, 517.

" " , Detail of plate 517, see: Vol.4, Plate 518, 518.

Abercorn church, see: Vol. 4, Plate 518, 518.

" " , Romanesque doorway, see: Vol. 4, Plate 520, 520.

Forgandenny church, see: Vol. 4, Plate 521, 521.

" " , Romanesque arch, see: Vol. 4, Plate 522, 522.

Chapter Eleven

The Appeal Of Local, And Of Foreign Pilgrimage, As It Related To The Regular Orders And Their Secular Counterparts Within The Colleges.

"And kneling down with ane Pater Noster,
Befoir the michti king of glorye,
Having His Passion in memorye;
Syne to his mother I did inclyne...."

[J. Small, (ed.): *William Dunbar*, S. T. S., 1st. Series, Vol. 2, 239, l. 3 - 6.]

Introduction.

In the above chapter, an attempt was made to demonstrate the wealth of tradition employed by the Catholic Church, to try and ensure that their position as the only intercessionary agent between man and God was one which would - in terms of historic precedence - be extremely difficult to refute. As the houses of the regular Orders, and the colleges, within Scotland were an integral part of this Church, the material examined was obviously of crucial importance in determining the way in which the laity perceived the value of these groups as intercessionary agents, both in terms of securing favourable intercession in this life, and - more importantly - the next. Arguably, this value had been hitherto judged sufficiently important for the laity to long tolerate the perceived failings of the subjects of this thesis. That little or no education was required on the part of the laity to absorb this message - regarding the necessity of intercessionay agents - may be regarded as an indisputable fact since they - the laity - were bombarded with such a message in the works of the hagiographer, the chronicler, and through the example set by the leading members of society. Here, the information available in the written works of the day - such as the Books of Hours examined in chapter 8 - would be adapted and made available to a much wider audience through the use - for instance - of simple woodcuts, and more importantly still the labours of the mendicants.

That such information was presented in an extremely forceful - and thus memorable - fashion, as demonstrated in chapter 8 may again be assumed, for the themes thus emphasised were repeated in many of the buildings of the period under study. In the following chapter therefore, an attempt will be made to show that the above media were not the only means employed by the

Church to ensure the co - operation of the laity, and that far from being outmoded, these sometimes ancient traditions were just as relevant to the population in fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland as they had been to say an audience drawn from the thirteenth century; both groups would have experienced little difficulty in interpreting the messages transmitted because of the antiquity of the approaches employed. A planned overlap will occur at places therefore, in terms of the material used, so that new aspects of the complex topics involved may be best explored.

With these views in mind, this chapter will proceed to examine material relating to such religious houses as St. Andrews, Dunfermline, Inchcolm, Glasgow and Iona, thereafter to demonstrate how the methodology employed in these buildings could be seen to have been used in all of the other foundations with which this present work is concerned; the houses of the regular Orders and the secular clergy of the collegiate churches. Before beginning this chapter, it should be understood that the title chosen may be said to provide a concise account of the feelings engendered within the minds of the faithful on entering any of the foundations under examination. The reader is asked to bear this point in mind as the present work turns to the first of the house referred to in the introduction; that of St. Andrews Cathedral.

In addition to its long established claim to be the only church outside Italy and the Levant to possess the bodily remains of one of the Apostles, the house of St. Andrews would doubtless have instilled a feeling of awe into the mind of the pious traveller through the sheer scale on which the building was constructed. St. Rule's tower for example - as examined above - rose to some one hundred and eight feet, this without taking account of any spire. The same source for this piece of information also states that the cathedral:

> "Even in its first form [completed around 1190].... was over three - hundred and twenty feet in length and one - hundred sixty - eight feet across, far in excess of any church ever to be built in Scotland other than itself...."

To further support his case, the author provides a series of examples for comparison:

> "In its completed state Glasgow Cathedral was 285 feet in internal length, Arbroath Abbey 280 feet, Dunfermline Abbey 268, Elgin Cathedral 263 feet...." [1]

Again therefore, the houses of the regular Orders bear favourable comparison with their episcopal equivalents. In terms of structural remains, the great east window of Prior James Haldenstone, -

dating to around 1430 - the surviving ground floor sections of the cloisteral buildings, and - perhaps in particular - details from the remains of the two chapter houses - the original thirteenth century chapter house and its fourteenth century replacement - such as the doorway of the earlier of the two, all speak of visible symbols of wealth and power being very much in evidence. [2] Within the choir, the lofty north and south aisles of this cruciform building were linked to a passage behind the high altar, the whole forming an ambulatory round the choir and sanctuary to ease the pilgrim's access to the altars within the foundation. From the eastern section of the ambulatory - and probably cut off from it by highly ornate screens - were three chapels; two "small" chapels forming the eastern ends of the north and south chancel aisles in addition to a larger central chapel, whilst the unaisled eastern portion of the chancel - where the priceless relics of St. Andrew were enshrined - formed the central focal point from which the spiritual life of the building radiated. [3] Although no complete medieval records survive to list the relics which this magnificent foundation once housed, it is possible at least to say that along with the "Morbrac" - the Great Reliquary - there was the highly ornate "St. Andrew's Sarcophagus" [4] - thought perhaps to contain the remains of St. Rule - [5] merely two of the numerous "fayr iowelis" to interest the potential pilgrim. [6] In addition, since the chancel of the cathedral was seen as the most appropriate burial place for the bishops of St. Andrews, the building contained numerous fine examples of funerary monuments; the antiquity of this tradition seen in the presence of tombs of twelfth and thirteenth century bishops who were laid to rest in this fashion. Abel de Gullane for example, who died on 1 December 1254, in being buried here provides a typical example of the value attached to the practice of interment within the house of a saintly patron. Similarly, although Bishop William Fraser died at Artuyl - on 20 August 1297, whilst avoiding the unwelcome attention of Edward I - and was buried in Paris "in the church of the Preaching Friars" he still had his earlier request that his heart be returned for burial in his own house of St. Andrews honoured, there to join for example Bishop William Malvoisin, and be joined in turn by Archbishop James Beaton, Commendator of Arbroath, Dunfermline and Kilwinning. Here the chronicler Wyntoun, in stating that the Fraser burial was done "richt suttely", suggests that the monument in which his heart was entombed, was a striking piece of work, which would have served to complement the other doubtless ornate graves within what was already a richly decorated building. [7]

In Dunfermline Abbey - raised to abbatial status by David I in 1128 - the monks of this Benedictine house served as the guardians of the saintly, royal remains of queen Margaret. In this foundation therefore, as with St. Andrews above, no expense was spared in displaying the wealth and prestige which this house enjoyed as one of the foremost pilgrimage sites within Scotland. As

early as the twelfth century therefore, this community possessed a series of external, architectural delights, to whet the appetite of the visitor for the wonders which awaited within. Arguably, perhaps the most striking external features lie in the great western entrance to the church, and in the east processional doorway as referred to earlier above.

In the western doorway, the heavy chevron carving as examined at Leuchars and Dalmeny is again in evidence, on this occasion however on a much grander scale; similarly, the grotesque heads - and such other inclusions as the wivern - which feature so strongly in the afore - mentioned buildings, once more stare menacingly down from the five ordered door of Dunfermline. Equally impressive, is the contemporary east processional doorway; here the skill of the craftsmen responsible can be better appreciated since it is in a remarkably good state of preservation. In addition to the intricately carved capitals, the crisp lines of the other decorative features such as the chevron pattern and rosettes, the reader's attention is drawn to a particularly well executed mask, of the type which may be classed as the "Green Man"; such indeed is the effect of this doorway, that it has been described by one author - Stewart Cruden - as the "finest Romanesque door in Scotland". On the south side of the nave, a door of somewhat heavier appearance dates to the same period of twelfth century - but in terms of decorative features, preservation it is perhaps - arguably - not of the same quality as the two examined above.

In terms of later additions to the early building work, the refectory was remodelled in 1329, the same date also favoured for the guesthouse, in 1368 perhaps the most important addition of all, a new resting place for the remains of the foundation's benefactress Margaret, her once doubtless magnificent tomb - as indicated above - now sadly all but gone; later additions still saw the construction in the fifteenth century of a north porch on to the nave, effectively "burying" the earlier door. Regardless of the period in question however, the intention was always one to impress, whether the pilgrim, visitor, or indeed the resident ecclesiastic, privileged to enter those areas from which the public would have been excluded. The interior of the nave for example still contains pillars carved with the chevron and spiral style which serve as a close parallel to St. Cuthbert's house of Durham; further evidence still which points to the rich decoration of the interior, may be seen in the form of a series of paintings depicting four of the Apostles, these on a vault in the east end of the nave, within the north aisle. That such decoration was widespread, may be seen for example in the variety of carved heads which appear throughout the foundation as a whole, from the gatehouse to the undercroft. Finally, for any pilgrim approaching from the south, - particularly on completion of the new palace for James V around 1540 - the impression gained is again perhaps

best summed up in the words of Stewart Cruden, who described this view of Dunfermline as the "finest exhibition of monastic architecture in the country". [8]

Thus far the evidence examined relates to features which may still be seen, but what of that which is now lost? An idea of the stunning wealth which would have been on display, may be gleaned from a description provided by Turgot of the crucifix presented to the abbey by Margaret of Scotland, as he referred to it as being encased in gold, silver, and precious stones. In addition, Turgot stated that the pious queen gifted a similar cross to the Church of St. Andrews; here, it is possible to draw a comparison between this gift and Prior Haldenstone's account of the fifteenth century violation of the cathedral's sanctuary; the enraged prior recounts that thieves had peeled off the plating from the feet of a depiction of Christ on the cross, a reference doubtless to a sizeable rood positioned on a beam high over the altar. Both the figure of Christ, and the cross itself therefore were very richly finished, and, it is possible that the priceless image described by Haldenstone was none other than Queen Margaret's earlier donation. Although access to the chancel, and especially to the Chapel of relics with its collection of treasures, would have been restricted to the clergy of the cathedral, their most trusted servants, and to especially trusted visitors, this practice, far from detracting from the appeal of the shrine to the humbler pilgrim, may, rather, have added an air of mystery to what was already an awe inspiring building. [9] In terms of decoration therefore, the house of the monks of Dunfermline might perhaps be favourably compared with that of the canons of St. Andrews.

In turning to the Abbey of Inchcolm, the foundation of the island's later prestige was laid when Alexander I sheltered here from a violent storm in the Firth of Forth; whilst there the king seems to have identified the St. Colm of the island with St. Columba, and thereafter vowed to build a monastery there in his honour. Since the island was now seen as a shrine to St. Columba, the privilege of burial there was sought by many of its episcopal benefactors, the Bishops of Dunkeld. Bishop Richard de Prebenda for example was interred here in 1210, as was Bishop John de Leycester - his successor - in 1214. Fifty - two years later however, the latter's remains were "translated to the south of the newly erected choir" where they were reintered "close to the altar...."; part of the tomb of Bishop John has survived, and it illustrates - if one assumes that the other monuments were of a similar appearance - just how visually appealing - in terms of colour alone - the choir must once have appeared. Similarly, a further glimpse of the spectacle provided may be gleaned from an additional reference to the foundation, which records one Richard, Bishop of Dunkeld, whose body lies at Dunkeld but whose heart was interred in the choir of Inchcolm which he greatly enlarged - providing a grant of 20/- to purchase twenty candles to illuminate the high altar

of the abbey church once a year on the vigil and feast day of St. Columba. In terms of periods of construction, work would seem to have proceeded over a timescale spanning roughly the twelfth to the fifteenth century, thus at Inchcolm a bell tower, incorporating a stone rood screen and choir screen was built between the nave and choir - on the site of the twelfth century chancel of the church - a new north transept, enlarged choir and octagonal chapter house - thirteenth century features - helped complete what must once have been an imposing, colourful sight to the many pilgrims who arrived by the frequent ferry services to this saintly isle. [10]

In turning now to Glasgow Cathedral, it should be borne in mind that the myriad forms of imagery employed in this leading centre of spiritual perfection, were in essence repeated in one way or another in all of the Church's properties, amongst whom of course were those of the objects of this thesis, the regular and collegiate personnel. Such images moreover, would, - as in all of the instances already examined - provide the pilgrim with an experience which he would not readily forget; it was an experience which he would undoubtedly have sought to share with his contemporaries, his recollections in turn serving to add to the mystic already surrounding these sites. Thus, the shrine of St. Triduana at the collegiate church of Restalrig for instance, would be directly linked in the popular consciousness with the present example, for in both structures, the pilgrim could escape the horror of the present world by entering into and enjoying, - provided he were a genuine supplicant - albeit temporarily, the dazzling splendour of the world to come.

In the house of St. Kentigern therefore, although the work of Bishop Bondington resulted in the almost total demolition of the work of his predecessor Bishop Jocelin, - the fourth Abbot of Melrose, who now rests in the choir of his old house - Bondington's rebuilding programme was to be on a far grander scale; indeed, it was during this period - from around the middle of the thirteenth century to the late thirteenth century - due to the sloping nature of the site, that he was forced to construct - beneath the choir - the greatly enlarged lower church, arguably the most striking feature of the present cathedral, and one which serves to echo the design of the great church erected at Assisi in honour of St. Francis.

In attempting to picture the early Church, it is extremely important to remember the voussoir which - preserved within the cathedral - remarkably still retains its original painted designs, imposed upon a plaster base. Here the painting forms a rectangular outline, within which is a figure - shaped to represent an inverted heart - the whole completed by a "green palmette foliage"; the rectangular outline of its base suggests the piece once formed part of a series of similar heart shaped figures, arranged around the span of a doubtless highly ornate arch. Although there is little information about the artistic sources available in Glasgow in the twelfth century, it is fair to say that

this foundation - as one of the wealthiest, and most important of the Scottish shrines - was by no means isolated from external influences, particularly those of England; thus direct comparisons have been drawn with the style of wall painting found at Durham Cathedral, in the Galilee Chapel, and also at Canterbury Cathedral, in St. Anselm's Chapel. As with many of the religious buildings of this period, - as at Glenluce Abbey, and at Melrose Abbey where the remains of St. Waltheof drew pilgrims from the late twelfth century onwards - fragmentary remains of floors paved with encaustic tiles have been found in Glasgow Cathedral, suggesting that such a visually pleasing effect may have been used to highlight particular areas of the building's interior, the shrine of its patron for example.

That such a technique may have been much in evidence within the cathedral, may be assumed from the easily accessible nature of this product; a thirteenth century kiln and kiln wasters for example have been unearthed at North Berwick on the site of a Cistercian convent, and supplies from sources such as this would doubtless have been supplemented through importation from Europe and England. Further insights into how the interior of the cathedral must once have looked, may be derived from details relating to the practice - examined above in relation to the abbey of Inchcolm - of the heads of this foundation seeking the privilege of burial within its confines.

In the terms laid down in the will of Robert Blackadder for example - who died on 28 July 1508 whilst on pilgrimage to the holy land - in addition to the careful preparation which he made for the favourable reception of his sole in the life to come, the Archbishop clearly stated his wishes in relation to his proposed final place of rest; if he were to die in Scotland he instructed his executors that he wished to be interred:

> "in the church of St. Kentigern and before the choir in the presence of the image of Jesus on the cross at his head. On his right would be the altar of the name of Jesus; on his left, the altar of the Virgin Mary of Pity, and at his feet, the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Consolation...."

Although the unfortunate Archbishop's remains probably never returned to Glasgow, the above instructions are nevertheless valuable in that they propose the erection of a doubtless suitably impressive monument, as well as providing details of the altars which this house once contained. Doubtless of similar quality, was the monument proposed for Archbishop Gavin Dunbar; - one of the competitors for the Priory of Whithorn who died on 30 of April 1547 - according to the instructions in his will it was to be a fine bronze tomb set within the choir of the house in question.

That the above examples were by no means unique may be seen from additional instances of burials within this house, those of Robert Wishart - who died in 1316 -, John Lindsay - who died in 1335 -, Andrew Durisdeer - who once served as a canon of the collegiate house of Lincluden amongst other roles, who died in 1473 -, and John Lang - who died on 11 January 1482/3 - adding their names to those already mentioned, these examples complemented in turn by other episcopal monuments and those to lesser clergy and the more privileged members of the laity. Of all these, but a few fragments survive to be seen today within the lower church. In his analysis of these remains however, Professor E. L. G. Stones provides enough in the way of evidence to support the above arguments concerning both the quality of work, and the identity of those so remembered. The first piece which he examined, he described as a "rectangular tomb cover" with a now much defaced effigy on top, the second "a stone coffin" covered with "a stone slab", each piece belonging to a different burial, the third, the effigy of a bishop. Of the first, he suggests the tomb of a "cathedral dignitary", of the second, the author again admits that nothing can be conclusively proved with regards to the identity of the person so commemorated, although he does suggest that it may have been either a member of the cathedral or a "prominent layman"; if the former, the burial of Bishop Walter - chaplain to William the Lion and the predecessor of William de Bondington - who died in 1232. Of the third and more substantial piece which remains, the author claims the effigy may well represent no less a figure than the famed Bishop Robert Wishart. In this he is supported by the more recent publication within the *Buildings of Scotland* series, of an examination of the cathedral by Dr. Richard Fawcett, in which the author states that the "carefully modelled broad drapery of the chausible" of the figure is consistent with the date of Wishart's death on 26 November 1316.

Episcopal pride in such a foundation is also evident in the many coats of arms - as examined in the early stages of this thesis - which mark the various additions and repairs carried out in this foundation. In the rebuilding of the chapter house for example, Bishops William Lauder and William Turnbull were careful to include their arms to inform subsequent generations of their achievements; similarly, to mark his efforts in the stages of the central tower's development the former was again careful to ensure that his arms were prominently displayed. It was in the episcopate of Robert Blackadder however, that the clearest demonstration of this phenomenon may be seen. Although the structure known as the "Blackadder Aisle" can be traced to the thirteenth century work of Bishop Bondington, the present title is due in large part to the determined efforts of Blackadder to stamp his mark on it, principally through the repeated inclusion of his episcopal arms therein. Not content with this, the Archbishop made sure that his arms were once again proudly displayed on the altar platforms - dedicated to the "Name of Jesus", and to "Our Lady

of Pity" respectively - which he added to the magnificent choir screen of the master mason John Morrow, - the architect of much of the beauty on show at [for example] Melrose Abbey and Lincluden collegiate church - in 1503. In glancing back briefly to the Archbishop's request regarding his desired resting place, the reader's attention is drawn once again to the detailed instructions relating the proposed burial site to certain altars. Here, upon further investigation, an additional glimpse into the life of the cathedral may be obtained, through further references to the other altars which this house once contained. It emerges that, as in the above mentioned example of St. Giles collegiate church in Edinburgh, numerous saints were honoured within the one building, thus in Glasgow there were no fewer than twenty - four altars in the upper church, with a further six in the lower. A plethora of saints were petitioned therefore in addition to the foundation's principal spiritual patron, St. Kentigern; each altar an individual island of colour and sound, merging with the major architectural features of the building examined above. That the overall effect would have been extremely dramatic may be assumed from the surviving details which relate to the provision of the services, lighting and decoration at the aforementioned altars. At "the chapel and altar of St. James the Apostle" for example, Martin Wan, the Chancellor of Glasgow Cathedral, founded a chaplaincy in 1469:

> "for the praise, glory and honour of God Almighty, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and of the glorious Virgin Mary, and the blessed Apostles James and John, and of all the saints."

In 1486, the Dean of Glasgow, James Lindsay - as seen above -:

> "for the good of his soul and of the souls of William Lindsay, his father, and Matilda Stewart, his mother, of their parents and of friends and parishoners, and also of the souls of those by whom he benefitted during his life, and of all the faithful departed, founded a chaplaincy at the altar of Saints Stephen and Laurence, Martyrs, behind the High Altar in the church of Glasgow."

In terms of an appeal to the senses, this same individual left an allowance which provided for - amongst other things - the gift of "four pounds of wax and two pounds of incense" for the cathedral on each feast of St. Kentigern "; that such a gift was by no means limited to members of the house

in question may be seen from a similar endowment specified by no less a figure than King James III, who:

> "on account of the great devotion [which he had] to St. Kentigern, confessor, and to his mother, St. Tenew, and to the said Cathedral Church.... [granted the house] three stones of wax...."

in 1475.

In terms of the colourful display thus illuminated, numerous examples abound; in 1429 for example, one "Alan Stewart of Dernele" presented to:

> "the Church of Glasgow and its High Altar, in honour of God Almighty, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and St. Kentigern, one vestment of red velvet, a white chausuble, amice, girdle, maniple and stole, two hangings with figures in embroidery for the front and back of the Altar, and one pall and embroidered frontal."

Similar in nature to this gift, that made by the chief archdeacon of the Cathedral, Gilbert Rerik in 1494 of "a cope of green velvet" to be used by "Mr. David Gray, chaplain of the altar of St. Michael and his successors...."

At this point, it is perhaps appropriate to turn to the central feature which served to draw the faithful to this house; that is the shrine of St. Kentigern himself. Here, it is possible to draw several comparisons between the arrangements made to honour Kentigern and those made - as examined above - for Thomas of Canterbury. As with the veneration of St. Thomas, there was more than one site at which the pilgrim could hope to "meet" the spiritual patron of the house. At Glasgow, it is thought that the remains of St. Kentigern would once have occupied a highly prominent position behind the High Altar in the upper church, in such a way, that as at Canterbury, the feretory which contained his remains would have been easily visible to all, not just to the members of his house; this point in the church may be termed for the sake of reference as site one, the tomb in the lower church for its part as site two. That such a dual arrangement existed at Glasgow may be supported by the work of Cosmo Innes and Joseph Bain and the details which their studies provide in relation to the visit of Edward I to the Cathedral in 1301. The first of these authors, in transcribing the *Register of the Bishopric of Glasgow* - Vol 2, 621 - provides the snippet

of information that the king left a gift in honour of the saint "ad feretrum sancti Kentigerni in ecclesia cathedrali Glasguensi...."; that is "at the bier of saint Kentigern in the church of the cathedral of Glasgow" - site one. The second author in question however, - in his *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, 1108 - 1509*, Vol 4, 449 - records a similar gift by the king, "ad tumbam Sancti Kentegerni in volta ejusdem ecclesie....", that is "at the tomb of Saint Kentigern in the vault of the same church" - site two ; thus, there would appear to have been two principle shrines within the same house. Further evidence of the way in which the saint's remains were honoured may be suggested through an examination of the reverse side of the seal of Glasgow Cathedral. Here, it has been suggested by George Hay - quite reasonably - that the central meaning of what is represented on this side of the seal, is a head reliquary; thus he suggests, if the remains of the saint were kept in the upper church, the empty tomb and this piece would provide a focal point for the devotions of the pilgrim visiting the lower church. Such an argument furthermore, would also explain the structure still within the lower church, - that of a series of arches raised on a stone base - in that it may too have served a role in supplying the visitor with a physical point of contact with St. Kentigern. Whatever the truth of these suggestions, it is surely no exaggeration to say that in the pre - Reformation period, the dimly lit, yet highly colourful and intricately decorated lower church at Glasgow - where the supplicant was in the presence of the physical remains of both Kentigern and his mother - was a place charged with an emotive expectation of the miraculous. [11]

On Iona, as in the style of Columba's "life", so too in the buildings of his abbey, the suggestion of alternative influences to those seen on the Scottish mainland. In the Benedictine house founded here around 1200, certain architectural features - such as the use of continuous string courses - suggest that the masons employed were Irish in origin. In 1220, when the foundation was extended, the Irish influences were again strong although the use of dog - tooth ornamentation suggests the additional employment of masons from the East of Scotland; similarly, in the Augustinian nunnery erected during the thirteenth century, whilst the particular siting and use of twin light windows mirrors contemporary Irish ecclesiastical fashion, the location of the nave windows apparently suggests either an Irish or a Scottish mainland influence. In terms of the earliest building on the site, the family mortuary chapel erected by Somerled - or his son Reginald - however, there is marked evidence of a predominantly Irish school of stone carving; [12] both styles do not clash however, rather they merge to produce a visually appealing effect, so much so, that when the rebuilding of the abbey was undertaken in the fifteenth century, the round pier, arch, and such decorative features as dog tooth and nail head ornamentation were once again used. [13]

Thus the foundation could claim to attract pilgrims from both kingdoms, and beyond even as late as the period under examination in the present work. As in all of the other examples examined so far, it is highly probable that lines of colour were used to emphasis, enhance the architectural features of the foundations many buildings, thereby providing a suitably impressive man - made environment - to complement the natural beauty of the island - in which the pilgrim could bask in the spiritual aura of the saint's presence; an aura powerful enough to attract the patronage of the Scottish crown [14] and thereby the humbler pilgrim also. [15]

In pausing to evaluate the evidence of the above - in relation to the reliance on an appeal to the senses in the religious foundations of the pre - Reformation period - it is evident that a common ground existed, which covered all of these buildings from the smallest parish church, through to the collegiate foundation, thence on to monastic and episcopal centres of power. At this point however, it is possible that the reader may question the inclusion of some of the features examined above, since - like the carved masks in the apse of Dalmeny - they would never have been seen by members of the laity.

Here however, it is possible to argue that just as architectural "wonders" were used to capture, inflame the imagination of the laity, so too the features they would never have enjoyed - other than perhaps at the time of their installation or construction, through information being passed on by the religious themselves or through the breach of taboo - can be thought of as having been intended to have a similar effect on the minds of the religious conducting the ceremonies within. It is also important to remember that many of the details included in the construction of these buildings, were either so high as to be difficult to make out, or perhaps in a location where they were insufficiently illuminated. All still had to be paid for however, for craftsmen then as now were unlikely to include such an abundance of ornamentation merely to satisfy their own personal tastes and curiosity; rather, it is possible to argue, that such detail was included because it was thought of by those who funded the construction of these buildings as an essential element in the glorification of their Divine master. The point therefore, is that all contributed in their own way towards linking the personnel of the regular and secular houses of the day which form the subject of the present work, with those of the parish clergy, and the servants of the episcopal seats of power; all therefore were interdependent the one upon the other, in creating the atmosphere so crucial to the Church's moulding of the outlook and beliefs of pre - Reformation society.[16]

It would be true to say, that no examination of the appeal exerted by these buildings would be complete, without an attempt to analyse the part played by the glass which once graced their windows. For the medieval mind, light was the source and essence of all visual beauty; thus a

further factor emerges to link the servants of all of the above structures in a common bond, for in many of these buildings, luminosity was a feature both demanded and singled out for praise. Light, - it should be remembered - and thereby beauty, were not values independent of each other, rather, together they signified the quality inherent in all things which reflected their origins in God. Light therefore, was - and indeed long had been - considered the most noble of natural phenomena, the least material, the closest approximation to pure form; the mediator between bodily and spiritual substances, the creative principle in all things, most active in heavenly spheres, - as evidenced in St. Ninian's appearance as a "man shining with celestial light", and the angelic guide in Jocelin's Life of St. Kentigern "streaming with light" - weakest in earthly substances. [17]

In Scotland, coloured glass - set out in mosaic fashion -, was doubtless used to both decorate and illuminate religious foundations prior to the eleventh century; as craftsmen developed their expertise, the increased use of both foliage and figures served to enhance their art until - by the thirteenth century - the subject matter had attained greater size, emphasis and variety, the spaces around the centre medallions no longer relatively plain, but alive complex, interwoven woven patterns of foliage. In some windows, the foliage groundwork was designed using pale, blue - green glass, the background of which was covered with "cross - hatching", a feature which served to emphasis the clean cut lines of the subject matter; [18] termed "grisaille" glass, the beauty of this design best seen perhaps in the "Five Sisters" of York Minster. [19] Further developments in style saw - for example - the decoration of windows containing a single figure assume a more ornate appearance; arches were produced in a trefoil design, whilst the use of a bright yellow glass, - known as "pot - metal" - added to this pleasing development in style. In terms of presentation therefore, it is perhaps fair to say that there was little to distinguish between the Scottish and English schools of glass. Amongst the evidence which survives in Scotland, may be numbered a good many small fragments of early glass, found in the North transept of St. Andrews Cathedral; the use of "small, sharply pointed leaves" indicating a thirteenth century origin. In addition, a few pieces from St. Mary's at Kirkheugh survive, some of the grissaile design as described earlier. [20] Similarly, fragments of early painted glass survive from Coldingham Priory to show the one time presence of a grissaile window of the thirteenth century; the pieces are blue and green in colour and vary in thickness. [21]

In addition to the actual evidence of glass which remains, it is vital to consider the now empty windows themselves; the reader is asked therefore at this point, to reconstruct within their mind the effect these features must once have exerted when complete. Consider for example, the great east window of St. Andrews Cathedral, executed to enhance the relics within, or more

especially the East end of Elgin Cathedral, where a plethora of lancet windows are topped by a large wheel window; in their day, both flooding the interior of these buildings with coloured light. Such beauty was not confined to episcopal centres of power however, as may be seen by visiting for example the Abbeys of Jedburgh and Dryburgh where large wheel windows may still be found; here a comparison in turn has been drawn by Stewart Cruden with the example of this art which survives at Sweetheart. As this author points out, the first of these houses was of the Augustinian Order, the second the Premonstratensian and the third the Cistercian; the theological and decorative use of glass therefore was appreciated regardless of allegiance.

At this point it should perhaps be noted however, that the builders of these structures also appreciated the dramatic effect of limiting the amount of illumination present; thus in Cruden's description of the "presbytery and chancel" of Jedburgh for example, a similar effect to that achieved in the lower church of Glasgow Cathedral, - as described above - was achieved. In moving to the county of Angus, the Abbey of Arbroath provides what is perhaps the most dramatic use of glass in Scotland; in addition to the massive rose window of the west front, the house boasts - in the west side of the south transept - what have been described as "the largest lancets in Scottish medieval architecture". Here, an idea of the colourful appeal which such windows once possessed may perhaps be best appreciated in the modern glass inserted into the wheel window of the north transept of Pluscardine. [22]

In terms of the use of grissaile glass, it is possible to argue that in addition to the examples provided above, the houses of the Cistercian Order in particular would have ensured that such beauty may well have been a reasonably familiar sight within Scotland. St. Bernard for example, was an enthusiastic supporter of the view that light originated in the Divine being of God, referring to Him for example "as the Father of all light"; thus in the early twelfth century houses of the Order of Citeaux, the emphasis lay on the production of what has been termed "white glass", through the use of "a large percentage soda salts which originally produced greenish tones", this process in turn enhanced "with foliate and geometric motifes" picked out by the "leading" of the windows. [23]

The point of all this magnificent craftsmanship for the Church? to create a suitable frame of mind in the onlooker, especially in terms of an individual drawn from the lower echelons of society; here the stark poverty of their grim lives - as seen in chapter 7 above - would make them particularly susceptible to the "message" that the staggering wealth on display within these centres was a brutally simple, literal statement that the Church's power in this world, was both drawn from and dependent upon, Her attempt in these buildings to quite literally reproduce the glories which existed in the next, in the "Heavenly Jerusalem". [24] In this she was aided through both the subject

matter depicted, - in the church of St. Bride, Douglas, for example, the Virgin and Child appear along with such saints as St. Peter and St. Paul - and the colourful, possibly complex brilliance of the "light" which bathed the interior of her houses; thereby she influenced the minds of her audience - both lay and ecclesiastic - in such a way as to lift them from mundane, earthly concerns, to make them more receptive to the Christian message, and thereby a belief in the power of the agent's of God's will, the saints. That such a practice was employed for similar purposes even in those houses which did not contain saintly remains, relics may be seen by visiting such collegiate foundations as Carnwath, Semple, Seton and Maybole, and in the evidence provided by W. M. Bryce relating to the friaries of - for example - Ayr, Elgin and Stirling. [25]

In view of the numerous factors examined so far, it is possible to say that the "native" saints of Scotland enjoyed immense popularity in the period under examination. In addition to those saints already mentioned may be added many others whose place in the life of the Scottish nation may be judged from the wealth of surviving evidence. Consider for instance the importance of St. Mirrin, the patron saint of the modern diocese of Paisley and the link which he established between the abbey and the kingdom as a whole; both his tomb and relics were venerated within this monastery throughout the medieval period, his status and that of his house further enhanced when his remains were translated to a custom built chapel in the south transept in the late fifteenth century. Here, the importance of visual communication may again be highlighted both in the form of a retable which told of highlights in the saints life, and in the attention paid to the general decorative features of the house. Here, the work of the sculptor Thomas Hector is still very much in evidence in the curious variety of figures which stare down on the interior of the nave; of his importance to the abbey there can be little doubt, for in the terms of an agreement - dated 1460 - whereby Abbot Henry Chrichton granted the lands of "Nether Crossflat" to Hector, it was stipulated that the latter was to:

> "hold himself ready and prepared to the said Abbot and Convent in all that [concerned] his art as a sculptor, and [would] receive no other work pertaining to his art without obtaining leave of the Abbot and Convent."

The importance attached to St. Modan for his part, may be gauged from the fact that whilst the centre of his cult was the town of Philorth in Buchan, numerous other dedications exist to him at Auchmeddan near Fraserburgh, at Pittmeddan near Undy, and at Fintry where his skull - enshrined

in a silver reliquary like that once displayed in the collegiate church of St. Duthac at Tain - served as a magnate for pilgrims down to the sixteenth century. [26]

Similarly, with St. Molucus, the titular saint of the medieval Cathedral on Lismore; - thought to be a disciple of St. Brendan who left Ireland to preach the message of Christ in Scotland, establishing his principle church at Lismore - among the relics venerated in association with this saint's cult was a bell, thought to be the primitive bell enclosed in a silver shrine, found in 1814 at Kirkmichael - Glassary in Argyll. In the many churches and wells named after him, - distributed as they are through the North of Scotland and the Hebrides - a clear picture emerges of the reverence with which he was held in Scotland. [27]

Consider too the cult of St. Kessog; centred in what was believed to have been the place of his burial, the village of Luss - thought to be named after a plant which sprang from his grave - his influence may nevertheless be seen in diverse other places such as Strathblane, Auchterarder, Callander, Comrie and as far North as Ross - shire, where his memory is preserved in such features as the Kessog Ferry. In terms of relics to survive into the post - Reformation era, like St. Molucus above a bell served as a lasting reminder of his once prominent place in the minds of the populace. Finally, in addition to all of the above, in terms of truly national importance must be numbered the head of St. Margaret - once in the guardianship of the Benedictine community of Dunfermline Abbey - and the arm of St. Ninian - held by the Premonstratensians of Whithorn Priory - both now lost to subsequent generations. [28]

Evidence of the popularity of such attractions may also be seen in the provision of pilgrims hostels and ferries to cater for the traffic thus generated. Pious travellers visiting St. Andrews for example, arrived in such numbers as to justify the introduction of two ferries - the Queensferry and the Earlsferry - across the Firth of Forth; in both instances the pilgrims served by hostels on the northern and southern shores. Queen Margaret for instance was recorded as having "built dwellings upon either shore of the sea that separates Lothian and Scotland, so that pilgrims and poor might turn aside there and rest, after the labour of their journey and might find there ready everything that necessity might require for the restoration of the body.... She appointed attendants for this purpose alone.... [providing].... for them also ships, to carry them across, both going and returning". [29] Further royal support for pilgrimage may also be seen, for example, in the royal grant of free passage - given in the reigns of David I, Malcolm IV, William the Lion and Alexander III - to all pilgrims using the ferry at Inverkeithing, and in the protection extended to all pilgrims within the Scottish realm as early for instance as the reign of David I. In terms of the Earlsferry referred to above, - crossing between North Berwick and Ardross - this was founded by Duncan, the fourth

Earl of Fife, and seems to have been equally well equipped. [30] It is beyond doubt that all of the above services would similarly have aided in maintaining the popularity - for example - of the Benedictine house of Dunfermline and its royal patroness St. Margaret.

In any analysis of the importance of pilgrimage in terms of maintaining the status of the religious under scrutiny in the present work, it is essential to pay at least a cursory glance to the religious festivals and processions connected with this exhibition of popular piety. Generally speaking, in the days leading up to the procession the streets would be cleared of their usual flotsam and jetsam, and the finishing touches applied to the street decorations and religious pageants, which would form part of the overall excitement, almost carnival atmosphere of the day. In addition, the religious of the house whose relics formed the centrepiece of the occasion, would don their finest vestments in preparation for assuming their place of honour amongst the other ecclesiastics present.

Similarly, privileged members of the laity - such as members of the craft guilds - would swell the numbers taking part, their wealth adding to an already sumptuous display. [31] Here, an idea of both the colour and finery on show, and the importance placed on social rank in what was a major public event, may be seen for example in the legislation passed by the town council of Aberdeen in 1531, in an attempt to end disputes over precedence in the town's Corpus Christi procession:

> "22nd. May 1531.... In the honour of God, and the Blessit Virgin Mayre, the craftismen of this burgh, in thair best array, keipe and decoire the processioun on Corpus Cristi dais, and Candilmes day, als honorabilye as thai can, euery craft with thair awin banir, with the armes of thair craft thairin, and thai sal pass ilk craft be thame self, twa and twa, in this ordour: That is to say, in the first the flescharis, and nixt thame the barbouris, nixt thame the skynnaris and furrowris togidder,.... and last of all, nearest the Sacrament, passis the hemmermen; that is to say smythis, wrichtis, masonis, cuparis, sclateris, goldsmythis, and armouraris; and euery ane of the said craftis, in the Candilmes processiouen, sall furneis thair pageane, conform to the auld statut...."[32]

As with the other spectacles staged by the Church however there was a serious intent behind all of the ensuing colour, sound and atmosphere of this most public occasion. The mendicant Orders in particular for example, used the drawing power of this event to address and educate the huge

crowds which gathered to watch and participate, through their skills as orators and the content of the exempla; it was an occasion on which the Church ensured that the basic tenets of the Catholic faith were reinforced in the minds of the laity, both through the work of the aforementioned friars and in the numerous religious pageants which formed an integral part of the proceedings. Particular attention was paid to the events surrounding Christ's Passion, and the crucial importance of the Eucharist in securing an individual's future salvation, for the execution of the Mass was the principle means of mitigating the pains of Purgatory to come, as indeed were the indulgences on offer for those who attended the above procession and its attendant festivities. Similarly, the close involvement of the religious Orders of the pre - Reformation Church in such public events, may be seen in the form of the remains of the "Galilee porch" of Arbroath Abbey, located beneath the expanse of the rose window of the nave, above the great west entrance. This feature apparently once played its part in religious festivals, feast days, - its origins lying in a ceremony based on "Christ's adjuration to the disciples to meet him in Galilee" - a choir stationed therein singing in alternate response to one without, the latter forming the head of a procession of the inmates of the house in question. As much of the above ceremonial display took place outside the west door of the nave and at the altar therein, the laity gathered would be participants - in a sense - in the drama as it unfolded. [33]

Music - as mentioned earlier above - played an important part in the life of the Church therefore, in terms of both its private and public image; broadly speaking it could be divided into music in which the laity could play no part and that which allowed at least a modicum of participation. Of the former, "Plainchant" or "Gregorian Chant", "in the Mass sung by a trained choir.... In the Breviary Office.... sung by the clergy." Regardless of the form it took - whether "antiphonal" or "responsorial" - it was purely a religious medium from which the laity were excluded; similarly, to master the art of "counterpoint" or "polyphonic" music - "in which a series of separate melodies run together, blending in harmonies" - required a highly trained group of singers. Thus, it was in the more simple melodies of the hymns used by parishoners that true involvement could have been said to have taken place; the laity in the main having no grasp of Latin, were, nevertheless able to render the tunes involved. Here, however the impact of the above two styles should not be underrated merely because they effectively excluded the populace; although the latter form was particularly complex - and therefore more open to criticism if the choir were not up to scratch, even on occasion when they were - such music still played a crucial role in the interface between the Church and the laity. [34] Thus for example, Bishop Elphinstone was at pains to ensure that a high level of ability was maintained in the choir of St. Machar's, Aberdeen, employing James

Maliso as Master of the "sang schule", to supervise both the efforts of the vicars choral and the boy choristers, who received a yearly income of ten pounds and two pounds thirteen shillings and four pence respectively; additional evidence that music was of great concern to the Church authorities may also be seen in the provision of thirty - two stalls in the neighbouring collegiate foundation of St. Nicholas. Similarly, the comments of the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, Alexander Myln, in his *Vita Dunkeldensium Episcoporum*, show that an equally high standard was being maintained at Dunkeld; one chorister by the name of Young "was apparently" steady in the chant ", another" called "Penicuick" was a "pillar of the choristers", a "John Stephan" was "sublime in musical theory and organ playing" whilst "William Martyn", was "a master of music". [35] During the celebration of a saint's festival therefore, music was an essential ingredient in the proceedings; hymns would be sung as the relics were carried through the crowds, whilst the bells of the religious houses of the town provided a suitable accompaniment. Evidence of the importance of these items in turn may be seen in the identity of some of their donors; two bells for example were gifted to Glasgow Cathedral by the Archbishop of that see, Gavin Dunbar, equally at Holywood Abbey, Abbots John Welch and William Kennedy made similar donations, whilst there is the strong possibility that of those bells which once hung in the now vanished Lochmaben Kirk, it would seem that at least one was a gift of king Robert I. [36]

In St. Andrews, it is possible to suggest that the layout of the old town would dictate that the procession of the Apostle's relics during religious festivals would have followed a circular route, thus enabling as many of the faithful as possible to become involved, lend their voices to the general tumult. As to the drawing power of St. Andrews as a pilgrimage centre, surviving records provide perhaps the most eloquent account of the antiquity of the tradition involved. In the twelfth century for example, an Englishman, John Scot arrived in St. Andrews as a humble pilgrim, only to remain, becoming in time archdeacon of St. Andrews, then bishop of the foundation; similarly, - at the end of the twelfth century - Reginald of Coldingham and a number of his fellow monks from St. Cuthbert's house of Durham - questing for alms in Scotland - visited St. Andrews shrine. Moving forward in time, King Edward I gave his permission for three of his subjects - one Richard son of Philip, Laurence Scot and Nicholas De Wygenhale - to travel to this spiritual powerhouse, whilst some thirty years later, the English monarch and his queen both paid their respects to the Apostle's remains, each offering a golden ouch to honour his relics. [37]

It is vital to remember however, that the Scottish pilgrim's interests were not merely confined to those shrines within his own country, and that a confidence in the efficacy of the saints of his homeland in effect saw the pilgrim - and thus all of the houses examined above including the

regular foundations and the collegiate kirks - inextricably linked, even if he never left Scotland, or his local - perhaps - humble church, through the Church as an entity itself - in terms of teaching and belief - with all of the major pilgrimage sites in the Western world. For those who did venture abroad however, all of the features detailed above were not only present, they were arguably given an added dimension of wonder through the fresh appeal of foreign travel.

Without wishing to become involved in an in depth analysis of architectural styles, before moving on to examine what the Scottish pilgrim abroad might experience, it is nevertheless necessary to lay down some basic "ground rules", that is that in the following section of this thesis the terms "Romanesque" and "Gothic" will crop up at times; at this point therefore a definition is required for both. In general terms - it is stressed - certain features may be identified which tend to mark out one style from the other. As examined above, the use of light in a religious foundation was no matter purely of practicality or chance; it was by and large controlled by the builder to achieve certain predetermined effects. Thus it may be said that light was a strong motivating factor in the design of ecclesiastical structures, and in the present context this serves as one means of identifying which style is which. Similarly, certain structural features may be said to predominate more in one style than in the other, thus the two styles may also be said to differ somewhat in appearance not only in terms of design but also in decorative features. In dealing first with the use of light, in Romanesque architecture, this medium may often be said to contrast sharply with the brooding mass of the building itself; the windows therefore - in relation to building as a whole - tend to be smaller than their Gothic counterpart, and there is more of an apparent emphasis on the solidity of their surrounds. [38] In the Gothic style, the emphasis tends to rest on the admission of as much light as possible; thus the introduction of larger windows, their stained glass serving not only to admit a rainbow of light and colours, but also to animate the figures or scenes they depicted, their subject matter serving as a means of instructing the onlooker just as did the painted murals on the greater wall space of the Romanesque foundation. The effect in the Gothic therefore, was to create - seemingly - much thinner walls and thereby the appearance of a much lighter structure than the Romanesque equivalent with its "classical columns" and ponderous round arches; the walls of the former appearing as it were - from an interior view - to seemingly "merge into a continuous sphere of light". As a co - ingredient of this approach - as the emphasis on mural painting and tapestries was supplanted by the instructional function of the glass - arguably a greater emphasis was placed on the structural appearance of the Gothic building - thus for example the painted barrel vault of the Romanesque, and thus the artist who designed and executed its instructional content, gave way to the architect and the soaring, sometimes intricate yet unadorned pointed vaults of the Gothic -

the intention being to create an impression of almost limitless space, height, and - in turning again to a point emphasised throughout the above examples - the impression that within such a structure, man could experience on earth some of the delights of Paradise above; as a result of such a belief, it has been said that a heavier emphasis was placed on the use of linear, geometrical values, by the master builders employed in the construction of the Gothic style, in that in this fashion they could best recreate the heavenly image desired by their patrons. Care should be exercised here however, for - as in any of the numerous Scottish examples examined thus far - there is a danger perhaps of reading to much theological meaning into the work of the craftsmen involved; they would indeed be told of the effect desired, but would have their own somewhat pragmatic outlook in terms of how it should be achieved. Thus the design manual of one "Mathes Roriczer" prompted one author to remark that:

> "this booklet was not organised along the lines of a scholastic argument. There was no setting up of major and minor premises from which one deduced necessary conclusions. There was only the setting up of major and minor geometrical figures which one manipulated arbitrarily to reach a design conclusion that was not inherently predictable from the figures which had been chosen."

It is also important to note that such features as cross - ribbed vaulting, which tends to convey the impression of a heavy roof being dependent on seemingly light, frail supports - the use of flying buttresses - to give the visitor the impression when he views the building from the inside of seemingly thin, unsupported walls - and the pointed arch - which tends to draw the eyes upward and therefore towards God - although commonly identified as Gothic features, existed in pre - Gothic architecture, as at - for example - Durham. Here too, it should be noted that "Gothic architecture is not the heir but the rival to Romanesque", that its origins lay in the "Ile de France", and that its initial expansion relied more on the success of the Capetian monarchy, than any inherent desire to see it as better than the Romanesque. Thus, outside the direct influence of French control, features "Gothic" and "Romanesque" continued to be used sometimes side by side in the same building. The emphasis therefore, in distinguishing between the styles should perhaps focus more on the resultant ascetic values as outlined above. [39]

In turning to the buildings themselves therefore, at Gothic Amiens the Scottish pilgrim would doubtless have been struck by the magnificent west facade, its astonishing array of figures,

carvings provided with an equally impressive centre piece in the form of a large rose window, this feature partnered in turn by another in the south transept; within the building the impression of height and space as he looked towards the east end. [40] In Bourges cathedral, again the lofty proportions of a building designed to draw the gaze ever upwards; [41] In Chartres the same emphasis on carving as seen above, and perhaps one of the best sites at which to appreciate the importance of luminosity to the medieval mind. Of the one - hundred and eighty - six windows inserted, remarkably, one hundred and fifty - two survive to the present day, perhaps the finest example of which is the great rose window of the building's west end. [42] In Paris, the Cathedral of Notre - Dame would doubtless have featured on many pilgrim's itinerary, and here again the emphasis once more lies on the Gothic image; in particular, the impression on huge scale, and the beauty of the windows, in particular the rose windows of the north and south transepts. [43] Many other examples of the Gothic approach to architectural design could be included, but for the sake of brevity the reader's attention is drawn to - for example - the impressive dimensions of Reims Cathedral, and the impact which the west facade must have had on the mind of the pilgrim; started in the twelfth century, it required a further two centuries for completion, its myriad decorative features ranging from small intricately carved figures to those which are larger than life. [44] Finally, in terms of the magnificent windows which graced these buildings, the rose windows of both the west front of Strasbourg Cathedral and the south transept of Tours Cathedral may be said to be fitting points on which to end. [45]

What then of the sights within the Romanesque houses of the day? Here, arguably one of the classic examples of this style exists in the form of Pisa Cathedral. In terms of external features it will be noted that the windows are relatively small in relation to the overall size of the building itself, and that they are set high in the walls, thus - as in several of the Scottish examples examined above - it would have relied heavily upon artificial means of illumination. Of individual features worthy of note, the "Porta di San Ranier", fifteen and a half feet high, and nine and three - quarter across would surely have remained long in the memory of any pilgrim, its twenty four bronze panels carved with scenes from the Old and New Testaments. [46] Within the building itself, tall classical columns, - sixty - eight of which were said to have been taken from original Greek and Roman sites - and capitals topped by rounded arches, make use of contrasting bands of coloured stone to produce an overall highly pleasing effect. [47]

Similarly, at Vezelay, in the nave of the Abbey church of St. Madelaine, another example may be seen of how the use of contrasting bands of stone - particularly on the arches of the roof - could be used both to create a pleasing effect for the viewer, and draw their attention to the high

altar. Amongst the features here of note, the tympanum of the main door showing the viewer the "effusion of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost", a highly detailed piece of work portraying a complex array of figures. [48]

In the church of St. Zeno, Verona, most of the decoration of the outside of the building is concentrated around the west front. Amongst the scenes depicted here; the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Birth of Jesus, the Adoration and the Flight to Egypt amongst others, which may have been inserted for a purely decorative effect, that is - for example - two panels depicting knights in combat, the two to the left fighting on horseback, with lances, those on the right on foot with swords. On the door of the church itself, bronze plates nailed on to the wooden base are fashioned to illustrate a number of themes, most from the Old and New Testament; amongst the largest single pieces on display here, the two door knockers in the form of monstrous heads. [49] In both of these buildings, and in the numerous others which fall within the remit of the Romanesque, the use of wall painting would have been prevalent throughout; that which was in use in the nave laid out in such a fashion as to be easily grasped by the lay viewer, regardless of any deficiency in learning. Here the usual format being one of a progression as the viewer walked down the nave, from material instructing the curious in the events of the Old Testament thence on to the New Testament, finally in the apse the figure of Christ enthroned. Instruction in such crucial topics as the Apocalypse and the Day Of Judgement - as analysed in chapter 8 - were usually featured in the porches and west entrances of these buildings respectively. In between these milestones in the Christian life, numerous other themes were portrayed such as events from the lives of the saints, particularly in the building's crypt where they served to instruct the visitor in the background of the spiritual patron whose house they were now in. Decorative features aside therefore, the interior - and indeed the exterior as seen above - of the houses in question were in effect visual libraries which served the invaluable function of illustrating and reinforcing the teachings of the religious within, to what was a largely illiterate audience. Thus in one study of these buildings the author remarked that "every Romanesque church, with very few exceptions was decorated at least partially...." the importance of the artist in the general scheme of the building's construction such that no foundation was considered truly completed until he had completed his work. [50]

Since all of the above mentioned features required to be paid for, it is reasonable to assume that the Church saw that the financial outlay was money well spent, in - importantly in terms of the present essay - that it satisfied, was used as a result of, popular pious demand for such material display. The visual imagery, sound, general appeal to the senses therefore which the mainly illiterate laity enjoyed at home - as seen above - they could equally well enjoy abroad, for

here too similar means of communication were employed. Similarly, an ignorance of Latin here therefore - as in Scotland - caused no exclusion from the life of the Church since many of the services would follow the same format, a language barrier therefore, would not in many cases prohibit participation in the religious services which the Church provided either at home or abroad.

Thus far the emphasis has been on the means used to reach an ill educated audience, at this point therefore, it is perhaps relevant to try and discover what additional means the Church employed to reach the more fortunate members of Her flock. Here such works as the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* [51] may be said to provide much valuable information. In this book, the prospective pilgrim was given a great deal of advice in relation to the roads he should use, the natural barriers he might encounter, alongside a wealth of other useful information to aid his journey; of particular importance however, the book not only listed the important shrines located on the main pilgrimage routes, but also provided an account of the relics to be found there. In chapter eight for instance, for the pilgrim en route to St. James, the city of Arles was of considerable importance; here the shrines of St. Trophine, St. Caesarius and "the splendid and venerable basilica" of St. Honoratus would have drawn the pious traveller, whilst on the outskirts of the town, the village of Tranquetaille offered an "unusually fine" marble column which marked the site of the martyrdom of the "blessed Genesius". Also of particular importance in terms of pilgrimage to Arles - the cemetery of Ailiscampis; here the author is at pains to point out that "many bodies of the holy martyrs and confessors rest there whose souls rejoice in the abode of Paradise". "Above all" the author continued, "the most worthy.... St. Giles.... must be visited attentively". Thereafter followed a glowing appraisal of his spiritual power; "after the apostles and prophets, no one among the other saints is more deserving than he, no one holier.... more glorious.... swifter in aid." Of the miracles which follow - like his Scottish counterparts above - by far the most frequent refer to "his unfailing power" to provide healing and solace. [52] For those travelling to St. James by the Toulouse road, the author recommended a visit to the body of Blessed William the Confessor; whilst on the same road, the shrine of St. Saturninus, bishop and martyr, put to death in a suitably violent fashion by pagan adherents, - the author stating "his head bruised.... brains beaten out.... his entire body mangled, he gave up his worthy soul to Christ -" provides a good example of the type of events relieved in the passiones. If the pilgrim was travelling to St. James by St. Leonard, the shrine of St. Mary Magdalene was drawn to his attention. There, "a large and most beautiful basilica and abbey of monks is established...." enthused the author, where "sight is restored to the blind", the mute speak, and "the lame walk." [53]

In terms of the spiritual significance of these buildings, much has already been said on the use of audio/visual means of communication, however in attempting to identify a "blueprint" - similar

to that seen in terms of Henry II and his pilgrimage to Canterbury - the example of Abbot Suger's St. Denis may be said to provide the classic model of an ideal which many other religious foundations - Nyons, Senlis and Notre Dame for example - sought to emulate to some degree or other. Of particular importance here, the clearly defined intentions of the abbot himself, which survive to show the theological significance of the dazzling display of craftsmanship found within his house. For Suger, the cost of the work was of little importance, the key issue was the impact which it would have on the minds of those who saw it. As the abbot himself stated, in one of the verses carved on the magnificent main doors of his house:

> "Whoever thou art, if thou seekest to extal the glory of these doors, Marvel not at the gold and the expense but at the craftsmanship of the work. Bright is the noble work; but, being nobly bright, the work, Should brighten the minds, so that they travel,.... To the True Light where Christ is the true door.... The dull mind rises to truth through that which is material. And in seeing this light, is resurrected from its former submission."[54]

Throughout therefore, - as outlined above - the emphasis is on the merits of "light", a result of Suger's identifying, - albeit erroneously - [55] his foundation's spiritual patron St. Denis, with the Eastern theologian Dionysius; in Suger's mind therefore, if his foundation was to adequately house, revere his relics it could do so, only by conveying his identification of the Gospel with light, and this exactly what Suger attempted to do. In describing the windows of the great abbey for instance, Suger recorded that each was "painted by the exquisite hands of many masters from different regions", and that each was so designed to impart a lesson in piety to the observer beneath. [56] To further ensure that the maximum educational benefit was derived from a visit to his foundation, the abbot provided that guides were available to instruct the onlooker in the meaning of what was on display. Here, a similar operation was in use at the shrine of St. James at Compostella, where official guides - capable of speaking several languages - used "silver wands with a hand and finger at the top to show the relics with". [57] In all of the above mentioned instances therefore, a strong appeal to the senses was made, most of the holy remains contained within sarcophagi of stunning craftsmanship, wealth, which in turn were housed in buildings especially designed to enhance their saintly patrons prestige, [58] instruct even the most educationally disadvantaged pilgrim of events in these individuals lives, and of how they in turn could be seen in terms of the teachings of the Church as a whole; all combined to increase the feeling of awe, the expectation of the miraculous,

already present in the mind of the pious traveller, influencing his state of mind even when entering a simple parish church, for similar trappings, albeit on a smaller scale would still be in use therein. Should this attempt thus to link all of the foundations of the Church, from the largest abbeys and cathedrals to the collegiate foundations and thence the simplest parish churches seem a little too ambitious, the reader's attention is drawn to the poem of William Dunbar, *On the Passion*, - from which the title for the present chapter was drawn - in which the author tells of his frame of mind on entering a church to pray.

"And kneling down with ane Pater Noster, Befoir the michti king of glorye, Having His Passion in memorye; Syne to his mother did inclyne...." [59]

What the poet describes here is the cumulative effect of all of the mediums described above, regardless of the country of origin; his statement that he knelt before "the michti king of glory" recalls the giant crosses for example which Queen Margaret presented to Dunfermline Abbey and - perhaps - also St. Andrews. It also conveys something of the impression left in his mind by the doubtless countless depictions of the Passion which he had surely seen in religious paintings, - as at the collegiate house of Foulis Easter - in most Books of Hours, and of scenes enacted in the plays and pageants of the day. [60]

Similarly, his remark, "syne to his mother did inclyne...." recalls such figures as that referred to in Glasgow Cathedral as the "image of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Consolation....", and more famous still that of the Virgin and Child at Cistercian Melrose; both in turn evidence of the devotion shown to the Virgin as the most powerful intercessionary figure between man and God, as seen in terms of relieving the suffering of souls in purgatory as witnessed in chapter 8. [61] Thereafter, the feelings which the Church intended, should be experienced came rushing forth in their correct order. Initially he experienced feelings of great pity when he considered the suffering of Christ on the Cross,

"Than pane with Passion me opprest...." [62]

then sorrow for his own sins,

"Than swyth Contritioun wes on steir...." [63]

thereafter the burning desire to do penance for them,

"To ryse Repentence did begyn.... Penance did walk the house within...." [64]

Despairingly faced with his human failings - his eyes rose once more to the figure of Christ on the Cross - as encountered above in both St. Andrews Cathedral and the Benedictine house of Dunfermline - and in so doing he was comforted by the remembrance of His triumph over death, and the promise therein of the reward of the Resurrection. Arguably, such a scene was acted out in every house of the Catholic Church throughout Europe, countless times each day, over the centuries; all of the features thus examined above playing their small but crucial part in constructing the edifice of the Church as a whole. In terms of the present thesis therefore, it both determined - to a great extent - the way in which the laity viewed the regular Orders and their secular counterparts in the colleges, and thereby the value of the services which these servants of the Church offered. The Scottish pilgrim who travelled abroad therefore, would see all of the qualities present in his native saints, portrayed in surroundings on a scale of sumptuous wealth beyond anything available within his own country, albeit that Bishop Leslie in his work maintained that before their destruction the Scottish houses were every bit the equal of their Continental counterparts. [65]

Having identified some of the factors responsible for foreign pilgrimage, it is perhaps appropriate to turn now to evaluate the strength of belief represented by such a journey, and thereby the degree of faith in the religious who formed an integral part of such a quest for favourable intercession, in many instances the individuals who form the focus of the present thesis. Here, some idea of the devotional aspects involved may be derived from an examination of the preparation required before an individual's departure.

Prior to setting off, most individuals would attempt to secure a license for the journey, and the protection of the Privy Seal, to guard not only himself and anyone who accompanied him, but also any property left behind; thereby it is possible to gain some insight into the destinations involved. Thus it is recorded that on 30 May 1498, "Schir Wilzam Striveling of the Kere...." was given the necessary security "to pas to Rome in "pilgrimage....", the following month the "Abbot of Sant Colmes Insch...." was given permission to travel abroad in the pursuit of knowledge, and to "the court of Rome in pilgrimage". Another entry for 27 February, 1499/1500, records the passing of "Wilzam of Levingstoun.... to Rome in pilgrimage....", whilst a later entry still - for 8 January 1508/9 - showed "Master David Spens, persoun of Flisk...." receiving a similar boon to ease his mind before he set off for the same destination. [66] Another obviously popular site, was the shrine of St. John at

Amiens; thus on 24 April 1506, "Johne, Erle of Craufurd" received the protection of the Privy Seal "to pas in his pilgrimage to Sanct Johne of Ameas or uther partis beyond sey...." The following month saw the final stage in the departure of "Robert Lawder of the Bass, knycht...." whilst the following year saw "Schir Johne of Lundy of that ilk, knycht,...." make ready to depart for the same location. Of a higher social standing still, an entry for 14 September 1507 recorded a similarly intentioned document being granted to no less a figure than "James Erle of Arran, lord Hammyltoun...." to cover his departure to the same location. On 30 May 1508, a joint letter was issued to "Patrik Lord Lindesay of the Biris and Johne Lindesay of Petcruvy, knycht, his sone and apperand air.... to travel to the "Sanct Jhon of Ameys....", a similar location stated for the pilgrimages - for example - of "Robert Arnote, bruther to the abbot of Cambuskin [neth]...." - in 1508/09 - "James Arbuthnot" - on 23 November 1520 - "James Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee...." - on 18 May 1527 - and "Alexander Fraser of Phillorth" on 1 February 1531/32. [67] Next in line - in terms of this selection of entries from the records of the Privy Seal - the shrine of St. James in Galicia. Here, an "Andro Maluill" received permission for his intended pilgrimage to this site on 20 February 1500/1, as did a "Robert Guthre" on 27 January 1504, and "William Carmichel, burges of Edinburgh," on 7 February 1506/7. [68]

"St. James" also features in the letters issued to "Johne of Levingtoun, burges of Edinburgh" - dated 29 March 1500/1 - and that issued to "Johne Sandelandis of Hilhows" - dated 1 March 1506/7 - and here again the James in question would undoubtedly be St. James of Galicia, or as he was perhaps better known St. James of Compostella. [69] Other sites which appear are "Sanct Andres grafe besyde Napillis", and of course "Jerusalem"; at this point it should be noted, that all of the above individuals would probably have visited more than one site in their travels, and indeed in some of the letters granted this is so stated. Thus on 8 February 1506/7, a "respitt" was made to "Johne Kennedy of Blarequhan, knycht, Adam Rede of Starquhite and Master Uchtred Adunnale, to pas in pilgrimage to Sanct Thomas of Canterbery in Ingland, and Sanct Johne of Ameas in France....," similarly, where no destination was mentioned it would seem reasonable to assume that the recipients would take the opportunity granted to visit as many of these centres of spiritual benefaction as they possibly could. Thus the protection proffered to - for instance - "Lord Lille to pass in his pilgrimage to the partis bezond sey...." - on 17 December 1499 - to one "David Moffat" - on 18 January 1499/1500 -, and to "James Uchterlowny.... knycht" - on 31 January 1503/4 - to do the same, can be taken to mean that they were to enjoy just such a liberty. [70] The inclusion of the above material relating to Continental styles therefore was perceived as a necessity, for they would undoubtedly have influenced the way in which the laity viewed the structures they were more

familiar with in Scotland - and thereby the religious who served them - such a comparison possible through the planned overlap in architectural and doctrinal symbolism. It was an overlap which had - arguably - long enhanced the standing of the Scottish religious - amongst whom the regular Orders and the secular clergy of the colleges were prominent members - for it helped reinforce those ideals on which their authority was founded. In addition to the above letters of "protection and respite", the pilgrim may well have attempted to obtain a letter of introduction from his bishop, guaranteeing his religious orthodoxy, [71] to ease his passage to the various pilgrimage sites of Britain, Europe and the Holy Land. Thereafter, he would seek the Church's blessing on the symbols of his intent, his pilgrim's habit and staff. [72] Were an individual wealthy he would normally travel on horseback in the company of others; a situation which necessitated careful preliminary planning, arranging for changes of mount for instance and organising the deposit of funds at strategic points along the intended route. If poor, many charitable organisations such as pilgrims hospices, or religious houses would provide enough succour along the route; [73] in both cases therefore a lengthy pilgrimage was something which no - one would undertake lightly, since it involved as a rule extensive planning, which - in the long term - still did not ensure the safe return of the traveller in question.

Having completed the lengthy preparations therefore, the pilgrim, if for instance travelling to Compostella in Spain, would now face a journey - as a rule - through England - which in itself required a letter of safe conduct - to Dover or perhaps Plymouth, where a ship would take him either directly to Galicia, or to a French port where he would complete the journey overland to the shrine of Compostella. In both instances, the journey timed to deliver the pilgrim to his goal in time for the religious festivals on the twenty - fifth of July. The preparations involved in travelling to Rome or the Holy Land for their part were of an even lengthier nature; in addition to the safe conduct required for departure from an English port, the timing of the journey was of even greater importance. Ideally the individual leaving his departure from Scotland until the end of winter, travelling to Rome in time for the celebration of Holy Week and Easter, then departing - rapidly - before the heat of summer brought the potentially fatal seasonal dangers of fever and dysentery. [74]

In terms of tradition, an early Scottish presence in the Holy Land may be seen in the *Chronicle of Melrose* which provides just such an example in the form of the ex - monk, turned bishop, John of Glasgow's pilgrimage first to Rome, then to Jerusalem, in 1122, whilst in the writings of one "John of Wurzburg", the author refers to numerous Scottish pilgrims amongst the other visitors that he met at Jerusalem. [75] Further evidence of the wealth of tradition which pilgrimage drew upon, and the grave motivating factors frequently at work therein, may be seen for

example as early as 1095, in the actions of Longmann, king of Man and the Hebrides, who took the cross and led a party of crusaders to Jerusalem, in penance for the cruelty he had shown towards his brother; [76] similarly, the later case of Walter Bisset who swore "to take the road to the Holy Land and never return, for the redemption of his soul and those" of his unfortunate victims. [77] In the same pious vein, the action of one David Ruffus of Forfar, who in 1201 granted his lands of Kincref to the monks of Coupar Angus before embarking for Jerusalem; merely one instance amongst many of Scots knights embarking on crusade at this time, an occurrence further witnessed - for example - in the similar presence of David, Earl of Atholl and Adam De Kinconath, the Earl of Carrick. [78] In terms of the evidence available therefore, it is possible to suggest that within the framework of popular devotion, the saints and shrines of Europe and the Holy Land had, by the period under examination - c.1450 to 1560 - long been of immense spiritual value to the religious of Scotland, especially when they were viewed - as in the present work - as an integral part of this nation's own rich heritage.

In moving to the closing stages of this assessment of the component factors responsible for a belief in the efficacy of pilgrimage, and thus a belief in the authority, merit of the regular Orders and those serving in the collegiate foundations of the day, an attempt will now be made to evaluate the continuity of these beliefs up to the period in question, that is the Reformation era. In terms of Scotland's rulers, the example of royal pilgrimage [79] may be said to have been a constant feature; David II for instance, [1329/71] indicated a similar pious enthusiasm for such journeys, and in travelling to Canterbury, he set an example which caused many Scots to take the road south to St. Thomas's shrine. [80] Thus the evidence relating to this foundation which appeared in the above chapter may be seen to be of great relevance. In the same vein, the heart of James I [1406/37] was taken to the Holy Land by a knight of St. John - thought to have been one Sir Alexander Seton of Gordon, who died in returning, thus illustrating the aforementioned perilous nature of such a journey; [81] the later James III [1460/88] for his part was recorded as travelling to St. John's shrine at Amiens, [82] whilst his Queen, Margaret - on giving birth to the future James IV - visited the shrine of St. Ninian at the Premonstratensian house of Whithorn, [83] later still that of St. Duthac within the collegiate church of Tain.[84] Even in the pilgrimages of James IV [1488/1513] to the Isle of May - where he enjoyed not only the spiritual edification of the voices of members of the choir of the collegiate Chapel Royal who accompanied him, but also the sport of shooting geese [85] and Tain - where he travelled with his poet, three falconers, a horse laden with silver plate, four Italian minstrels and a Moorish drummer, this perhaps in addition to enjoying the company of his mistress in Darnaway Castle [86] he still exhibited a considerable degree of piety; paying for some thirty

Masses at a time to be said for his soul's welfare at both the collegiate church of Tain and at the Priory of Whithorn, whilst presenting a cross encased in silver to St. Duthac's shrine at Tain, petitioning the Pope to grant indulgences to those who visited "the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Fetteresso" - which was "famous for the number of miracles wrought there...." - and endowing the shrine of St. Andrews in Fife. [87] These examples are of some importance since they illustrate the point that in terms of spiritual drawing power, the smaller site could still compete with the larger. In this instance, the remains of the small chapel first used to house the relics of St. Duthac may still be seen in the modern graveyard near the shore at Tain. [88] As D. Macgibbon and T. Ross point out however, [89] "this church was destroyed by fire in 1429...."; in terms of the pilgrimages of James III, IV and V, the focus of attention was the church erected by "William Earl of Ross, who died in 1371...." which had been elevated to collegiate status on the instigation of James III in 1487. Although today the interior of this building is relatively featureless, at the time of the pilgrimages of James IV it would doubtless have been richly decorated, since in addition to the king's gift above, the house contained the saint's skull in a silver reliquary, and his breastbone in one of gold.[90] In terms of royal example, of greater importance still however, were James IV's actions in Europe, sending his ambassador for instance to the Vatican to announce his desire to travel to Jerusalem, both as a pilgrim and as the leader of a crusading force; an intention which earned him the title of "protector of the Christian Faith" from a grateful Pope Julius II. [91] Here evidence of the type of duality in belief as witnessed in the earlier example of Magnus, king of Norway may be said to have been equally present in Scotland's later rulers. William Dunbar for example commented on the profane nature of the character of James IV and his court, yet this was the same king who wore an iron belt in penance for his father's death, and was a keen supporter of the Observant Franciscans, even going so far as to choose one as his confessor. Here again his actions might be said to have been influenced by genuine piety, for in a piece entitled *The Contemplacioun Of Sinners*, written by a Franciscan friar, William of Tours, the king was reminded of the need to consider the example he set for it influenced both the workings of Church and state. Even the materialistic James V however showed a continued belief in the efficacy of pious actions. It is worth noting for example that Thomas Douchtie - the founder of the Loretto Chapel at Musselburgh - a man singled out by the barbed wit of Lindsay, was honoured by James V when the king walked from Stirling to visit his chapel at Musselburgh, and that on leaving for France on 1 September 1536, the king described him as "oure lovit Thomas Douchty".[92]

In terms of later devotional aspects of pilgrimage, that of Archbishop Robert Blackadder's intended pilgrimage to Rome, Venice and finally the Holy Land in 1507/8, clearly illustrates the

dangers inherent in such a journey. Having completed the journey to Rome in time for the Easter ceremonies, Blackadder's itinerary in Venice was described in detail by the diarist Marin Sanuto, who recorded his visit to the "College of the Serene Republic" and his presence at the feasts - amongst others - of the Ascension and Corpus Christi. The same careful planning as outlined above - in organising transport, supplies - was borne out by details of Blackadder's later pilgrimage towards the Holy Land. Having come this far, the pilgrim wishing to continue to the Holy Land would be faced with taking one of three means of transport; if wealthy, a galley hired from the Venetian state, if poor, - or as in Blackadder's case wishing to express humility - (93) the choice would be made between a sailing ship or a pilgrim's galley. In the latter cases the voyage involved some four to six weeks at sea in a foul, overcrowded vessel, the dangers of which are clearly illustrated by referring once again to Blackadder's attempted pilgrimage to the Holy Land; out of the thirty - six pilgrims in his company, twenty - seven were to die on the outward voyage, the Archbishop himself numbered amongst the casualties. [94]

Further evidence of the continued, genuine piety invoked by the ideals inherent in pilgrimage, can be seen from such examples as the monk, "Neophitus" travelling to the city of Edinburgh in 1520, to organise confraternities in support of his house's shrine of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. Such a long and hazardous journey testifying not only to Neophitus's belief in the high degree of popular support in Scotland for such distant shrines [95] but also to the continuing demand for what appears to have been a form of "package tour", as witnessed - for example - one hundred and fifty - five years earlier in the actions of one "Adam of Tynninghame", who acted as guide, organiser for a sizeable party of Scottish pilgrims during their two year long sojourn round the spiritual centres of "Europe and Asia". [96] Similarly, the mention by a copyist of a Scotsman - in a Brussels manuscript of the *Speculum Perfectionis* - referred to one "Thomas, a Scotsman by birth.... who had already sojourned many years at Jerusalem...." [97] this referring to an incident as late as 1550. Another such example - doubtless surviving from many others now lost - which may be used to illustrate a continued belief in the efficacy of pilgrimage is the case of the Chapel of Wilsnack. In the fifteenth century *Book of Majory Kempe*, the reader is informed of how, "throw ye help of our Lord sche was browt to Wilsnack [and] saw that Precyows Blod which be myracle cam owt of ye blisful Sacrament of ye Awtere....", the "Book" then goes on to relate how here was "worschepyd ye Precyous Blod of owr Lord Jhesu Crist whech be miracle cam of thre Oostys, ye Sacrament of ye Awter, ye whech iij Oostys [and] Precyows Blood.... [was].... had in gret worschip [and] reuerens [and] sowt fro many a cuntre.... [and] ye Blisful Sacrament.... stood opyn in a cristal [that] men myth se it yf thei wolde.... At Wilsnack therefore, the Host itself was seen as a relic,

perhaps the most powerful relic of all, for if the remains of a saint could effect a dramatic change in an individual's life, how much more could be achieved by what was seen as the body of Christ? Hence the importance of the Corpus Christi festival in the religious calendar, and thereby the obviously fierce competition for pride of place in the Corpus Christi procession, as seen above for example in Aberdeen. On the Continent, the Scottish traveller would see this veneration taken to even greater lengths in the construction of "Sakramenthaus", a much more elaborate arrangement than the sacrament houses that were in use in Scotland, in that the former were usually much larger, and had the appearance more of a shrine than a - albeit in some cases - highly ornate cupboard. [98] That the fame of Wilsnack continued after the upheaval of the Reformation, may be pieced together from a number of facts; firstly, that it was attacked by Lutheran supporters in 1532, suffering the destruction of anything which the reformers felt would perpetuate the site's reputation for the miraculous. It is of significant importance therefore, that subsequent documents - of 1543 - should refer to one "George Donaldson" as seeking the Scots Abbey of Ratisbon's commendation and "testimonials to his orthodoxy", to visit a number of pilgrimage sites; foremost amongst them the Chapel of Wilsnack. The extent of the appeal which pilgrimage continued to exert upon this individual - as with "Thomas" at Jerusalem - can be judged from a document dated 1552, which would seem to indicate that Donaldson's relatives - doubtless provoked by his continued absence in quest for salvation - were now attempting to seize his property in Scotland, this - if it were thought that his motives were sincere - in spite of official protection to the contrary. [99]

In the mementoes which returning pilgrims presented to the religious houses of Scotland, the same beliefs in the spiritual merits of such a journey were again evident.

Fragments of stone from the Column of Scourging for instance were relatively popular; Aberdeen Cathedral for example possessed such items in 1496 in the form of ornamental stones set in two rings, whilst Glasgow Cathedral for its part held a silver reliquary, containing a piece of stone said to have been taken from the tomb of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. [100] Similar enthusiasm may be seen in the personal mementoes which survive to this day. One such example depicts a small figure of St. James of Compostella in the dress of a pilgrim; it is carved from jet, is "four and three quarter inches high, two and a quarter inches broad, and one and a half inches wide". This and similar other badges - or rather "signacula" - would be blessed by the religious of the shrine being visited, and presented to the pilgrim as a sign of their having completed their journey. In the case of St. James of Compostella, the more familiar scallop shell - as worn indeed by the figure described above - would be the usual symbol of this achievement, that for the most favoured site of all - Jerusalem - the palm branch; it is thought that in the case of a figurative

representation of a saint - as above - as opposed to their more common symbol - for instance the scallop shell for St. James - would be more favoured because it was perceived to have a greater spiritual/healing value. For the more illustrious pilgrim, the habit was to present the house in question with a valuable memento, hence the gift of Edward I and his queen of a golden ouch each to honour the relics at St. Andrews. [101]

Finally, the wealth of information available in relation to such topics as the distance to shrines, lists of accommodation, condition of roads, the indulgences available along the route - from such sources as Adamnan's *De Locus Sanctis*, the *Commemoracio Stationum Rome*, the manuscripts *De Passagio Ad Terram Sanctum*, *De Mirabilus Mundi* the aforementioned *Liber Sanct Jacobi* and doubtless numerous personal accounts such as that of 1506, of Sir Richard Guilford, Controller of the royal household of Henry VII - continued not only to be available but also in demand, thereby testifying to the need to satisfy a presumably sizeable body of public interest. [102] Even for those individuals who could not travel abroad for one reason or another - age, infirmity - it was still possible to pay someone to complete the journey for you; this a feature of piety common to both sides of the Anglo - Scottish Border. Thus in 1378, "Sir John Northwoode" expressed the intention of dispatching two pilgrims on his behalf to "the Shadow of St. Peter, St. Paul and St. James of Galicia", later examples still of this practice are provided by "Margaret Odiham of Bury St. Edmunds" who - by the terms of her will in 1492 - arranged that a priest should visit Rome, participate in the Lenten ceremonies and pray for her soul, by the similar request of a "William Baret of Bury" - in 1502 - for the benefit of both his soul and that of his father, in the testament of Alexander of Sutherland of Dunbeth - 1456 - who left the sum of £200 to enable his son Alexander - "Archdeacon of Caithness" - to go on pilgrimage to Rome for the benefit of his soul, and in an entry under the Privy Seal of Scotland dated 3 February 1528/9 which recorded:

> "Ane licence maid to George Prestoun of thet ilk, gevand him licence to pas in pilgrimage to Sanct Thomas of Cantirbury and Sanct Johnne of Amyes for the quhilk he is under a vow for umquhile Symeon Prestoun of that ilk, knycht...." [103]

It was also possible to travel - as was more often the case - to visit a pilgrimage site within Scotland itself. The well and relics of St. Triduana at the collegiate church of Restalrig for example, contained within the purpose built - 1487 - two storey structure of James III were popular amongst those seeking a cure for eye illnesses. [104] Similarly the shrine of Our Lady at the church of Whitekirk enjoyed more than a passing degree of fame, in the reputation for miraculous cures effected at the

adjoining well. Not only do the arms of Abbot Archibald Crawfurd of Holyrood appear on the building, but the site could also claim the favour of the king, James IV, and "Silvius", the future Pope Pius II, who walked barefoot - in the frost! - to this shrine in token of his having survived a storm at sea. [105]

Equally pious, - though less severe - the journey of William Scheves - the Archbishop of St. Andrews, primate of Scotland - to the shrine of St. Palladius at Fordoun. [106] The "Lady Well", Airth, - dedicated to the Virgin Mary - "in the time of popery" and beyond resorted to for its medicinal properties; [107] similarly "St. Magdalene's Well" at Lochmaben, and St. Thomas's Chapel "on the Dumfries road" seem to have enjoyed an equally lengthy appeal [108]

The further importance of the well as a symbol of healing may also be seen in relation to the cult of St. Kessog in "ane well callit Sanct Makkessokis well" in Strathblane parish, at Auchterarder in Perthshire, and at Clachnaharry in Ross - shire to name but a few examples all probably with some form of shrine to mark their import.[109] In the north - east of Scotland, prior to the Reformation, Hugh Miller stated that in the parish of Cromarty, a thorn bush at the spring of St. Bennet "was covered with pieces of rag", left by the sick who came to benefit from the nearby waters, [110] a similar practice also enacted in the south of the country at - for example - St. Queran's Well. [111] It is possible indeed to say that almost every well in Scotland was named after a medieval saint, many of these of purely local fame with no place in the ecclesiastical calendar, [112] yet resorted to - alongside innumerable other pilgrimage sites - for aid in the period leading up to and indeed beyond the Reformation. Evidence of the continued strength of such beliefs in post - Reformation Scotland, is ably illustrated in the contrast which one author made between the rules laid down in the immediate aftermath of the Reformation regarding such practices, in the *Book of Discipline* and the material which appeared in the *Book of Common Order* which appeared in 1564. In the first publication, listed as practices considered "damnable to man's salvation" were "the keeping of holy days of certain saints commanded by men, such as all those that the papists invented, as the feasts, as they term them, of Apostles, Martyrs, Virgins, of Christmas, Circumcision, Epiphany, Purification, and other fond feasts of Our Lady." In the latter publication however, "Christmas, Easter and Whisunday.... the feasts of the Purification and Annunciation, as well as of the Apostles and lesser saints...." and other such practises as forbidden above, were now being - albeit probably reluctantly - recognised. Evidence of the continued popularity of the "old Church" services could be seen across Scotland therefore, as witnessed - for example - at Elgin, - where locals were questioned over their adherence to a belief in the efficacy of

a shrine at the Garioch - at Ellon - for an adherence to pre - Reformation "festivals" - at Lossiemouth - for continuing to resort in pilgrimage to a cave once inhabited by St. Gerardine, a ninth century bishop of Moray - at Peebles - where the Cross - Kirk apparently continued to draw the faithful in pilgrimage - and more especially at Whithorn, in the pilgrimage of Mary Queen of Scots in 1563; perhaps the prosecution of Archbishop Hamilton in the same the year, the strongest evidence that whilst the "new Church" could legislate against the practices of the "old", it could not eradicate at a stroke the combined layers of belief which it had taken their predecessor centuries to cement in place.

In summarising the above two chapters therefore, it could be said that despite the negative evidence presented in the preceding chapters of this thesis, regarding the activities of the enclosed religious themselves and the men who controlled the monastic houses of the period in question - in relation to their apparent disregard for the ideals which their Rules placed upon them, as examined in the closing stages of chapter 1, and in chapter 5 for example - the evidence presented in chapters 10 and 11, would seem to suggest that these communities were nevertheless continuing to fulfil their part in the traditional role which saw certain sections of the Church's personnel operate as the essential guardians and attendants of - arguably - mans' chief intercessors, the saints. Thus the enclosed Orders could be seen to be maintaining the long held, traditional beliefs associated with pilgrimage which continued to offer succour for the needy right across the social spectrum.

Here however, despite such a favourable interpretation of the way in which the laity might have viewed such individuals, it could nevertheless be strongly argued that the degree of "merit" which an individual could thus accrue for the benefit of his soul in the afterlife, was still - arguably - not on a par with that which was required, or indeed available through membership of a confraternity, or better still from having the funds to establish and maintain one's own collegiate establishment. Moreover it should be remembered from chapters 10 and 11, that the colleges of St. Giles and Restalrig offered both the advantages of intensive spiritual services for the dead, and, the additional lure of being the "homes" of St. Giles and St. Triduana respectively.

In terms of assessing still further ways in which pilgrimage related to monastic and collegiate centres, it should also be noted that in all of the above cases, examined there was an overwhelming stress on an appeal to the senses. In all of the saints lives, the dramatic, powerful examples provided by the authors were tailored by the mendicants to achieve the maximum effect, their impact reliant to no small degree on the skill of these - as witnessed in chapter 6 - highly articulate preachers. Here it should be remembered that such material did not rely on a deep theological understanding of its content, or for that matter a good education; rather it relied - as

stated above - upon the ability of the orator to deliver his material in a suitably emotionally charged fashion. Such material was in turn given added significance in the lives of the laity by the enclosed Orders and the colleges in the myriad symbolism and decoration they employed, as seen above in relation to pilgrimage, and also Purgatory and death; all of these structures possessed the ability to instil a suitable sense of awe, reverence in the minds of the laity, not only for the services of the Church, but also arguably for the individuals privileged enough to carry them out, such an assertion particularly appropriate in relation to the majority of society who possessed no formal education. Since most of the population worked and lived on the land, occupied houses which - in the main - "were a mixture of stone, turf and wattle, strengthened by beams which were amongst the householders most valuable furniture, with a smoke hole in the rigging of the thatched roof, low doors and unglazed windows...." the effect of entering any one of the buildings described above must have been an intensely moving experience. Thus was the criticism voiced by such observers of contemporary religious life as Lindsay (1) when he suggested that the services of the Church were largely unintelligible to an audience who possessed in the main no grasp of Latin - largely negated, for the impact of these buildings in terms of audio visual communication, had long been enough to instil feelings of awe and reverence in the minds of the laity for the men who served within them; so the author of the text *Dives and Pauper* rightly pointed out that images served three main purposes, to draw "manys" mind to the Christ's sacrifice, to inspire feelings of devotion, and to act as "a tokene and a book...." to the uneducated so that they could read in imagery and painting what the religious read in books.

Through the network of the Catholic Church moreover, and the spiritual services which She offered (2) - in particular the Mass - the laity would be aware that the houses of the regular Orders and those of the collegiate fraternity were inextricably linked with smaller parish structures and those of the episcopal centres of power, both in Scotland and in the Christian world as a whole. The symbolism and trappings of those buildings which possessed no saints remains therefore still contributed in numerous essential ways to both their own prestige, and those which did possess such remains, for as witnessed above they frequently served as stopping off points on pilgrimage routes, their role therefore - in the context of pilgrimage - one of heightening the expectation of the pilgrim for their visit to the "homes" of the saints; - principally - the monasteries and - to a lesser degree - the colleges which contained their exalted remains. [113]

Thus, the almost identical approach used by the Church in both the fields of pilgrimage and Purgatory was no mere coincidence; such similarities were deliberately employed, repeated with little variation over the centuries, the Church by such means consolidating its authority whilst it

catered for what were - in essence - the extremely powerful basic instincts, demands of the laity. These being, the need to possess at least a modicum of knowledge - albeit fearful - of what awaited them after death, and the feeling that the religious of the day - in particular the members of the regular Orders, and, the inmates of the collegiate kirks - could ease their suffering in this world, and - of infinitely more importance still - those of the next. Such a heavy reliance on an emotional appeal to the senses, backed as it was in the final analysis by the use of fear - as seen in chapters 8 and 9 -, whilst it had long maintained the privileged status of the regular Orders, and indeed had given rise to the phenomenally popular collegiate kirks of the period in question, had by the sixteenth century become a dangerous liability in itself; for, - arguably - in the climate of the day such an approach had achieved its purpose only too well, and in terms of a simple scale, the "debits" which it was possible to incur in this life by now far outweighed the "credits". Thus, as will be seen below, whilst the Church had long maintained that sin on the part of her servants did not effect the efficacy of the spiritual aid dispensed, it is perhaps possible to argue that given the increased emphasis on the necessity to atone for sin - as witnessed in chapter 8 and 9 - in fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland, and the burdensome trials of the confessional - as examined in chapter 12 below, whereby one could try and maintain a state of grace -, the laity were becoming increasingly disturbed by the clear divergence between the Church's stated ideals, and the actual activities of the commendators, abbots, priors, monks, friars, nuns, provosts and canons of the period as examined in chapters 1 to 7, and 9 of this thesis. Given such evidence how could the laity continue to accept the above waver of responsibility issued by the Church for these, her servants, at a time when ever higher standards were being demanded of society as a whole? It is to the ultimate effects of such an imbalance on the way the laity perceived the religious who constitute the focus of this thesis, that the closing chapter of the present work will now turn.

1.) With regards to works designed to appeal to a wider readership than the purely religious or academic, to instruct the laity in the major issues of the Christian faith, see for example, William Caxton's late fifteenth century edition of St. Bonaventure's *Vita Christi*: [*The Contemplacyon of the blessed lyf of Oure Lord Jhesu. Wryten in Englysshe tongue lenger in many partes and in other manere than in the Latyn of Bonaventure. - With a short treatyse of the hyhest and most worthy Sacramente of Chrystes Blessid Body and the merveylles therof. -And a devoute oreysoun to the Holy Sacrament.*]

In addition to a clear concise text therefore, the reader benefited from the inclusion of a series of woodcuts; among the scenes depicted "The Annunciation", "The Nativity", "The Feeding Of The Multitude", "The Healing Of Lazarus", "The Crucifixion" and "The Resurrection". See: Glasgow University Library, the Hunterian Collection, Bv 2. 24. and also the later edition of this work still, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1525, also in the Hunterian Collection, Bv. 3. 7.

R. G. Cant: "The Building Of St. Andrews Cathedral", in, *I. R.* Vol. 25, (1974), 78-9.

S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 31.

J. Gifford: *Fife*, 361.

D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 2, 5.

2.) J. Gifford: *Fife*, 31, 362, 365-7.

S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 31.

PHOTOGRAPH
St. Andrews Cathedral, east window, see: Vol. 4, Plate 523, 523.

3.) D. McRoberts: "The Glorious House Of St. Andrews", in, *I. R.* Vol. 25, (1974), 95-99.

4.) A. Ritchie: *Picts* (H.M.S.O., Edinburgh, 1989), 38, 40.

PHOTOGRAPH
The St. Andrews Sarcophagus, see: Vol. 4, Plate 524, 524.

5.) S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 17.

6.) D. McRoberts: "The Glorious House Of St. Andrews", in, *I. R.* Vol. 25, (1974), 99.

7.) D. McRoberts: As Above, 117-20.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, see the following references:

Abel de Gullane, 15-16.

William Fraser, 21.

William Malvosin, 13.

James Beaton (1st.), 41.

E. L. G. Stones: "The Burials Of Scottish Bishops With Particular Reference To The Bishops Of Glasgow", *I. R.* Vol. 20, (1969), 40.

8.) D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 1, p. 230.

J. Gifford: *Fife*, 175, 177-80, 184.

J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 19, 26.

S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 27-9, 32-35.

PHOTOGRAPHS

Dunfermline Abbey, west doorway, see: Vol. 4, Plate 525, 525.

" " , Detail of plate 525, see: Vol. 4, Plate 526, 526.

" " , Detail of plate 525, see: Vol. 4, Plate 527, 527.

" " , Detail of plate 525, see: Vol. 4, Plate 528, 528.

" " , Detail of plate 525, see: Vol. 4, Plate 529, 529.

" " , Detail of plate 525, see: Vol. 4, Plate 530, 530.

" " , Detail of plate 525, see: Vol. 4, Plate 531, 531.

" " , East processional doorway, see: Vol. 4, Plate 532, 532.

" " , Detail of plate 532, see: Vol. 4, Plate 533, 533.

" " , Detail of plate 532, see: Vol. 4, Plate 534, 534.

" " , Detail of plate 532, see: Vol. 4, Plate 535, 535.

" " , Window above east processional doorway, see: Vol. 4, Plate 536, 536.

" " , Detail of green man on east processional doorway, see: Vol. 4, Plate 537, 537.

" " , Doorway on south side of the nave, see: Vol. 4, Plate 538, 538.

" " , Porch and doorway on the north side of the nave, see: Vol. 4, Plate 539, 539.

" " , Interior of porch on north side of nave, see: Vol. 4, Plate 540, 540.

" " , Detail of plate 540, see: Vol. 4, Plate 541, 541.

" " , Head within porch on north side of nave, see: Vol. 4, Plate 542, 542.

" " , Head within porch on north side of nave, see: Vol. 4, Plate 543, 543.

" " , Head within porch on north side of nave, see: Vol. 4, Plate 544, 544.

" " , Chevron pillar in nave, see: Vol. 4, Plate 545, 545.

" " , Spiral pillar in nave, see: Vol. 4, Plate 546, 546.

" " , Vaulting in undercroft, see: Vol. 4, Plate 547, 547.

" " , Head in undercroft, see: Vol 4, Plate 548, 548.

" " , Head in undercroft, see: Vol. 4, Plate 549, 549.

" " , Roof boss in abbey museum, see: Vol. 4, Plate 550, 550.

" " , South view, see: Vol. 4, Plate 551, 551.

9.) D. McRoberts: "The Glorious House Of St. Andrews", in, *I. R.* Vol. 25, (1974), 103-5.

10.) D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 2, 307.

J. Gifford: *Fife*, 31, 241-2, 244-5.

S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 97.

M. R. Apted: *The Painted Ceilings Of Scotland, 1550-1650*, (Edinburgh, 1966), 2.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 52-3, 57-8.

D. McRoberts: *Inchcolm Abbey*, (H.M.S.O., Edinburgh, 1978) 5-7.

B. Walker and G. Ritchie: *Fife and Tayside*, (H.M.S.O., Edinburgh, (1978), 118-9.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Inchcolm Abbey, see: Vol. 4, Plate 552, 552.

" " , Chapter house and bell tower, see: Vol. 4, Plate 553, 553.

" " , Chapter house, see: Vol. 4, Plate 554, 554.

" " , Chapter house, see: Vol. 4, Plate 555, 555.

11.) For material relating to Glasgow Cathedral, see: D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 2, 160.

C. A. R. Radford and E. L. G. Stones: "The Cathedral Of Bishop Jocelin At Glasgow", in, *The Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. 44, (1964), 221-6.

Archbishop Eyre: "The Inscription On The Chapter House Of Glasgow Cathedral", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.*, N. S. Vol. 2, (1891),152, 155.

J. Honeyman: "Notes On The Oldest Part Of The Crypt Of Glasgow Cathedral", in, As Above, N. S. Vol. 1, (1881), 5.

Archbishop Eyre: "The Old Arrangements Of The Glasgow Cathedral", in, As Above, N. S. Vol. 1, (1889), 477-97.

J. Richardson: "The Abbey Of Glenluce: An Architectural Note", in, *Trans. Dum. And Gall.*, (1936-8), Vol. 21, 310.

S. Cruden: "Glenluce Abbey: Finds Recovered During Excavations, part 1", in, *Trans. Dum. And Gall.*, (1950-5), Vol. 29, 177.

J. Durkan: "Archbishop Robert Blackadder's Will", in, *I. R.* Vol. 23, (1972), 139, 141.

E. L. G. Stones: "The Burials Of Medieval Scottish Bishops, With Particular Reference To The Bishops Of Glasgow", in, *I.R.*, Vol. 20, (1969), 38-43.

E. L. G. Stones and G. Hay: "Notes On Glasgow Cathedral", in, *I. R.* Vol. 18, (1967), 88-95.

S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 157, 160, 162-6.

R. Fawcett: *Glasgow*, 108-33.

D. E. Easson: *Gavin Dunbar*, 90-1.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, for the bishops mentioned see:

Jocelin, 298.

William de Bondington, 302-3.

Robert Blackadder, 331-7.

Gavin Dunbar, 343-9.

Robert Wishart, 306-9.

John Lindsay, 311-3.

Andrew Durisdeer, 324-8.

John Laing, 328-31.

Walter, 301.

William Lauder, 318-9.

William Turnbull, 322-4.

M. R. Apted: *The Painted Ceilings Of Scotland, 1550-1650*, (Edinburgh, 1966), 1.

D. McRoberts: *Rhind Lectures*, Section 1, 9-10.

J. Kirk: *Patterns Of Reform, Continuity And Change In The Reformation Kirk*, (Edinburgh, 1991), 17.

PHOTOGRAPH
Glasgow Cathedral, Lower church, series of arches, perhaps forming part of the shrine of St. Kentigern, see: Vol. 4, Plate 556, 556.

12.) J. Dunbar: "The Medieval Architecture Of The Scottish Highlands", in, L. MacLean(ed.): *The Middle Ages In The Highlands*, (Inverness, 1981), 40-1.

13.) S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, p. 30.

14.) R. C. H. M. *Argyllshire*, Vol. 4, 48.

S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 181, 183.

15.) As evidenced for instance by the presence of several small chapels dating to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and an access road thought to have been used by pilgrims on their way to the island's Benedictine abbey; see also the reference to the fifty small cairns on the island. R. C. H. M. *Argyllshire*, Vol. 4, 21.

16.) Note, the large numbers of people associated with the monastic houses of the day. In addition to the members of the house itself, there would have been a lay "input" in terms of servants who worked the lands of the religious, those who perhaps looked to an abbey as the centre of their community, as at Arbroath Abbey for example, the privileged members of the laity who stayed as guests of the commendator or abbot, and in turn the members of their household. Many of the glories of religious architecture therefore, whilst they might officially have been outwith the reach of the laity, could well, -in light of the numbers of the laity involved with most religious houses-, have been common knowledge; this suggestion borne out by the fact that the community of Cluny itself gave guided tours of their house.

S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 9-10.

A. Weir and J. Jerman: *Images Of Lust* (London, 1986), 8.

J. Gifford: *Fife*, 30.

17.)P. McNulty (Trans.): *St. Peter Damian: Selected Writings On The Spiritual Life* (London, 1968), 29.

St. Peter Damian for example placed heavy emphasis on the spiritual aspects of light; thus he described "The Light of Eternity", The Light of Contemplation" and "The Heavenly Light".

N. Cohn: *The Pursuit Of The Millenium, Revolutionary Millenialians And The Mystic Anarchists Of The Middle Ages* (London, 1993), 85.

Otto von Simpson: *The Gothic Cathedral*, 52, 53.

R. Hughes: *Western Art*, 114.

H. Bettenson(trans.) and J. O'Mara(intro.):*City Of God*, 436, 450-1. "Of The Nature Of The Days When There Was "Morning And Evening "Before The Creation Of The Sun", Bk. xi, Ch. 7.

"The narrative does indeed tell us that light was created by God, and that God separated that light from the darkness, and gave to the light the name of day".

At a later stage he suggests that the creation of may be linked directly to the creation of Holy Angels, whereas darkness pertained to the fallen members of the angelic order; that light was the "Holy fellowship of the angels, shining with the intelligible illumination of truth", whilst darkness stood "for the depraved minds of the evil angels who have rejected the light of righteousness". Light therefore was most pleasing to the Divine will. See Bk. xi, Ch. 19; "The Meaning Of The Text: God Made A Division Between Light And Darkness", and Ch. 20, "The Significance Of The Statement After That Division: And God Saw That The Light Was Good".

W. M. Metcalfe: *Anc. Lives*, 24, 196.

18.) F. C. Eeles: "Medieval Stained Glass From Holyrood Abbey", in, *Soc. Of Ant.*, Vol. 49, (1914-15), Vol. 49, 81-7.

19.) L. Beckett and A. Hornak: *York Minster* (London, 1981), 24-5.

W. Swann: *The Gothic Cathedral*, plate 242, 211.

20.) F. C. Eeles: "Medieval Stained Glass From Holyrood Abbey" in, *Soc. Of Ant.*, Vol. 49, (1914-15), 91.

21.) R. H. M. C. *Berwickshire*, Vol. 1, 40.

22.) S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 20-1, 54-6, 95, 142, 155.

T. S. Robertson: "Arbroath Abbey", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.*, N. S. Vol. 4, (1907), 238

S. R. MacPhail: *The History Of The Religious House Of Pluscarden*, 165.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Elgin Cathedral, East end, see: Vol. 4, Plate 557, 557.

Dryburgh Abbey, Wheel window, see: Vol. 4, Plate 558, 558.

Arbroath Abbey, Rose window in west end, see: Vol. 4, Plate 559, 559.

Arbroath Abbey, Lancets, see: Vol. 4, Plate 560, 560.

23.) S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 21.

E. Melczer and E. Soldwedel: "Monastic Goals In The Aesthetics Of Saint Bernard", in, M. P. Lillich(ed.): *Studies In Cistercian Art And Architecture*, (Kalamazoo, 1982), Vol. 1, 35, 40.

C. Brisac: "Grisailles From The Former Abbey Churches Of Obazine And Bonlieu", in, As Above, 133.

H. J. Zankin: "Cistercian Glass At La Chalase (Meuse), in, As Above, p. 140.

24.) M. Aston: *English Iconoclasts*, Vol. 1, 2, 27.

M. P. Lillich: "The Common Thread", in, *Studies In Cistercian Art And Architecture*, (Kalamazoo, 1982), Vol. 1, preface, xii.

25.) See chapter 9, note 22 of this thesis for references to these collegiate features.

W. M. Bryce: *Sc. Grey Friars*, Vol. 1, 352, 362-3, 369.

26.) J. Cameron Lees: *The Abbey Of Paisley From Its Foundation Till Its Dissolution*, (Paisley, 1878), 37, 41-2, 166, 186, 209.

A. R. Howell: *Paisley Abbey, Its History, Architecture And Art*, (Paisley, 1929), 27-8, 80.

C. McWilliam: *Lothian*, 289.

J. Durkan: "Paisley Abbey In The Sixteenth Century", in, *I. R.*
Vol. 27, (1976), 113. That such panels would once have been common may be assumed despite their rarity. Other examples of this type of religious expression may be seen from Linlithgow and St. Andrews.

J. S. Richardson: *Med. St. Carver*, 65.

T. Ross: "The Sculptures In St. Mirren's Chapel, Paisley Abbey", in, *Soc. Of Ant.*, Vol. 25, (1890-1), 44-64.

J. Durkan: "The Sanctuary And College Of Tain", in, *I. R.* Vol. 13, (1962), 149.

A. P. Forbes: *Kalendars Of Scottish Saints* (Edinburgh, 1872),397-8, 400-2. Hereafter, A. P. Forbes: *Kalendars.*

E. S. Towill: *The Saints Of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1983), 178-9.

D. McRoberts: *Notes Relating To The Lives Of Scottish Saints*. (Unpublished). Hereafter, D. McRoberts: *Lives Of The Scottish Saints.*

PHOTOGRAPHS
Paisley Abbey, Figure in nave, see: Vol. 4, Plate 561, 561.

" " , As above, see: Vol. 4, Plate 562, 562.

" " ," " , see: Vol. 4, Plate 563, 563.

" " ," " , see: Vol. 4, Plate 564, 564.

" " ," " , see: Vol. 4, Plate 565, 565.

" " ," " , see: Vol. 4, Plate 566, 566.

" " ," " , see: Vol. 4, Plate 567, 567.

" " , Head in nave, see: Vol. 4, Plate 568, 568.

" " , Head in nave, see: Vol. 4, Plate 569, 569.

27.) A. P. Forbes: *Kalendars* , 409-11.

D. McRoberts: *Lives Of The Scottish Saints.*

28.) R. Brydall: "Notices Of Incised And Sculptured Stones At 1.) Luss; 2.) Inchailleach, Loch Lomond; And 3.) At Glendaruel In Argyllshire", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.*, N. S. Vol. 5, (1901-3),23-5.

A. D. Lacaille: "Notes On A Lomondside Parish", in, *I. R.*, Vol. 16, (1965), 153.

J. MacKinlay: "St. Kessog And His Cultus In Scotland", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.*, N. S. Vol. 3, (1897), 351-7.

H. Chadwick: "The Arm Of St. Ninian", in, *Trans. Dum. And Gall.*, (1940-4), Vol. 23, 30-1.

29.) A. O. Anderson: *Early Sources*, Vol.1, 77.

A. P. S. 1, 360, 364, 386, 407.

30.) D. McRoberts: "The Glorious House Of St. Andrew", in, *I. R.* Vol. 25, (1974), 130.

J. Durkan: "Care Of The Poor: Pre-Reformation Hospitals", in, D. McRoberts: *Essays*, 116-28.

31.) D. McRoberts: As Above, 132.

32.) D. McRoberts: "Catalogue Of Scottish Liturgical Books And Fragments", in, *I. R.* Vol. 3, (1952), 58.

J. Stuart (ed.): *Extracts From The Council Register Of The Burgh Of Aberdeen*, in, *Spalding Club*, (Edinburgh, 1844), Vol. 1, 450-1.

M. Lynch: "Towns And Towns People In Fifteenth Century Scotland", in, J. A. F. Thomson: *Towns And Towns People In The Fifteenth Century*, 186.

M. Rubin: *Corpus Christi*, 213, 217-8, 220, 224, 233-35, 248-9, 252-3, 255, 257, 271-3, 276-7, 283, 353.

A. J. Mill: *Medieval Plays In Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1927), 63-4, 69-72, 74.

For an impression of a Corpus Christi procession, the reader might like to look at the title page of the treatise on the sacrament within William Caxton's edition of St. Bonaventure's *Vita Christi*. Here a print shows four religious carrying an elaborate portable shrine whilst five other religious carry ornate torches; all of the subjects are dressed in robes. Although a simple piece, the print nevertheless conveys something of the grandeur and reverence reserved for such a priceless item. See, Glasgow University Library, the Hunterian Collection, Bv. 2. 24

33.) S. Cruden: *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 56-7.

G. H. Gerrits: "Inter Timorem Et Spem: A Study Of The Theological Thought Of Gerard Zerbolt Of Zutphen (1367-1398) ", in, H. A. Oberman(ed.): *Studies In Medieval And Reformation Thought*, Vol. 37, 154, 168-9.

34.) M. Patrick: "The Music Of The Scottish Church", in, Vol. 5, *R. S. C. H. S.* 1-4.

J. Ross: *Musick Fyne*, 10, 29.

35.) I. B. Cowan and D. E. Easson: *Med. Rel. Houses*, 214.

A. Oldham: "Scottish Polyphonic Music", in, *I. R.* Vol. 13, (1962), 55.

36.) D. McRoberts: *Rhind Lectures*, (Unpublished), Section 2, 11.

Archbishop Eyre: "The Inscription In The Chapter House Of Glasgow Cathedral", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.*, N.S., Vol.2, (1891), 152-7.

J. Barbour: "The Church Bells Of Holywood And Kirkmahoe, And The Church And Municipal Bells Of Lochmaben, part 1", in, *Trans. Dum. And Gall.*, (1897-8), 85-6, 98-100.

R. Fraser: "The Story Of Lochmaben Kirk", in, As Above, 1933-35, Vol. 19, 299-300.

37.) D. McRoberts: "The Glorious House Of St. Andrews", in *I. R.* Vol. 25, (1974), 143.

J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 8-9.

38.) H. E. Kubach: *Romanesque Architecture*, (Milan, 1972), 72. Hereafter, H. E. Kubach: *Romanesque Architecture*.

Wim Swaan: *The Gothic Cathedral*, 56.

A. Lloyd(trans.): Von Reinhard Bentman and Heinrich Lickes *Churches Of The Middle Ages*, 38.

39.) H. E. Kubach: *Romanesque Architecture*, 72-4, 76, 78, 85.

Otto Von Simpson: *The Gothic Cathedral*, 4-7, 13-14, 24, 61-3.

E. Newton and W. Neil: *The Christian Faith In Art*, 70, 106-7, 122.

C. Brooke: "The Cathedral In Medieval Society", in, W. Swaan: *The Gothic Cathedral*, 15, 51.

A. Lloyd(trans.): Von Reinhard Bentman and Heinrich Lickes: *Churches Of The Middle Ages*, 38, 171, 179, 182.

Otto Demus and Max Hirmer: *Romanesque Mural Painting*, (London, 1965), 7, 13-15, 17, 21-2.

L. Shelby(trans. and ed.): *Gothic Design Techniques. The Fifteenth Century Design Booklets Of Mathes Roriczer and Hans Schmuttermymer,* (Carbindale, 1977), 7, 28, 67.

Louis Grodecki: *Gothic Architecture*, (London, 1986), 7, 9, 12, 14, 23. Hereafter, Louis Grodecki: *Gothic Architecture.*

Paul Frankl: *Gothic Architecture*,(London, 1968), 7-9, 205. For Durham Cathedral, see for example, plate 2, a. Hereafter, Paul Frankl: Gothic Architecture.

40.) Louis Grodecki: *Gothic Architecture*, see for example, plates vi, vii.

A. Lloyd(trans.): Von Reinhard Bentman and Heinrich Lickes: *Churches Of The Middle Ages*, 61, plates 25 and 26.

Paul Frankl: *Gothic Architecture*, plate 181.

41.) Louis Grodecki: *Gothic Architecture*, 69, plate 83.

Paul Frankl: *Gothic Architecture*, plate 32.

42.) Louis Grodecki: *Gothic Architecture*, plate iv.

Paul Frankl: *Gothic Architecture*, plates 21, 29, 61.

W. Swaan: *The Gothic Cathedral*, 97, plate 95.

A. Lloyd(trans): Von Reinhard Bentman and Heinreich Lickes: *Churches Of The Middle Ages*, 56, plate 22; 57, plate 23; 58, plate 24; In the last plate mentioned above, the dark, lifeless appearance of the windows as seen in plate 23, is transformed into a complex pattern of light and colour. 184. For examples of the windows of Chartres, see: p. 185, plate 97; 186-7, plate 98; 188, plate 99; 189, plate 100.

43.) Louis Grodecki: *Gothic Architecture*, 35, pate 29, a view of the interior looking towards the north east.
p. 84-5, plate 109, external view of the rose window of the south transept. Plate 110, interior view of the rose window of the north transept.

To appreciate the scale on which the rose window of the south transept was constructed, see 50, plate ii, view of the south side of Notre-Dame.

P. Frankl: *Gothic Architecture*, see for example plate 60, where passers by provide a clear indication of the scale on which this building was constructed. See also plate 63 which shows the facade of the south transept; again a figure -left of lower centre- provides a suitable comparison for scale.

44.) Louis Grodecki: *Gothic Architecture*, 61, plate 69. The west front of Rheims Cathedral. See also plate iv, which illustrates the way in which the pillars of the nave soar upwards, disappearing into the shadows of the roof above.

Paul Frankl: *Gothic Architecture*, plate 39, view of the interior of the choir.

Plate 62, view of the west facade; again the mass of the structure may be seen from the figure standing just to the left of the main entrance, and by the car just to its right.

W. Swaan: *The Gothic Cathedral*, 138, plate 148, Captures both the colour of the glass, and the lofty elegance of the interior looking west.

E. Newton and W. Neil: *The Christian Faith In Art*, 103.

45.) Paul Frankl: *Gothic Architecture*, plates 179, 180.

46.) A. Lloyd(trans.): Von Reinhard Bentman and Heinrich Lickes: *Churches Of The Middle Ages*, 162-3, fig. 85; 164-5, fig. 86; p. 166-7, fig. 87.

47.) A. Lloyd: As Above, 34-8, plates 10-12.

H. E. Kubach: *Romanesque Architecture*, 101, plate 142, Pisa Cathedral and bell tower.

R. Salvini: *Medieval Sculpture*, see for example plate 141, and 142.

48.) A. Lloyd(trans.): Von Reinhard Bentman and Heinrich Lickes: *Churches Of The Middle Ages*, 40, plate 14; 112-3, plate 57.

H. E. Kubach: *Romanesque Architecture*, 92, plate 122, showing the interior of the nave. Plate xii, which reinforces the point made by plate 57 above.

49.) A. Lloyd(trans.): Von Reinhard Bentman and Heinrich Lickes: *Churches Of The Middle Ages*, 110-14, see for example plates 55, 56; 154, 157, 161, see for example plates 77-80, 84.

R. Salvini: *Medieval Sculpture*, plate 95, Verona, St. Zeno, detail of facade depicting for example "Scenes from Genesis", "The Creation Of Woman" and the eating of the "Forbidden Fruit".

50.) A. Lloyd(trans.): Von Reinhard Bentman and Heinrich Lickes: *Churches Of The Middle Ages*, 171, 179.

Otto Demus and Max Hirmer: *Romanesque Mural Painting*, 65.

51.)*The Book Of The Pilgrims*, in, M. W. Baldwin: *Christianity Through The Thirteenth Century* (London, 1971), 229.

52.) As Above, 229-232.

53.) As Above, 233-4.

54.) E. Panofsky: *Abbot Suger*, 47-51.

55.) E. Panofsky: As Above, Introduction, 17.

Otto Von Simpson: *The Gothic Cathedral*, 103.

56.) E. Panofsky: *Abbot Suger*, 73-7.

57.)J. Anderson: "Notice", in, *Soc. Of Ant.*, Vol. 11, (1874-6),66.

58.) E. Panofsky: *Abbot Suger*, 55.

59.) J. Small(ed.): *William Dunbar*, Vol. ii, 239, l. 3-6.

60.)For a depiction of the Crucifixion, see Volume 4 of the present thesis, plate 149, page 149.

For material relating to Book Of Hours, see note 19 of chapter 8 of the present work.

61.)PHOTOGRAPH.
Melrose Abbey, Virgin and Child, see: Vol. 4, Plate 570, 570.

G. H. Gerrits: "Inter Timorem Et Spem: A Study Of The Theological Thought Of Gerard Zerbolt Of Zutphen (1367-1398) ", in, H. A. Oberman(ed.): *Studies In Medieval And Reformation Thought*, (Leiden, 1986), Vol. 37, 94, 115.

62.) J. Small(ed.): *William Dunbar*, Vol. 2, 242, l. 109.

63.) As Above, 243, l. 121.

Here it should be note that absolution granted in the absence of contrition was worthless. See for example G. H. Gerrits: "Inter Timorem Et Spem: A Study Of The Theological Thought Of Gerard Zerbolt Of Zutphen (1367-1398) ", in, H. A. Oberman(ed.): *Studies In Medieval And Reformation Thought*, (Leiden, 1986), Vol. 37, 183-4.

64.) J. Small(ed.): *William Dunbar*, Vol.2 243, l. 127.

65.) D. McRoberts: "The Scottish Church And Nationalism In The Fifteenth Century", in, *I. R.* Vol. 19, (1968), 12.

66.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488-1529, Nos. 212, 221, 485, 1794.

67.) *R. S. S.* As Above, Nos. 1251, 1257, 1523, 1545, 1684, 1840, 3128, 3771.

R. S. S. Vol. 2, 1529-1542, No. 1137.

68.) *R. S. S.* Vol. 1, 1488-1529, Nos. 641, 1059, 1424.

69.) *R. S. S.* As Above, Nos. 670, 1441.

70.) *R. S. S.* As Above, Nos. 1606, 1821, 1425, 437, 445, 1014.

71.) D. McKay: "Parish Life In Scotland, 1500-1560", in, D. McRoberts(ed.): *Essays*, 108.

J. A. F. Thomson: *The Early Tudor Church And Society, 1485-1529*, (London, 1993), 326.

72.) J. Anderson: "Notice", in, *Soc. Of Ant.* Vol. 11, (1874-6), 64.

73.) D. McRoberts: "Scottish Pilgrims To The Holy Land", in, *I. R.* Vol. 20, (1969), 81.

Or as in the case of "William Brown", episcopal support; Bishop Henry Wardlaw of St. Andrews granting Brown a licence to receive the sacraments and "solicit" alms. To those who aided him in such a way, Wardlaw offered an indulgence of 40 days. See: D. McKay: "Parish Life In Scotland, 1500-1569", in, D. McRoberts(ed.): *Essays*, 108.

74.) D. McRoberts: "Scottish Pilgrims To The Holy Land", in, As Above, 83.

75.) D. McRoberts, As Above, 84.

76.) A. O. Anderson: *Early Sources*, Vol. 2, 98.

77.) A. O. Anderson: *Scottish Annals*, 349-50.

D. McKay: "Parish Life In Scotland, 1500-1560", in, D. McRoberts (ed.) : *Essays*, 108.

78.) D. McRoberts: "Scottish Pilgrims To The Holy Land", in, *I.R.*, Vol. 20, (1969), 86-7.

79.) As seen earlier in Malcolm IV (1153-1165) travelling to Compostella in Spain, and in Alexander III (1249-1286) journeying to Canterbury.

80.) S. C. Wilson: "Scottish Canterbury Pilgrims", in, *S. H. R.* Vol. 24, (1926-7), 259.

81.) D. McRoberts: "Scottish Pilgrims To The Holy Land", in, *I.R.*, Vol. 20, (1969), 91.

A. I. Dunlop: *Bishop Kennedy*, 31.

82.) R. Nicholson: *The Later Middle Ages*, 487.

83.) As Above, 421.

84.) J. Small (ed.) : *William Dunbar*, Vol. 1, xlvii.

85.) D. McRoberts: "Hermits In Medieval Scotland", in, *I.R.*, Vol. 16, (1965), 206.

That such a dual influence of spiritual and sporting considerations was by no means confined to the king, might be seen in the actions of Sir John Kennedy of Blairhan who endowed Cruives chapel (or St. Ninian's chapel) at the Cruives of Cree, not only for the good of his soul, but perhaps also for the opportunity the location provided him to indulge his love of fishing. See:

J. Murchie: "Cruives Chapel Or St. Ninian's Chapel", in, *Trans. Dum. And Gall.* , Vol. 20, (1935-6), 184-6.

86.) G. Donaldson: *Scottish Kings*, 142.

87.) R. Nicholson: *The Later Middle Ages*, 560.

D. McKay: "The Four Heid Pilgrimages Of Scotland", in, *I.R.*, Vol. 19, (1968), 77.

D. McRoberts: "The Scottish Church And Nationalism In The Fifteenth Century", in, *I.R.*, Vol. 19, (1968), 3-10.

Letters: James IV, 182.

88.) PHOTOGRAPH
Tain, old church; see: Vol. 4, Plate 571, 571.

89.) D. MacGibbon and T. Ross: *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Vol. 2, 538-40.

90.) J. Durkan: "The Sanctuary And College Of Tain", in, *I.R.*, Vol. 13, (1962), 149.

91.) That James IV was not the only Scottish monarch to be thus honoured may be seen for example in William the Lion (1165-1214) receiving the "Golden Rose" from Pope Lucius III (1181-5) in 1182, and James III (1460-88) , the same reward from Pope Innocent VIII (1484-92) in 1486. James IV himself received the "Golden Rose" from Innocent VIII in 1491, and a "silver gilt sceptre" from Innocent's successor, Alexander VI (1492-1503) . In 1507, Julius II (1503-13) honoured James IV with the gift of the "sword and hat", James V for his part received the "blessed sword" in 1537 from Paul III (1534-49) . See: D. McRoberts: "Scottish Pilgrims To The Holy Land", in, *I.R.*, Vol. 20, (1969), 95.

C. Burns: "Papal Gifts To Scottish Monarchs: The Golden Rose And The Blessed Sword", in, *I.R.*, Vol. 20, (1969), 160-80.

D. H. Fleming: *Reformation*, 211.

J. N. D. Kelly: *Popes*, 180, 251-2, 255, 261.

92.) For evidence of the strange royal duality of the period, see for example:

J. Small (ed.) : *William Dunbar*, Vol. 1, Introduction by A. J. G. MacKay, l. , and, Vol. 2, 136-8, 247-9, *The Wowing Of The King Quhen He Wes In Dumfermling*, and *In Secreit Place This Hyndir Nycht*, which provide an insight into the ribald nature of James IV's court.

For the pious side of James IV however, see for example: I. B. Cowan and D. E. Easson (eds.): *Med. Rel. Houses*, 127, 130-3.

W. M. Bryce: *Sc. Gr. Friars*, Vol. 1, 58, 352. Vol. 2, 195, 250, 257-8, 276.

A Diurnal Of Remarkable Occurents, 4.

Letters: James IV, 54-5.

J. Lesley: *History*, 59.

Similarly, whilst James V displayed a belief in the powers of pilgrimage for example, he could also be seen -as witnessed in chapters 5 and 6 of this thesis- to have manipulated the religious houses for his own profit, just as James IV had done, to have opposed the Cistercian reform movement in Scotland and to have commissioned the Humanist George Buchanan to write his scathing attacks on the Franciscans. See for example: *R. S. S.* Vol. 2, 1529-1542, No. 2175, and note no. 2, 328.

D. Hamer (ed.) : *Lindsay*, Vol. 1, 278, *The Secund Buke Of The Monarche*, l. 2661-8, where the poet suggests that "fowl fornicatioun" was perhaps the main reason for Lorreto's popularity.

P. Hume Brown: *George Buchanan: Humanist And Reformer, A Biography*, 86-94, James V commissions attacks on the Franciscans.

A. Ross: "Notes", in, D. McRoberts (ed.) : *Essays*, 219-20, reference to James V's attempts to hinder monastic reform.

93.) D. McRoberts: "Scottish Pilgrims To The Holy Land", in, *I.R.*, Vol. 20, (1969), 93.

94.) J. Dowden: *Bishops*, 334.

J. Lesley: *History*, 78.

95.) D. McRoberts: "Scottish Pilgrims To The Holy Land", in, *I.R.*, Vol. 20, (1969), 82.

96.) T. M. Lindsay: "Notes On Education", in, Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc. , N. S. Vol. 1, (1883), 41.

A. I. Dunlop: *Bishop Kennedy*, 411.

97.) D. McRoberts: "Scottish Pilgrims To The Holy Land", in, *I.R.*, Vol. 20, (1969), 100.

98.) S. B. Meech and Allen, H. E. (ed.) : *The Book Of Marjery Kempe*, in, *Early English Text Society*, Vol. 212 (London, 1940), 232-5.

M. Glasscoe: *English Medieval Mystics*, 268-70.

E. Underhill: *Mysticism*, 394-5.

M. Rubin: *Corpus Christi*, 290-1.

99.) M. Dillworth: "Two Scottish Pilgrims In Germany", in, *I.R.*, Vol. 18, (1967), 20-2.

A. P. S. Vol. 1, 341, 348.

100.) D. McRoberts: "Scottish Pilgrims To The Holy Land", in, *I.R.*, Vol. 20, (1969), 103-4.

101.) J. Anderson: "Notice", in, *Soc. Of Ant.* , Vol. 11, (1874), 62-74.

F. E. Hulme: *Symbolism*, 24.

102.) D. McRoberts: "Scottish Pilgrims To The Holy Land", in, *I.R.*, Vol. 20, (1969), 82.

103.) J. Anderson: "Notice", in, *Soc. Of Ant.* , Vol. 11, (1874), 64.

R. S. S. Vol. 1, 1488-1529, No. 4064.

J. Anderson: *Laing Charters*, 36, No. 142.

J. A. F. Thomson: *The Early Tudor Church And Society, 1485-1529*, (London, 1993), 326.

104.) D. McRoberts: "The Scottish Church And Nationalism In The Fifteenth Century", in, *I.R.*, Vol. 19, (1968), 9-10.

E. S. Towill: *The Saints Of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1983), 185.

J. M. MacKinlay: "St. Kessog And His Cultus In Scotland", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.* , N. S. , Vol. 3. (1897), 358.

J. M. MacKinlay: "Notes On Shells From The Shrine Of Santa Lucia, Near Figueras In Spain, in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.* , N. S. , Vol. 2, (1895), 430-1.

105.) C. McWilliam: *Lothian*, 467-8.

J. B. Paul: "Royal Pilgrimages In Scotland", in, *The Transactions Of The Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, (1905), 147.

106.) W. MacGillivray: "Notices Of The Arbuthnott Missal, Psalter, And Office Of The Blessed Virgin", in, *Soc. Of Ant.* , Vol. 26, (1891-2), 90.

107.) R. C. H. M.: *Stirling*, Vol. 2, 436.

108.) R. Fraser: "The Story Of Lochmaben Kirk", in, *Trans. Dum. And Gall.* , Vol. 19, (1933-5), 298, 301.

109.) J. M. Mackinlay: "St. Kessog And His Cultus In Scotland", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.* , N. S. Vol. 3, (1897), 354-358.

110.) H. Miller: *Scenes And Legends Of The North Of Scotland, The Traditional History Of Cromarty*, (Edinburgh, 1857), 105.

111.) P. Dudgeon: "Notice Of St. Queran's Well At Cargen", in, *Trans. Dum. And Gall.* , Vol. 26, (1891-2), 63-5.

112.) T. Frost: "Saints And Holy Wells", in, W. Andrews (ed.) : *Bygone Church Life In Scotland*, (London, 1899), 48.

113.) W. McWilliam: "Festivals And Saints Days In Scotland After The Reformation", in, *R. S. C. H. S.* , Vol. 3, (1929), 2-5.

M. H. B. Sanderson: "Catholic Recusancy In Scotland In The Sixteenth Century", in, *I.R.*, Vol. 21, (1970), 104-5.

M. H. B. Sanderson: *Sc. Rural Soc.*, 8.

Rev. Professor Cooper: "Some Old Elgin Houses", in, *Trans. Gl. Arch. Soc.* , N. S. Vol. 5, (1904), 2.

R. Pitcairn: *Criminal Trials*, Vol. 1. 427-30.

A. S. Morton: "Glenluce Abbey", in, *Trans. Dum. And Gall.*, Vol. 21, (1936-8), 235.

D. Hamer (ed.) : *Lindsay*, Vol. 1, 125, l. 43-4.

P. Barnum (ed.) : *Dives And Pauper*, Vol. 1, in, *Early English Text Society*, (London, 1976), 82, 225, 280.

M. Ruibin: *Corpus Christi*, 2, 7, 13, 49-51, 74, 76-7, 84-6, 94, 98, 102-5, 107-9, 110-2, 153, 155-6, 211, 217-8, 221, 224, 233-5, 243, 245, 247, 255, 272, 274-7, 283, 285.

K. Thomas: *Religion And The Decline Of Magic*, 80.

Chapter 12

Popular Religious Belief And The Decline In Status Of The Regular Orders And Colleges In Scotland.

"There sawe we diuers Papis and Empriouris, ... The men of kirk lay boundin in to byngis. Thare saw we mony cairfull Cardinall, And Archebischopis in thare pontificall, Proude and peruerst Prelattis, out of nummer; Priouris, Abbottis, and fals flattrand freirs, To specifye thame all, it wer ane cummer; Regulare channonis, churle monkis, and chartareris, Curious clerks, and prestis seculeris. . . ."

[D. Hamer (ed.): *Lindsay*, Vol. 1, *The Dreme Of Schir Dauid Lyndesay*, 9-10, l. 169-180.]

Introduction

In the preceding chapters, the views of numerous contemporary writers were used as a means of gaining a potential insight into how society perceived the subjects of this thesis, the members of the regular Orders and the colleges in the period c. 1450 to 1560. In each chapter where criticisms were offered from these sources, an attempt was made to evaluate the accuracy of the views being put forward, to see if these individuals were indeed as hopelessly corrupt as they were portrayed.

In chapter 1 therefore, the general consensus of opinion on the part of writers such as Dunbar and Lindsay, was that the men who held the charge of the religious houses of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were shameless pluralists who held a variety of mutually exclusive religious titles which they accrued in recognition of their services to the state as opposed to the Church. Regardless of the nature of the honours they obtained however, many emerged as insatiable in the pursuit of still greater honours, appointment to the office of abbot of a monastic house or provost of a college seen merely as a stepping stone towards the more prestigious title still of bishop, archbishop, or perhaps even the ultimate goal of cardinal; thus -in the opinion of such observers as those mentioned above-, they spent their time seemingly either touring Scotland as members of the royal court, or travelling throughout the Continent on the king's business, their intention always to promote both the royal cause and their own by association. In turning to such sources as the records of the Scottish parliaments of the late fifteenth to mid sixteenth centuries, and those of the

Great Seal, the Privy Seal, the Privy Council and the Lords of Council for the same period, it emerged that in many instances the observations of writers such as Dunbar and Lindsay, regarding the activities of these men at court, were indeed accurate, the individuals involved clearly ignoring the regulations which should have governed their lives, in particular that which applied to both monastic communities and colleges alike, that they serve as resident examples of the ideal spiritual model for the inmates within. Moreover, through the practice of commendation, many of these individuals not only retained possession of the religious communities they held before promotion to the episcopate, they were allowed to collect additional such prizes still. The titles of commendator and abbot became blurred therefore, numerous examples appearing in chapter 1 of men who would often alternate between one and the other, arguably the distinction between the two by the period under study equally a matter of choice for the laity who observed their behaviour; thus the misdemeanours of someone who had severed all real contact with the houses accorded to his name, undermined the reputation of both the houses concerned and the Orders to which they belonged.

Here it could be said that whilst such damaging knowledge might have been commonplace amongst those who frequented exalted royal circles, the question remained as to how the rest of society who possessed no such privileged links with the king's entourage, would have been aware of the power and wealth which the subjects of this thesis enjoyed as a result of serving the king in a variety of non-spiritual duties. In chapter 2 therefore, it was suggested that the most prominent symbols of power which these individuals possessed were the castles which they held in both the service of their royal master and indeed in their own right. Thus the laity could easily make the connection between many of the men responsible for the monastic houses of the day and some of the foremost strongholds of the realm; religious authority and lay power could be seen to go hand in hand in a highly visible and contradictory fashion. Again however, it was necessary to pause, and in this instance try to determine whether the character of these men was indeed as warlike as the appearance of these buildings, or did they merely occupy them to remain secure in the troubled times of fifteenth and sixteenth Scotland?

In chapter 3 it emerged that many of the individuals seen to control the monastic communities of the period were not only actively engaged in the defence of the realm, leading bodies of professional troops and fighting in the main military engagements such as Flodden and Pinkie, but that they were also quite capable of using violence in a personal capacity in the pursuit of vendettas, and the promotion of family influence and power within the state. Moreover, in such

behaviour they were not unique, for it emerged in the same chapter that the rank and file of the regular orders were just as likely to turn out on the battlefield as their superiors.

Thus far therefore, charges of plurality, absenteeism, over involvement in the affairs of state, lay lifestyles and a propensity for violent behaviour were all charges which the authors of the late fifteenth to mid sixteenth centuries levelled at the subjects of this thesis, their views supported in no small way by the official records of the period in question. At this point however, another important charge emerged -particularly in the work of William Dunbar- that is that simony was rife amongst the religious Orders, and that large sums of money were changing hands to further facilitate the practice whereby individuals wholly unsuited to a spiritual life could achieve high office within the Church. In chapter 4 therefore the financial incentives involved in possessing one's "own" abbey were examined, it emerging that such a prize secured the income not only of the churches appropriated to the support of the house in question, but in some instances industries such as coal mining, stone quarrying and salt extraction. Moreover, that the monastic houses of the period in question were largely looked upon as a financial investment, as opposed to a spiritual duty, emerged when the sums involved in securing a bishopric were examined, for in order to meet the considerable costs incurred, many individuals attempted to control as many monastic houses as possible to support their episcopal lifestyles; again therefore, by association, the reputation of the regular Orders suffered in the eyes of the laity as these communities came to resemble more counters in the financial games played by society's elite than centres of spiritual intercession.

In chapter 5, further aspects of the behaviour of the subjects of this thesis were examined, principally in relation to charges of immorality, illiteracy and overworldly behaviour, all prominent subjects in the Scottish Church councils of the day and indeed in the Continental attempts to reform the failings of the late medieval church. Here again, many of the charges were justified, for illegitimate children could be traced to many of the men responsible for some of the leading religious houses of fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland, and -to a lesser degree- to the country's colleges. Although this would seem to have been a fault largely of those men in charge of such institutions, as argued in chapter 5 it is entirely possible that those with next to nothing to leave their offspring would not have gone to the trouble of having their children recognised in law. Thus, for example, it is possible to reconcile the numerous contemporary literary references to immorality on the part of the mendicants with the total absence of evidence that they actually fathered any offspring.

In terms of the second charge, it is important to remember that through the practice of appropriation, many of the men appointed to serve the laity at the parish level were placed in power

either by a monastic house or -increasingly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries- a collegiate community. The educational failings of the parish clergy therefore reflected directly on the appropriating bodies who appointed them, thus, again, the reputation of the subjects of this thesis suffered -as it had done through the custom of commendation- through their involvement in a widespread, yet potentially highly destructive practice. Moreover, in the work of contemporary authors, among the subjects of this thesis, it was again evident that it was the mendicants who seemed most guilty of the charge of ignorance, for they appeared as having used a mixture of superstition, guile, flattery and fear to dupe the laity and conceal their educational failings.

In relation to the third charge of overworldly behaviour, numerous instances from both the world of the enclosed Orders and that of the mendicants emerged -for example- of their having been quite at home in the law courts, rigorously enforcing their rights on the laity both in ecclesiastic and indeed lay courts to maintain a lax and privileged lifestyle. Moreover, the case against the subjects of this thesis with regards to overwordly behaviour must have been strengthened immeasurably in light of the evidence examined in the preceding chapters, and -for example- in the action of the Scottish Church councils themselves, for in one of their meetings it was agreed that action was to be taken to recapture apostate monks and nuns who seemingly wandered outwith the bounds of their communities at will, their actions such as to further undermine the ideal of a monastic house and its inmates as separate from -and thereby spiritually superior to- the world of the laity.

At this point however, in order to balance this analysis of the regular Orders and colleges in the period c. 1450 to 1560, matters relating to a defence from the above criticisms were examined. Thus in chapter 6 it emerged that in terms of immorality for example, whilst the actions of the men who controlled the religious houses of the period could not be excused, it was possible to see the charges laid against the mendicants in this area in a more favourable light, for it emerged that there was a long standing hostility towards the friars from within the Church itself. Thus, generally speaking, the episcopate disliked mendicant disapproval of their princely lifestyles, the secular clergy of the universities saw them as academic rivals whilst the parish clergy viewed them as usurpers of parochial income in such areas as burial rights and memorial services; long term character assassination emerged therefore as the most favoured means of striking back at the friars, and by the period under study, what had begun as rumour -and perhaps isolated incidents- was arguably being accepted as fact by contemporary observers of religious life in fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland. It should also be remembered that the friars deliberately targeted larger concentrations of population, and that they actively sought to make their houses the centres of

community life where they settled, in a way wholly at odds with the earlier ideals of the enclosed Orders who initially tried to ensure -in theory at any rate- a complete break with society. Accusations of over familiarity with the laity therefore -particularly women-, were easy to make and required little in the way of proof to make them believable.

Educationally speaking moreover, the idea of friars as an ill educated band may be dismissed, for they emerged as a highly trained body of preachers and theologians, able to transmit the teachings of the Church to any audience regardless of its social or intellectual composition. In terms of wealth, they would seem to have gone a long way towards observing their earlier models of restraint; instances of their appearing in court to enforce payment of ground annuals and other dues therefore should be seen in terms of the contemporary situation in which continuous warfare had robbed them of such traditional means of income, an impoverished laity slow to meet the needs of the friars when they experienced difficulty in meeting their own. Such an argument was supported in turn in chapter 6, for in an examination of the buildings which they held, few if any could be said to have been overly ornate structures, moreover, of the wealth they contained, perhaps the best defence of the mendicants comes from no less a figure than John Knox, for in his inventory of the goods raided from the Blackfriars of Perth, none of the objects recounted suggested a lavish lifestyle.

In terms of the enclosed Orders, a more favourable picture of their activities also emerged in chapter 6, for they -like the friars- possessed men of learning who were intent on raising the standards of the communities placed in their care. Names such as Thomas Chrystall, Robert Reid and Walter Malyn therefore should be considered in balance against those drawn from the Beaton dynasty, and such other pluralists as Andrew Forman and John Hamilton, the reforms of the former grouping creating a favourable spiritual life in the houses they guided. A defence of sorts of many monastic communities may also be proffered from the fact that many were used by the crown to supplement its income, this deplorable example followed in turn by Scotland's powerful families; in light of this it could be said that the reputation of the religious they contained was largely in the hands of men with no interest in the spiritual life. In terms of learning, perhaps the strongest defence of the above groups may be said to lie in the fact that they served as the backbone of the educational system in Scotland, friaries, monasteries and collegiate foundations possessing innumerable links to lay society in the schools they controlled.

At this point another feature common to this thesis should be brought to mind, that is that in each chapter, whilst the criticisms examined might appear to indicate a crisis in the Church in fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland, they could be seen to be equally applicable to earlier ages

still. Given such an idea, the question arose as to why the criticisms levelled at the subjects of this thesis should have appeared in any more forceful a light in the period in question than they had done before. In order to try and answer this question, chapter 7 turned to an examination of the trials which faced the laity in the mid fifteenth to the mid sixteenth centuries, to see if they could explain such changing perceptions of religious life.

Here, it emerged that given the evidence of the preceding chapters, the wars, famine and diseases of the period could well have been attributed -as indeed they were- to the righteous, Divine punishment of a particularly sinful nation. Moreover, despite the involvement of the monastic houses, friaries and colleges in the provision of care for the needy, in many instances the men who should have led the nation's spiritual recovery, were seen rather as the root causes of society's afflictions, the communities they controlled no more than pawns in the dynastic and political manoeuvrings which so characterised the age. Again however, precedents existed for the various ills which Scotland suffered at this time, and the question remained therefore as to how best to explain the eventual decline in favour of the regular Orders and the colleges in Scotland.

At this point, the reader was provided with the basis of a possible explanation of this puzzle in the closing stages of chapter 7, in that the reasoning behind the change in the way the laity perceived the hitherto tolerated failings of the older religious, lay, in the friars having supplanted the enclosed Orders as the most efficacious intercessors between man and God, and in time their having been superseded to a great extent by the services offered by the colleges. Thus, given that the friars had become more favoured as intercessors on behalf of the dead than their monastic predecessors, and allowing for the fact that the desire to intercede on behalf of the dead was taken to its extreme in the colleges -which existed almost solely for this purpose- the changes in the way the laity judged the nature and significance of the hitherto accepted faults of the "older" subjects of this thesis it might be suggested, lay in their perceptions of the issues surrounding the twinned subjects of death and judgement in the life to come. In pursuing any analysis of the regular Orders and colleges of the period c. 1450 to 1560 therefore, it became essential to reach an understanding of the way the laity of Scotland had come to perceive these issues. Why should the society of the period in question have developed such an apparently morbid fascination with such issues, and why by the period in question had the search for intercession and the acquisition of merit become more desperate, arguably, than ever before? In what ways were the subjects of this thesis responsible for such an outlook, and why should such an outlook be both initially responsible for the phenomenal popularity of the colleges over their older rivals, yet arguably at the same time the cause of their very downfall?

In turning to deal with the first of these issues, as to why society should be so preoccupied in such a desperate race against time to accrue as much in the way of spiritual merit as possible, it emerged in chapter 8 that the Church had long employed fear as one of the most useful tools to impart its teachings to the laity, and to have them take them to heart. Issues relating to the punishment of sinners could be seen from the first century onwards and from this age too, grew what in time would become the all to dreadful reality of Purgatory. To ensure that no-one was left in any doubt that torture awaited the majority, the Church made it clear that only the saints and martyrs could pass directly to Heaven, for the rest, punishment in Hell for the damned, the equivalent -albeit transitory- agonies of Purgatory for those who still had to make amends for the sins of their earthly existence. A wide range of images therefore were employed by the Church in this task to educate the laity, many religious houses carrying graphic depictions of the judgement which awaited all on death, the spread of such material further facilitated by the preaching of the mendicants. Similarly, in the interrelated horrors of death, the laity could view an equally dreadful myriad of scenes, the very moment of their demise not one of peaceful resignation, but of a desperate struggle between the forces of light and darkness as each tried to secure the soul of the departed for their own. Again the preaching of the friars played no small part in the means which the Church used to impart its message to all, as indeed did the literature and art of the period in question, the themes portrayed in relation to both death and Purgatory repeated over the centuries until by the period under study they had become, as stated above, all too real in the minds of the populace.

In chapter 9, it emerged that many of the requirements of the founders of collegiate communities were of a similar nature to the regulations which governed the older monastic houses. Both for example demanded residence and exemplary behaviour from the religious within, moreover, both required the respective heads of these communities to perform the role of resident spiritual examples for the inmates, this requirement especially important in both cases, for the heads of these communities were supposed to be constantly on guard to ensure the adequate performance of the services promised to the laity. At this point however, it should also be noted that the spiritual benefits of confraternity conferred by the older enclosed and mendicant Orders, that is with regards to interceding on behalf of the dead, were perceived as being greatly exceeded by the returns involved in the erection and support of collegiate foundations; moreover, unlike the older Orders, they -the colleges- did not advocate an individual renounce his status in the world and adopt a religious garb as the best way to try and ensure salvation. Rather, they functioned on the

simple economic equation that the greater number of Masses one paid them to celebrate, the greater the remission one would receive from the inevitable horrors of Purgatory.

Here however, two immediate problems emerged, for in the first instance, if the colleges shared similar demands to the older monastic houses, they too suffered from the same problems of -for example- absenteeism and immorality, and were also viewed in a similar light by those who held them, that is that they served as a useful step up the ladder of ecclesiastical preferment; this despite the dread surrounding the issues of punishment and the afterlife which the colleges were erected to overcome. In the second instance, the Church having created the climate of fear necessary for the phenomenal success of the colleges, had effectively excluded a large part of the populace who could not afford to enter what in fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland was a desperate -yet essential in view of the material examined in chapter 8- race to secure intercession for the life to come.

At this stage however, it should not be thought that the older monastic and mendicant Orders were rendered wholly redundant, for in chapters 10 and 11, they were seen to be still capable of fulfilling a crucial role in terms of satisfying the laity's search for favourable intercession in their lives and deaths, that is through their involvement in the cult of saints and pilgrimage. In this way they met the needs of society as a whole -regardless of wealth- in a way which helped maintain their status in lay eyes, for monastic houses frequently contained the remains of God's elite, whilst the work of the hagiographers and the use of exempla by the friars spread the fame both of the saints themselves, and the communities of the religious foundations who served them.

Thus, to summarise the contents of the above chapters, it emerges that the regular and collegiate subjects of this thesis were perceived by society as indeed guilty of a range of misdemeanours which placed them at odds with the stated intentions of their founders and later patrons. Equally, however, it emerged that there was little new in the criticisms being levelled, and that the apparent reaction against these sins in fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland arose not out of any sudden, dramatic backlash against the nature of these faults in themselves, but against the nature of these sins when they were viewed in light of then contemporary religious beliefs. Such beliefs in turn were formed -as seen above in chapters 8 to 11- by exposure to the wide range of audio visual trappings which the Church employed to impart its teachings, these appeals to the senses responsible to a large extent for the perceived efficacy of the religious Orders and secular clergy of the colleges in fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland. Here however, it is the conclusion of the present work, that underlying and reinforcing all of the myriad images employed, and thus the subjects of this thesis, was the Church's use of its principal tool, fear, for to reject the imagery

involved was to reject the efficacy of the regular Orders and the colleges; this in turn constituted a rejection of the Church's teachings and thereby left the individual open to excommunication and the range of dreadful punishments examined in chapter 8. Although therefore, through their involvement in pilgrimage, the monastic and mendicant Orders continued to find a place in what had become in fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland a desperate race to tap into the "treasury of merit", arguably they could still not compete with the colleges who targeted the fears of the laity - with regards to punishment and the afterlife- directly; thereby, in the view of the present work - despite the long held claim of the Church that the flaws of its servants did not effect the validity of the sacraments they dispensed- the perceived sins of the older regular Orders were arguably seen in an entirely more damaging light than ever before , the laity now putting their trust -when they could afford it- into the hands of the colleges. The reason for such a shift in outlook, primarily - arguably- largely a break with the tarnished image of the old order, a desire for greater control on the part of the laity over the way in which they could secure their salvation, for a college owed allegiance primarily to the person who founded it, thereafter to that individual's family; they were not directly perceived therefore as being under the control of the older regular Orders who were so discredited in the literature of fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland. As seen in chapter 9 however, many of the flaws witnessed in the regular and mendicant Orders were once again repeated by those appointed to serve in the colleges; the laity therefore faced a situation in which the majority of them could not afford to invest in the insurance required to ensure a more favourable reception in the world to come, whilst those who could, must have faced the lingering doubt that such behaviour did indeed influence the efficacy of the services being offered on their behalf. In this, the last chapter therefore, an attempt will be made to show how the above emphasis on fear - used by the Church to exact higher standards of behaviour from the laity at a time when the actions of commendators, abbots, priors, monks, friars, nuns, provosts and canons were coming in for increasingly hostile scrutiny- created a climate in which Humanist and Protestant criticisms of the Church found an increasingly appreciative audience among the ranks of the Church and laity alike, and how the ultimate fate of the subjects of this thesis was indeed primarily determined by a rejection of the myriad forms of imagery and associated doctrines which had so long sustained them, a rejection which did indeed show their perceived demerits in an entirely more damaging light than ever before.

In opening this chapter with a quotation from the *Dreme Of Schir Dauid Lyndesay*, the reader's attention is drawn to the fact that in the period under study the sins of the subjects of this thesis were sufficient to have them pay for their crimes in the "lowest hell" which the poet describes in this piece. Moreover, when Lindsay asks his companion "Dame Remembrance" why religious should suffer thus he is told that it is because of their covetousness, lust, ambition, their failure to preach and instruct the laity, their serving the royal court as opposed to the Church, their misuse of ecclesiastic wealth through gaming, "harllotrie and huris" and on securing the comfort of themselves and their bastard offspring whilst they ignored the needs of the poor; in short, all of the failings examined in the preceding chapters of this thesis! In another of this author's works, *The Fourth Buke Of The Monarche*, the same individuals are seen to suffer for a similar range of crimes in what would appear to be a reference to Purgatory. At this stage it should be noted that Lindsay was by no means the first, nor the only writer to make such a connection between the types of sin being punished and the lives of those who were supposed to be acting as intercessionary agents on the part of man; in the context of the present work, the offices of archbishop and bishop could be seen to frequently relate to monastic houses through the practice of commendation, whilst abbots, priors, monks, friars, regular canons, provosts and secular priests (the last two named serving in the colleges) , could all seen to directly relate to the subjects of this thesis. [1]

Here it is important for the reader to remember that the Church's teachings -as seen in chapter 8 for example- with regards to the terrors of the world to come, were given an added dimension of horror in then current popular imaginings regarding the nature of the unseen world of both good and evil agents which surrounded man in the present life, for although the Church officially sought to counter such superstitious images in the minds of the laity, a sufficient overlap - again as seen in chapter 8- existed between the images of Purgatorial journeys, with their spectral images, and the strange mixture of superstition and piety which had long since formed in the minds of the laity. For example, in the absence of any real defence against the ravages of plague, famine, disease and warfare, man had long sought higher authorities than those of an earthly nature to protect him, the Christian religion therefore continued to satisfy this fundamental need in turn, as it served as a means of tapping into an immense reservoir of unseen power, as witnessed for example in terms of pilgrimage in chapters 10 and 11. In this process, the Church had long established Her position as the catalyst necessary for this transfer of power to take place, the mendicants spreading the fame of God's most favoured servants, the saints, whilst the monastic communities -and in the later medieval period also those of a collegiate nature- played a major, and prestigious part in the process by serving in the "houses" of these spiritual giants. Thus the subjects

of this thesis were perceived to enjoy a far more intimate relationship with the saints and martyrs than was possible for any member of the laity, thereby the laity tolerated their apparent failings as long as the theory that the sins of the celebrant bore no relation to the efficacy of the sacraments, enjoyed majority support.

Such an equation however had its problems, for if it was generally accepted that such benevolent, invisible agents were indeed at work, then by association those of a malevolent nature must also have been equally real and active, in a world where it was believed that the living rubbed shoulders with the dead. Should the reader question the validity of such claims, a chronological link can be made between early observations on these matters and those of the period under study in Scotland. In the fifth century for example, no less a figure than John Cassian remarked that:

> "the air between heaven and earth is so crammed with spirits, never quiet or finding rest, that it is fortunate for men that they are not permitted to see them. "

In terms of later Scottish examples, in the thirteenth century for instance, it was reported that the monks of Glenluce Abbey had witnessed a vision of the "Day of Judgement", in the reign of James IV there were seemingly "many sinistrous omens" before the battle of Flodden, "most of which betokened the death of the king", whilst James V seemingly suffered two ghostly visitations; the first from his dead Justice Clerk, Thomas Scot, the second from Sir James Erskine whom the king had executed on a charge of treason. The mysterious "page" who appeared in William Dunbar's piece entitled *The Freiris Of Berwick* therefore -as seen in chapter 5 of this thesis- would not have been lightly dismissed as mere literary fantasy.

Further instances still may be used to support the above conclusions, for death himself was said to have attended the wedding reception of Alexander III in Jedburgh, whilst in Lord Dacre's campaign in Scotland in the reign of James IV the English forces at one point were said to have believed that the Scots had satan himself acting on their behalf; later still, during the reign of Mary queen of Scots, the chronicler who recorded the progress of the Duke of Somerset's expedition into Scotland in 1547 recounted a dream which the Duke was said to have had. Of this strange event the author stated:

> "there is such dignity and divinity in man's soul, as sometimes in dreams, we be warned of things to come. . . ."

Thus there is little surprising in the use of prayers in the period in question which called for protection against seen and unseen enemies, and from the devils which were though to stalk the lives of all men. [2]

At this point it should be remembered however that an element of doubt existed, which served to upset the Church's claim that the efficacy of her services were unrelated to the character of the celebrant, for many of the early Continental heretics, had maintained that sin on the part of the religious was indeed a major factor in determining the level of spiritual return one could expect. The "Patarenes" of Milan for example denounced not only the Milanese clergy for their corruption, but also -by association- the validity of the sacraments they administered. Ramihrdus of Cambrai, a priest himself, spoke out against the similar failings of the religious of his city and paid for his views with his life when he refused to accept communion from his bishop. Tanchelm of Antwerp, possibly another priest, also preached that the sin of the celebrant invalidated the sacraments of the Church, as indeed did the twelfth century apostate monk, Henry of Le Mans, who took his first steps into heretical activity by making just such a claim. In their views such figures derived at least a measure of comfort from the papacy itself for whilst both Pope Alexander II (1061-73) and Gregory VII (1073-85) never directly supported the claim that sinful religious invalidated the sacraments, both strongly concurred in the condemnation of such issues as simonical and immoral activity on the part of churchmen, Alexander II going so far as to suggest that the laity should shun them. Similarly, although St. Peter Damian (1007-72) was careful to avoid undermining the efficacy of the sacraments, he too condemned the failings of the religious in terms of such issues as chastity and simony, and called for the deposition of offenders. Later still, Jan Hus (1372-1415) also challenged the right of such individuals to remain in office, yet again however there was no direct denial of the efficacy of the sacraments they dispensed, merely their right to do so. Moving forward in time to sixteenth century Scotland, it is interesting to note that in his lengthy discourse against the sins of Churchmen in 1541, Archibald Hay was equally careful to state that he was:

> "well aware that the morals of him who sacrifices do not harm the essence of the sacrifice. . . ."

Arguably however, such a long history of denial could mean but one thing, that is, that for the majority of the laity the sin of the celebrant, was, of considerable importance in determining the benefits to be derived from the Church's services. In terms of the Scottish kingdom in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries therefore, for the prestige enjoyed by the friars as confessors and as

intercessors on behalf of the dead, and the survival of the collegiate churches as the most efficacious means of limiting the trials of the life to come, such a doubt had obvious and serious ramifications.

Further uncertainty still over the relationship between the regular orders and colleges and the services they rendered, occurred as a legacy of the Great Schism and the Conciliarist movement. In terms of these issues, the seventeenth century Archbishop of St. Andrews, John Spottiswood, remarked that it gave rise to a situation in which:

> "two and sometimes three popes [warred] one against another, and [condemned] each others ordinaries, which did so divide the Christian world. . . . This schism [which lasted] twenty-nine years and more, was at last quenched in the Council of Constance, and Martin V chosen pope. "

"Scotland", however, he continued, "at that time lived in the obedience of Benedict", a convocation of the clergy therefore was called at Perth where representatives of the two claimants stated their cases; in the event said Spottiswood, the decision was given to Martin V. As to the effect of this prolonged strife moreover, Spottiswood stated that:

> "the mouths of many were opened. . . . against Rome. John Wickliffe, in England, John Huss, and Jerome, of Prague, in Bohemia, did openly preach against the tyranny of the Pope, and the abuses introduced into the Church; and in this country one called James Resby, was brought in question. . . . and condemned to the fire. . . . some twenty four years afterwards, Paul Craw. . . . for venting certain opinions touching the sacrament of the supper, the ordination of saints, and auricular confession was also condemned and burnt at St. Andrews in the year 1432. "

In short therefore, the Great Schism (1378 to 1417) began with the election of the anti-pope Clement VII in opposition to Urban VII; Urban's successor Boniface IX in turn faced Clement's successor the anti-pope Benedict XIII, thereafter Innocent VII became the third Roman pope, followed in turn by Gregory XII. A General Council of the Church was called to meet in Pisa in March 1409 to reconcile the two papal factions, both Gregory XII and the anti-pope Benedict XIII were subsequently deposed on 5 June and a new pope, Alexander V, appointed on 26 June.

Gregory XII retaliated by calling his own Council and excommunicating Benedict and Alexander, the situation becoming even more confused by the appointment of the anti-pope John XXIII as the successor of Alexander V; for a short period therefore, three rivals -Gregory XII, Benedict XIII and John XXIII- each promoted their own cause whilst denying all spiritual and temporal authority to the others. Provoked beyond patience, the sixteenth General Council -in its fourth and fifth sessions which met on 30 March and 6 April 1415- declared its superiority over the papacy, and in its twelfth session -on 29 May 1514- declared the deposal of John XXIII. Despite the Council of Constance (1414-18) appointing Martin V and deposing John XXIII, Benedict XIII and Clement VIII, three more anti-popes were to appear before 1560 -Clement VIII, Benedict XIV and Felix V- the damage inflicted was irreparable, for the laity witnessed a situation whereby the validity of all the sacraments administered by the rival supporters of each papal faction were called into doubt, moreover the idea of papal superiority in the Church had been over-taken by the notion that the standards of the Church were better guarded by the combined forces of a council, than the will of one man.

If doubt therefore could be cast on the character of the holder of the highest office in the Church -whoever that happened to be- and thereby the validity of the sacraments which his supporters dispensed, how much more of a doubt must have existed in the minds of the Scottish laity over the efficacy of the services rendered by the subjects of this thesis in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries? [3]

Bearing these points in mind, it is important to recall once more the background against which these issues were seen, that is in relation to the twinned issues of Purgatory and damnation, wherein the Church emphasised that very few people were to pass directly to bliss; for the majority therefore, the stark choice was one between transitory and permanent punishment. Here the very "machinery" used by the Church -over centuries- to construct highly detailed images of the unspeakable suffering wrought on the souls confined in these regions, and to relentlessly drive these images home -through the mediums examined in chapter 8 for example- had -by the fifteenth century in Scotland- achieved its purpose only too well. Any perceived errors, or deviations from the ideals set for the regular orders and the colleges therefore, were likely to incur the severest criticism, as the laity saw their already slim chances of redemption recede in proportion to the perceived sins of those who should have been blameless enough to be able to intercede on their behalf. Given such a depressing picture, the desperation of the laity must have been further increased by the "knowledge" that their every word and action in life was being recorded in order that they could be called to account in death. Here, through the use of such material as the

exempla, and their close association with the subject material of the *Dance of Death* -as seen in chapter 8-, the mendicants made the laity aware of the shortcomings of their life and of the ever present spectre of death; yet, just as the enclosed and collegiate communities offered ways of counteracting the effects of accumulating such demerit -the regular houses for instance through confraternity, prayers for patrons, and sometimes through saintly relics, the colleges principally through the celebration of the Mass for their founders and other named individuals-, so too did the friars, for if they emphasised the need for repentance, they also provided a solution in the frequent role they played in the confessional.

Here however, just as the colleges were to suffer from the emphasis they placed on intercession for the dead, they could, it might be argued, along with the enclosed orders, be said to have been further damaged through their association with the issues surrounding the confessional, for as witnessed above -in chapter 7 for example- through appropriation they were responsible for the appointment of most of the parish incumbents in the period prior to the Reformation. In particular however, it might be argued that it was the mendicants who suffered most in this area from their relatively high profile -as witnessed for example in chapters 6 and 8- as confessors. All of the subjects of this thesis therefore were effected, for like the doctrine of Purgatory, confession was an area of the Church's life which was fraught with fearful difficulties for the laity.

Consider for example that the Church stated that confession was an essential element in the life of any Christian, that it was a prerequisite of receiving any of the Church's sacraments apart from baptism, and that a full and proper confession had to be made before the sinner could receive the complete benefits of the sacraments and thus be fully re-instated to the ranks of the faithful. Here an immediate problem emerged, for anyone approaching a confessor was dependent on the latter's correctly defining the degree of penance required to expiate a particular sin. The expertise of the individual receiving the confession therefore, directly determined the spiritual return the individual could expect to receive; a frightening concept, when the punishments of the afterlife as examined in chapter 8, were considered in the light of the charges of ignorance levelled at the majority of parish incumbents as seen in chapter 5.

As witnessed in chapters 6 and 8 however, the friars were well educated as a rule, and therefore arguably possessed a greater understanding of the range of manuals available which advised on the types and varying degrees of severity of sin. Again however, such a situation could create its own problems for it could lead to a situation in which the confessor placed too high an expectation on the sinner to remember all of his misdeeds; conversely, if the confessor made a mistake in interpreting the guidance proffered, and exacted too light a price for a particular

misdemeanour, the penitent retained a modicum of the guilt which he had hoped to wholly eradicate. The definition of sin and its relation to adequate -but not excessive- punishment therefore could vary from confessor to confessor, for despite the existence of numerous manuals on the subject, in the final analysis the responsibility lay with the individual dispensing the essential penance required.

Further confusion arose in what could be defined as venial, and what as mortal sin, for it was held that even if a particular sin was not defined as mortal, if an individual thought that it was, and committed it nevertheless, he would in effect have committed a mortal sin! On admitting such an act however, the possibility existed that his confessor would impose a penance for a lighter offence, thus leaving him in a state of mortal sin, and, thereby, liable to much heavier penalties in the life to come. Even if the individual went no further than merely musing over the committal of a mortal sin, he still incurred its guilt, therefore, if he absent-mindedly committed this "act" in his confession, he again retained the guilt which he would be required to answer for in death; it was quite possible therefore, for an individual to unwittingly accumulate a sufficient weight of sin to incur damnation.

Other factors still must be considered in determining the ultimately negative -and in light of the background of evidence presented in chapter 8 and 9 fearful- atmosphere which surrounded the confessional. Although flexibility was advised in general within confessional guides, that is -for example- that too heavy a punishment was not required of someone too physically weak to perform it, and that even for the able bodied the punishment was not such as to cause the individual to despair and neglect to perform it, the underlying theme was that the confessor enforce a suitably repentant frame of mind in the offender so that he would not immediately return to a state of sin, moreover -and this was an essential requirement before the sinner could achieve full remission of his guilt-, that the penitent make suitable "restitution" for his sins; in short, absolution would not be granted until the individual had made amends to the person or persons whom he had harmed. Fear therefore, as witnessed in chapter 8 was arguably the principal tool of the confessor, for ultimately, faced with a recalcitrant sinner, the Church could wield the power of excommunication; the sinner was placed outside of the body of the Church, had all means of mitigating the horrors of the life to come -as seen in chapter 8-, withdrawn, in effect, whilst he remained in such a state he was damned. To fully understand the form this threat could take, an insight may be gained from a number of sources. In Lindsay's *Three Estates* for example, when "Spiritualitie" faces punishment at the hands of the king and temporal state in parliament, he rounds on his accusers and gives them a dire warning:

> "I mak ane vow to God, and ye us handill Ye salbe curst and gragit with buik and candill; Syne sall we pas unto the Paip and pleinyie, And to the Devill of Hell condemne this meinye. . . . "

Thus cursed, the sinner would be taken out "of the buke of lyfe. . . . ", and wholly excluded from the life of the Church, his civil rights also denied as he was now outlawed in the eyes of temporal justice also, as seen in terms of an act of parliament dated to 1449. In terms of how this could effect the living, the reader should consider that when Cardinal Beaton excommunicated Sir John Borthwick in 1540, the latter lost all his possessions and was forced to flee into exile, returning only in the aftermath of the Reformation. Arguably more worrying still for the laity however, were the spiritual censures involved. In January of 1444/5 for example, the Earl of Crawford died excommunicate whilst trying to negotiate a peace between the warring factions of the Ogilvy and Lindsay families; thereafter, because of the curse placed upon him by James Kennedy, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, his body lay unburied for four days until Kennedy relented and lifted his sentence of excommunication. More impressive still were the events which followed James IV's death at the battle of Flodden, for the Scottish monarch -partly blamed for the conflict- died excommunicate; it was only after Henry VIII wrote to Pope Leo X and had the sentence lifted therefore, that James was finally allowed to be laid to rest. The Church therefore, or in the present context a confessor, held the power of the keys, the ability to lose and bind, both in the present life, and more importantly, in the world to come.

Given the heightened need exhibited in fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland to secure favourable intercession in the life to come -as witnessed in chapters 8 to 11- such a threat could not be taken lightly, but nevertheless, given the content of contemporary confession manuals, the scope for thus condemning oneself unknowingly was great. In what has been described as "one of the most popular vernacular confessional manuals", *The Mirror Of A Sinner* (c. 1470) for example, the penitent was asked such questions as:

> "Have you skipped mass on Sundays and holidays without a good excuse? Have you conducted business on Sundays rather than reflecting on your sins, seeking indulgence, counting your blessings, meditating on death, hell and its penalties, and heaven and its joys? Have you dressed proudly, sung and danced lustily,

committed adultery [a doubly deadly mortal sin on Sundays], girl watched, or exchanged adulterous glances in church or while walking on Sundays. . . ."

In another manual dated to 1504, it was demanded that the penitent narrate not only the sins he had committed but also those he had merely considered, moreover he was to provide his confessor with a detailed account of the exact circumstances surrounding each and every misdemeanour, including the day on which each sin occurred, for its gravity increased if it fell on a Sunday or some other day of religious significance. In addition, the confessor was to determine if the sin were an isolated incident or an ingrained vice, if it were premeditated or merely a spur of the moment event, for all determined the nature of the penance to be imposed. Picture catechisms moreover helped drive home the fearful implications of an incomplete or flawed confession in the minds of the laity; one of the most popular for example, a 1474 re-issue of a fourteenth century example entitled *The Soul's Consolation*, contained the tale of a man plucked from a church congregation by the devil himself, drawn into the clouds and dropped to his death for seducing another's wife. Other images still from such material explained that the dreadful horrors surrounding both death itself -for Divine punishment of sin could begin in the present world- and the inevitable punishment of sin in the life to come -both issues examined in chapter 8- could arise as a direct result of a poorly executed confession. Even children were not exempt from the need to make a proper and complete confession, for they could be asked such questions as:

"Have you believed in magic? Have you loved your mother and father more than God? Have you failed to kneel on both knees or to remove your hat during communion?"

At the same time as the Church demanded ever higher standards of behaviour from the laity therefore -for the Council of Trent in the mid sixteenth century still emphasised the need for complete and genuine confession- the subjects of this thesis -as witnessed in preceding chapters- could be seen to be freely leading lives wholly at odds with the strictures being placed on the laity. Hence, when the character of the "Abbot" in Lindsay's *Three Estates* is questioned as to how he carries out his office, the author has him reply thus:

"My monks and I we leif richt easilie. Thair is na monks from Carrick to Carraill
That fairs better, and drinks mair helsum aill. My prior is ane man of great

> devotioun; Thairfor daylie he gets ane double portioun. . . . My paramours is baith als fat and fair As ony wench into thew town of Air. I send my sons to Pareis to the Scullis. . . . And all my douchters have weill providit. . . ."

The question remained therefore as to how for example the abbots, monks, priors, friars, provosts and canons who were supposed to be interceding on behalf of the laity, could possibly achieve such a task when they too were condemned in many instances -as seen in the extract from the work of Sir David Lindsay above and in that used to open this chapter-, for example, for pursuing what the poet Robert Henryson referred to as a "lustie lyfe sa sweit".

When the nature of the hardships which the laity of Scotland felt the subjects of this thesis had brought upon them therefore -as examined in chapter 7- were added to the evidence of the regular orders and colleges seemingly relentless pursuit of their own interests -as seen in chapters 1 to 5 for example- and the -arguably- widespread feeling that regardless of indulgences and the rewards of such acts as pilgrimage, no-one could feel secure that they had done enough to be free of the taint of sin, the hitherto accepted failings of the regular Orders, and latterly those of the colleges, were indeed bound to be viewed in an altogether more damaging light than ever before in fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland. [4]

Having inevitably undermined themselves, by long demanding such unreasonably high standards of the laity when their own behaviour was seen as so essentially flawed, the subjects of this thesis may be said to have also suffered from the equally long dependence which they displayed -as seen in chapters 8 to 11- on the myriad imagery they employed to both transmit the Church's teachings, and ensure their position as the principal means of intercession between man and God. It is to the inevitable effects of the criticism levelled at such imagery on the way the laity perceived the efficacy of the regular Orders and colleges in Scotland therefore that the present work will now turn.

In terms of early Continental heretical opinion, mention has already been made above, the intention here being to merely provide a little more in the way of a base from which the reader can trace the development of later criticism of the regular Orders and colleges in Scotland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In 1025 for example, during his examination of a group of heretics in the see of Cambrai, Gerard, Bishop of Cambrai discovered that as well as denying the efficacy of the sacraments dispensed by sinful priests, the offenders also rejected all semblance of a belief in the veneration of images used by the Church. In the twelfth century, Eberwin of Steinfield, Prior of the Premonstratensian house of Steinfield near Cologne, talked of the heretics of his region -the

Bogomils-who claimed to be members of an ancient church which possessed three classes of believers, the "electi", "credentes" and the "auditores"; significantly, amongst the ways in which they differed from the Catholic church was in their adamant denial of any truth in the doctrine of Purgatory. The followers of Waldensian teachings for their part rejected, among other tenants of the Catholic faith, the erection of altars for, and appeals to saints, the veneration of images and relics which they dismissed as mere idolatry; Purgatory was also specifically denied. Similar views it should be noted were also held by the Cathars who described images within churches as idolatry, referred to church bells as the trumpets of devils, the doctrine of Purgatory as fraudulent. Significantly, such early heretical groups as these were just as influenced by a horror of the last days of the world and the inevitable judgement to come, their strict codes however show that they firmly believed that such accepted practices as the veneration of saints, pilgrimage, prayers for the dead, Purgatory and all of the myriad trappings associated with these issues, were wholly useless inventions of man which bore no relevance to one's salvation. The powerful appeal to the senses seen to underpin a belief in the efficacy of the subjects of this thesis, as witnessed in chapters 8 to 11 therefore, could be seen to have been early challenged on the Continent, and here it is proposed to examine the ways in which such beliefs could be seen to be acting on the minds of the laity in fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland. [5]

In terms of chapter 1, ample evidence emerged to show that emissaries of the Scottish crown were frequent visitors to the various royal courts on the Continent on matters relating to political and military alliances and the furtherance of trade between Scotland and her overseas allies. From chapters 1 and 3 it emerged that such officials were not alone in being thus exposed to foreign influences, for all may be seen to have travelled with their own retinues. Outwith royal, noble and governmental circles, contact with such views would have been possible on a wider social spectrum through the merchant seamen who plied the trade routes between Scotland and the Continent-principally those with France and more especially still the Netherlands-, through such means as the exchange of troops between Scotland and her ally France in the numerous conflicts of the time -as witnessed in chapters 3 and 7- and pilgrimage -as seen for instance in chapter 11.

Specific, important contacts with Continental reforming views may in turn be seen in the names of some of the most influential figures who served to promote the Reformation in Scotland. John Gau for example, -the author of *The Richt Vay To The Kingdom Of Hevine* which will be examined below- a graduate of St. Andrews University, who appeared in a list of Bachelor of Arts in 1510 studying in the College of St. Salvator, had, by 1533, fled to the Continent and taken up residence in the sea-port of Malmo. Here he would have witnessed the actions of Frederick I, the

king of Denmark, who encouraged the reform movement in his dominions; churches were stripped of their images, their high altars removed and communion tables set up in their stead, the imagery and mystery of the Latin services removed, hymns and psalms now sung in the vernacular. Following the demise of Frederick, his successors Christiern II and III, continued the reorganisation of the Church, their seat of power Copenhagen where Gau himself appeared in 1536 to serve in the Church of Our Lady alongside the Humanist Erasmus.

That Gau was by no means unique may be seen in the career of John Macalpine, the past Prior of the Perth Dominicans who fled first to England -to hold a canonry in Salisbury Cathedral-, thereafter to Wittenberg, -where he joined the university on 25 November 1540- thence on to Copenhagen where he became the chaplain of the King of Denmark and a Professor in theology in Copenhagen University; a contemporary of his, the Dominican Prior of Wigtown, John Macdowell, who fled at the same time, also initially served in Salisbury, thereafter however he chose to remain in England to serve the reformed church there Alexander Alane or "Alesius", a canon of St. Andrews -first encountered in chapter 3 of this thesis when he fell foul of Prior Patrick Hepburn- also appeared in Malmo having fled Scotland, his experiences here forming the content of his treatise *De Apostolicus Traditionibus*, in which he discussed the work of the reformers of the town and the presence of Scotsmen in their midst; another of Alane's colleagues at St. Andrews, John Fethie, it should be noted, appeared in the reforming centres of Wittenburg and Frankfurt.

Robert Wedderburn, author of *The Complaynt Of Scotland* must surely have established early contacts with the Continent for his father was a merchant in the town of Dundee, and he too like Gau was a graduate of St. Leonard's, as indeed were his brothers James and John Wedderburn who were forced to flee for fear of prosecution on charges of heresy; Robert for his part continuing to work within the "old" church as the Chamberlain of the Knights of St. John at Torphichen and as the vicar of Dundee. Notably, all three of the Wedderburn brothers are thought to have been considerably influenced by the teachings of friar James Hewat, then a member of the Dominican community at Dundee, but hitherto attached to the Dominican community at Perth under Prior John Macalpine. Significantly, even though Robert remained in office within Scotland, as the chamberlain of Torphichen he sometimes travelled to France, his familiarity with the current upheaval on the Continent and in terms of Anglo-Scottish relations evident in *The Complaynt*. Although he continued to serve within the Church of Rome therefore, the wide range of influences which he experienced in his varied career meant that like some of his Continental counterparts he too -as seen in chapter 7- was an outspoken critic of the failings of the old church.

Contacts between the Continent and Scotland were well established by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries therefore, the question which arises now, is what kind of views would such well travelled Scots have been absorbing in terms of the spiritual value of the imagery employed by the Catholic Church, the efficacy of pilgrimage, prayers to saints, the intercessionary role of the Church's servants and the fearful doctrine of Purgatory. Here an insight into the Humanist standpoint on such issues could be gained in the *Praise Of Folly* by the ex-Augustinian canon Desiderius Erasmus.

In terms of much of the material employed by the friars -which as seen in chapter 8 underpinned much of the laity's belief in the efficacy of pilgrimage, the existence of Purgatory, and thereby the subjects of this thesis-, Erasmus caustically referred to tales of "ghosts, spectres, phantoms and the dead" -as examined at the beginning of this chapter and in chapters 8 and 10-, as no more than fantastic tales which served to maintain the mendicants income. Closely related to an erroneous belief in such fantasy Erasmus claimed, was the efficacy which misguided people attached to the myriad images, paintings and tokens which surrounded the cult of saints, pilgrimage itself, and the way in which such subjects were thought to be able to influence both one's earthly existence -all issues covered in chapters 10 and 11-, and one's reception in the life to come, particularly in terms -as witnessed in chapter 8- of reducing the time to be spent in Purgatory. All of this Erasmus dismissed as nonsense along with the belief that the myriad prayers and indulgences -examined in chapter 8- which accompanied such material would benefit the soul in the world to come. Funerary services -as examined in chapter 8, 9 and 11- were another target for his keen wit, for he stated, their true aim was to maintain the income of the religious who carried out the rituals involved. Monks, friars and the personnel of the colleges therefore had a vested interest in encouraging the continued fearful state of the laity over the fate of the soul in the life to come, for in maintaining a continued belief in their role as crucial intercessors between man and God they were able to preserve their own seemingly dissolute lifestyles.

Of Martin Luther's approval of such views there can be little doubt, for this past member of the austere Augustinian house of Erfurt attacked such issues with even an even greater ferocity in his *95 Thesis Against Indulgences*; published in 1517 it condemned the acquisition of indulgences as futile, since only God could decide what punishment would or would not be handed out in the life to come; the Church therefore was powerless to influence the matter in any way.

Here it could be said that Luther's move away from the tenets of the Catholic Church arose from the same deep felt fear of Divine retribution which gave rise to the popularity of the collegiate churches in Scotland in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Unlike the

founders and later patrons of such communities however, Luther could see no possible way in which he could make adequate restitution for his sins, either through his own actions, or through the actions of others acting on his behalf. Having long pondered this dilemma, he expressed what he saw as the solution to this weighty problem in his *Sermon On The Threefold Righteousness* of 1518 and in his *Sermon On The Twofold Righteousness* of 1519; for Luther, the answer lay in the sinner's unswerving faith in God to forgive sin through the power of His grace alone. A Christian lifestyle therefore, one in which "good works" predominated, was for Luther not the means of attaining salvation, rather it resulted from the individual already having achieved a state of grace. The sinner therefore was "passive, unable of his own strength to make a single deliberate step to secure his justification", Luther driving this point home in his *Sermon On Indulgences And Grace* (1518) and his tract on *The Freedom Of A Christian Man*, (1520) in which he stated, "[for man] it is faith only that justifies him".

All of the intercessionary works which the subjects of this thesis claimed to render on behalf of man therefore were stripped of any meaning by such a premise, their authority further denied by the forerunner of the last mentioned work, entitled *On The Babylonian Captivity Of The Church*. Here Luther stated that it was possible for the laity to lead exemplary lives in their day to day business; implicit in such a statement the denial of any spiritual reward, hitherto thought to be available to anyone entering a religious order. Moreover, in the same work, he announced his belief in a priesthood of all believers, a theme which he returned to in his *Address To The Christian Nobility Of The German Nation* (1520) . Although he maintained therefore, that some individuals should be empowered to instruct the laity in the scriptures, and ensure their spiritual well being -principally through the power of preaching-, Luther made it clear that those so appointed would be held accountable to the laity they served, and were to enjoy none of the spiritual autocracy of old; the ability to loose and bind therefore was no longer to be seen as the sole prerogative of a religious elite on which a fearful laity depended. Of equal interest in terms of the subjects of this thesis, Luther dismissed the doctrine of Purgatory as false, moreover, he undermined the hitherto "magical" power of the celebrant -so essential in the life of a collegiate foundation-, for although he stated -in keeping with the idea of consubstantiation- that Christ was present in the bread and wine of the eucharist -hence his insistence that the laity receive both- he denied that the bread and wine became the body and blood of Christ; thereby he denied one of the fundamental principles on which the authority of the celebrant lay, that is the laitys reliance on, and belief in, his ability to effect such a miraculous transformation.

To summarise therefore, for Luther, man possessed no free will with which he could actively participate in securing his salvation, rather he saw Christ's sacrifice as having made satisfaction for the sins of mankind; redemption was possible therefore only through faith in the fruits of this sacrifice. The intercessionary roles of the regular Orders and the colleges therefore were wholly denied, the processions, vigils and ceremonial trappings of their lives dismissed as worthless, worse still, their role in dispensing confession, penance, and the means to facilitate absolution -through for instance the shrines of the saints they contained and more especially through the patronage of the services of the friaries and colleges-, were viewed as wholly negative practices which encouraged and fed off the unfounded fears of the laity, principally with regards to punishment in the life to come.

Another familiar figure in the ranks of the reformers whom some Scottish exiles must have encountered, would have been that of the Swiss, Huldreich Zwingli, who served as a priest in the town of Glarus from 1506 to 1516, thereafter in a similar capacity the town of Einsiedeln where he established a favourable reputation as a preacher. By 1521 however he had settled in Zurich, and in the following year displayed his reformist tendencies by taking a wife! In terms of the views he espoused, his theological outlook was strongly influenced by the Humanist Heinrich Wolfin, his own study of the New Testament and the Lutheran doctrine of justification through faith. He condemned such long held beliefs as those linked to pilgrimage and the cult of saints, and from 1523 to 1524 campaigned successfully to have the imagery and trappings of the Roman Church removed, and the Mass banned, in Zurich. In 1525, he justified his stance on such matters in a work entitled *On The True And The False Religion*, by stating that such stimuli had no scriptural basis. Despite such an outlook however, Zwingli did not agree with Luther on all issues. For example, whilst faith was important for him, Zwingli emphasised more the idea of "election", that is, that those souls who were to be ultimately saved had been pre-ordained by God. Moreover, whilst he agreed with Luther's teachings regarding the power of the keys and a priesthood of all believers, he disagreed markedly with him over the nature of the eucharist. Here, Luther had repudiated the idea of transubstantiation in a tract entitled *Against The Heavenly Prophets In The Matter Of Images And Sacraments* (1514/5) , for he maintained that man himself could not, and therefore did not, sacrifice Christ at the altar, the spiritual rewards came rather from faith in the sacrifice which God made of His Son to extirpate the sins of man; nevertheless he believed that Christ was present in the Eucharist. For Zwingli however, the reception of the bread and wine merely acted as an expression on the part of an individual of their faith in the merits bestowed on man by Christ's sacrifice. Regardless of such a division in the respective camps of Luther and Zwingli however, the messages reaching Scotland -

through the avenues examined above-, of the nature of current theological struggles on the Continent, must have been of a highly damaging nature to the standing of the regular orders and collegiate communities in Scotland, particularly in light of the evidence uncovered in the preceding chapters of this thesis.

The views of Zwingli in turn were promoted by the work of Martin Bucer, who attempted to unite the above factions. An ex-Dominican, Bucer had first been influenced by the work of the Humanist Erasmus, thereafter by the doctrine of Luther; as a result he emphasised the need to make the Scriptures widely available, and for their message to be preached with conviction, for in these ways he believed man could be led to a true understanding of the nature of Christ and achieve the "faith" necessary for salvation.

Of equal importance, the work of the Humanist Philip Schwarzerd, known by the title of Melanchton, who taught Greek in the Lutheran university of Wittenberg. He too maintained that the Scriptures should form the basis of all Christian belief, and as a result denied transubstantiation, and the hitherto perceived value of "good works", albeit that in his *De Anima* of 1553 he stated that "the will [had] the power to seek the highest things and to act freely when, by the intellect, the object [had] been shown to it". For Melanchton however, salvation -as in Lutheran doctrine- was essentially a matter of absolute faith in the Gospel, and in the merits imparted through Christ's sacrifice. Thus he denied the efficacy of the Mass, for in his opinion;

> "A sacrifice is what we offer to God, but we do not offer Christ to God. He Himself offered up Himself once and for all. . . ."

In 1531, Melanchton produced what was arguably his greatest contribution to the reformers cause, the articles of the *Augsburg Confession* which he subsequently revised again in 1540. Amongst the points it raised, the fourth and twenty-first article were especially relevant to the subjects of this thesis, for the former stated:

> "Men cannot be justified before God by their own powers, merits or works, but are justified freely on account of Christ through faith when they believe that they are received into grace and their sins forgiven for His sake. . . ."

whilst the latter, although it allowed that saints might serve as an example stated that:

"Scripture does not teach that we may invoke them for aid. . . ."

Again therefore, all of the services offered by the regular Orders and colleges in Scotland were implicitly denied, for if man could secure his own salvation through faith alone, what need had he for the services of these groups to pray for his soul, in this life or in the next? What fear could Purgatory hold when it could be dismissed as having no Scriptural foundation, what point therefore in the great wealth of ceremonial trappings within the Church of Rome, the heavy emphasis on an appeal to the senses, the idea that the enclosed and collegiate communities served a crucial role in housing the relics of saints if the saints themselves could act in no other way than to provide man with a role model for his life? How could the colleges possibly hope to maintain the role they had established for themselves as the principal agents of intercession when the focus of their being -the ability to change the eucharist into the actual body and blood of Christ in a re-enactment of His sacrifice during the Mass and render the miracle of this transformation to the account of the sinner-, was so conclusively denied?

Finally, in this all to brief resume of the opinions which Scottish exiles, ambassadors, merchants, soldiers, pilgrims and others would have been exposed to on the Continent, and which would thus have filtered back into Scotland itself, the work of John Calvin must be included. Of the many publications he was responsible for, his greatest work was his *Institutions Of The Christian Religion*; first published in 1536 the author's preface to his work was addressed to the French monarch Francis I and took the form of a defence of the Protestant cause in France. Initially a small work of six chapters, it had grown by 1559 to a weighty seventy-nine chapters. Essentially, Calvin emphasised the need for a clear grasp of Scripture on the part of all, for, he stated:

"The highest proof of Scripture derives in general from the fact that God in person speaks in it. . . ."

Thus, for Calvin, a personal understanding of the Scriptures was essential for only in this way could man achieve a knowledge of what was required by Divine will. Again therefore the implication was clear, personal knowledge and commitment -faith-was required, rather than a reliance on the intercessionary activity of others on one's behalf.

At this point it is important to consider that in addition to Continental opinion, Scotland could draw on the views of the neighbouring English. On the assumption of Mary I to the English throne for example (1553/8) , many fled the country to seek sanctuary on the Continent, their views,

and a knowledge of the contemporary religious climate in England therefore would have been known to the Scots through the channels examined above. The question arises therefore as to the picture the Scots would have received in terms of an English context, and of its relevance to the lives of the subjects of this thesis, the regular Orders and personnel of the colleges. In terms of the standards of behaviour of the Church's servants in England, a great deal of overlap could be seen with the criticism levelled at the regular Orders and secular clergy of the colleges examined in the earlier chapters of this thesis.

Here, the late fourteenth century views of the Oxford trained theologian John Wyclif set the tone of future observations on the Church in England, for Wyclif used the Scriptures as the bench mark against which religious life should be measured; anything below this standard, or perceived as lacking a biblical foundation he criticised fiercely. In his *Postilla super totam bibliam* (1375/6) for example, he commented upon the emphasis laid on poverty and humility in the early Church, and of how the Church of his time had moved away from such admirable beginnings, this theme repeated in the *De civili dominio* (1376/8) . From such a stance he reiterated the views, as seen above, of the early Continental heretical movements, which claimed that the sin of churchmen did invalidate their authority, moreover, he declared his belief in predestination; the services of the monks and friars and all of the ceremony and trappings involved in their lives therefore were wholly redundant, for despite the high price they exacted from the laity in return for their services, they had no power to determine who would be saved, who damned.

His views in turn were disseminated to a wider audience still, principally, in the earliest stages, through the activities of like minded academics such as Nicholas Hereford, Philip Repton, John Aston and John Purvey. Hereford preached openly in Oxford of the need to strip the Church of its wealth and although he later recanted his influence remained. Repton too recanted and became the abbot of the Augustinian house of St. Mary-In-The-Fields Leicester, his views on the failings of his fellow religious however remained unchanged. Aston and Purvey likewise recanted, but again this would appear to have been to save their lives as opposed to any change of heart; through the initial impetus of these men therefore, the Lollard movement came into being, its views principally those of the theologian Wyclif, implicit amongst them the belief that the regular orders were a spent and corrupt force in terms of the spiritual life of the nation.

Such views as espoused by these men met with support from within the Church itself, in the *Convocation Sermon* of John Colet -dean of St. Paul's- for example, in 1512, this known associate of Erasmus effectively undermined the authority of his fellow religious by recounting their guilt in terms of plurality, simony, immorality, ignorance and greed; in short, many of the failings

levelled at the subjects of this thesis in fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland. Popular support existed in England therefore as it so obviously did in Scotland, over criticisms of the perceived failings of the religious; when Lutheran doctrines began arriving in England in the 1520s therefore they found a ready audience amongst sizeable portions of the laity. William Tyndale for example, published his *The Parable Of The Wicked Mammon* in 1528 whilst in exile in Antwerp which promoted the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone, another of his works *The Practice Of Prelates* (1530) a condemnation of Wolsley and the sumptuous wealth of the Church. These and his other works were highly popular, but of a more direct nature still -arguably- was the work of a London lawyer, Simon Fish and the publication of his *A Supplication For The Beggars* in Antwerp in 1528. In this publication, the chief oppressors of the poor were seen as the "bishops, abbots, priors, deacons, archdeacons, suffragans, priests, monks, canons, friars, pardoners, and summoners", who drained the laity of their resources, principally on the basis of their claims for the existence of Purgatory, and their ability to act on behalf of the souls trapped within it.

In summary therefore, on both the Continent and in England, whilst there was no sudden and complete swing away from adherence to the services offered by the Church of Rome on the part of the laity -for there is ample evidence of continued belief in the cult of saints, images and the need to secure intercession in the world to come-, increasingly, reference was being made to the encouragement and manipulation of the laity's fears, in relation to punishment in the afterlife, specifically through the horrors which surrounded the doctrine of Purgatory. Monks, canons and friars therefore were often perceived as encouraging an erroneous belief in the efficacy of prayers to the saints, confession, penance, absolution and intercession for the dead, merely to maintain the revenue required to support their heavily criticised lifestyles, for many now maintained -as seen above- that simple faith in Christ's sacrifice was the only requirement of salvation, and that any aspect of the Church's teachings which could not be validated in Scripture was no more than the invention of man and could be safely dismissed. This process of control for profit clearly highlighted the activities of the friars, for it was chiefly through the use of exempla that the fame of the saints was spread, moreover, they enjoyed particular favour as confessors, and after the colleges were - arguably- the main agents for aiding the dead. All of the images, paintings and symbolic ritual which supported the above claims of intercessionary authority therefore were increasingly viewed with contempt by growing numbers of the laity who now came to perceive the part they had so long played in manipulating their emotions. In England and the Continent therefore there were outbreaks of iconoclasm as sections of the laity vented their anger on what they had come to view as symbols of their long domination and deception by the Church. [6]

The Scots therefore had no shortage of examples from which to draw parallels with their own contemporary situation, and it is determine the extent to which these views might be seen to be reflected in a Scottish context, and the degree to which it might be said that they effected the survival of the regular Orders and their counterparts in the colleges that this thesis will now turn.

In terms of the work of Sir David Lindsay, alongside his barbed observations of the failings of the Church's servants it should be remembered that he also voiced his scepticism over certain aspects of doctrine. With regards to pilgrimage, Lindsay made his views clear in *The Complaynt Of Sir David Lindesay*, wherein he condemned the practice of "prayand to gravin ymages. . . . , aganis the Lordis command", and recommended that such should be destroyed as recommended in the scriptures. In the *Second Buke Of The Monarche*, Lindsay elaborated on these ideas by stating that "ydolatrye" had so long endured, "First. . . . throuch princis commandiments", thereafter however its survival was directly linked to the "singulare proffeit of the preistis, payntours, goldsmythis, masonnis [and] wrychtis. . . . "; the servants of the Church profiting through sacrifyce and offerandis, and, be thare fayned sanctitude".

In discussing "imageis maid with mennis hand, to quhome bene gyffin divers names", he struck directly -as seen for example in chapters 10 and 11- at pilgrimage and the wealth it accrued:

> "Preistis cryand for thare offerandis. To quhome we Communis, on our kneis,
> Doith wyrchip all thir Ymageris; In kirk, in Queir, and in the cloister, Prayand to thame our Pater Noster, In pylgramage from toun to toun, With offerand and with orisoun, To them aye babland on our beidis, That thay would help us in our neidis. Quhat differis this, declare to me, From the Gentilis Idolatrye?"

Here, -as seen in chapter 11 in the poet William Dunbar's description of his feelings on entering a church- Lindsay has the character "Experience" explain that such imagery was acceptable where it prompted the onlooker "to remembrance" of the saints deeds, and of Christ's sacrifice; however, "Experience" admits that if one were to look no further than the image itself, -as it could be argued from the evidence in chapters 10 and 11 many were inclined to do, then such indeed was merely idolatry. In such figures, Lindsay asked:

> "Quhat favour can ye fynd? With mouth, and eis, and eine thocht thay be maid,
> All men, ay se thay ar dum, deif and blynd".

In referring to the feast day of St. Giles therefore, he made it clear that those present in the ensuing, colourful parade -amongst whom the friars were accorded prominence- were merely contributing to their own spiritual corruption, and ultimate downfall, the demise of the Trinitarian Order in Scotland, England and the Continent -in Lindsay's eyes at any rate- attributable to just such a flaw. Far from aiding the laity in their search for salvation therefore, pilgrimage and its myriad associated images, in Lindsay's view, served only to encourage man to turn from their only true source of consolation, God.

Such opinions as expressed by Lindsay, were to be taken and given added force still in 1533 with the publication of *The Richt Vay To The Kingdom of Heuine* by John Gau. Herein the author referred to the "books and false doctrine used to mislead the people for many years, [and to] the evil and ungodlie teaching of the same". Of the books so employed, the most popular were "callit Hortulus Anime/ And Paradisus anime, that is the gardine of the Saul"; by rights however, Gau stated, they should be referred to as the error, beguilement and destruction of the soul. Gau thereafter talked of the fables and dreams which he said were used to compile such books, of the many prayers they contained and encouraged to diverse patron saints, and of the part played in their compilation by "sum fuyl or munk" drawing on the images of his own mind, and writing such things down that others might use their dreams as "godlie prayers". Gau therefore condemned the "abominable sinnis in thayme", and the promises they made to their readers, of the forgiveness of not only their own sins, but those of their fathers, mothers, and friends souls from the "paynis of Purgatorie". All such works as the legends of saints lives and books of miracles Gau condemned as the work of the Devil, compiled by him to draw people from God, put their faith in a complex array of prayers to the saints, rather than in the only one which was required, the Pater Noster. The notion of receiving "mony thousand zeris of pardone" from the use of particular prayers, Gau therefore dismissed as nonsense, such writings no more than the dreams of men, the cults they gave rise to - in particular that of the Virgin- mere folly.

That such views were aired by others still may be seen in *The Good And Godlie Ballatis*, *The Complaynt Of Scotland*, and in the work of the post-Reformation poet Alexander Scot. In terms of the first work, particular mention was made of the Commandment:

> "Thou sall not mak unto thy self ony gravin Image, nor the similtude of ony thing that is in hevin above, nor in the eirht beneth. . . . ",

the connection between this directive and the subjects discussed above immediately evident, the point repeated at intervals throughout the text. In referring to the use of symbolism within the Catholic Church for example, the *Ballatis* state:

> "Contrair it is to Goddis command, To trow that help may cum, Of Idolis, made be mennis hand, Quhilk ar baith deif and dum. . . . Ze sempill peple, unperfute, Greit Ignorance may ze tell, Of stock and staine hes mair delyte, Than in to God himsell. . . ."

Of the saints themselves, the same tone of futility is attached to hitherto long venerated practices:

> "To pray to Peter, James or Joyhne, Our saulis to saif, power haif thay none, For that belangis to Christ allone. . . ."

Similarly, although the reader is to pay due respect to the Virgin as the mother of Christ, there is no attempt as in earlier Catholic texts -as witnessed for example in chapter 8- to attribute to Her any of Her former role as the chief intercessionary agent in the heavenly hierarchy. All of the trappings of the cult of saints therefore Wedderburn dismisses in terms highly reminiscent of Lindsay:

> "Images of stock, stane, gilt with gold. . . . Thay haif a mouth can nouther say nor sing, Thair eine ar blind, and thay can se nathing, Thay can not heir, thocht men do cry and zell. . . . Quha makis thame, or trustis in thair support, Ar lyke to thame in all maner of sort. . . ."

Equally, the dread images of Purgatory are denied as no more than the means whereby such individuals as priests, friars and monks maintained their flawed lives at the expense of the laity, particularly the poor who sacrificed most to pay for the services which such individuals maintained were essential to one's spiritual well being; the crucial doctrine of Purgatory therefore, which had so determined the rise of the colleges in Scotland, was portrayed as no more than a worthless sham. Finally, in the last author chosen for examination, Alexander Scot, in a piece entitled *Ane New Zeir Gift To The Quene Mary, Quhen Scho Come First Hame* (1562) , the old religion was accused of duping the people through idolatry and its associated evil, pilgrimage:

"Thai lute thy liegis pray to stokkis and stanes And paintit paiparis, wattis nocht quhat thai meine; Thai bad thame bek and bynge at deid mennis banes, Offer on kneis to kis, syne saif thair kin. . . . "

In summary therefore, all of the above writers dismissed the imagery and atmosphere which surrounded the houses of the regular Orders and the colleges. The services which they claimed to perform on the part of the laity were also denied as no more than an elaborate hoax, perpetrated on the people to ensnare them and thus preserve the status of the Church's servants. Thus there was no need to pay for the services of the monks, friars and -especially- the inmates of the colleges, for their prayers could do nothing to improve one's lot either in the present life, or in the world to come. All of the complex imagery and fear surrounding death and the doctrine of Purgatory which the mendicants had been so effective in encouraging and which the colleges had all but successfully monopolised -as witnessed in chapters 8 and 9- and all of the effort and hopes raised by a belief in the rewards available through pilgrimage -as seen in chapters 10 and 11- was also denied therefore, as, of course, by association were the mendicant Orders who spread the fame of the saints, and the monasteries and collegiate houses who acted as guardians of the saints remains; now they could be viewed as no more than the guardians of bones. [7]

At this point it is proposed to turn to further examine the ways in which such reformist tracts helped the Scottish laity grasp the fundamental principles of the Protestant faith as espoused by the Continental and English sources examined above, thereafter the way in which this faith could be seen to be justified in Scotland by Scripture through the increasing availability of English translations of the bible, and thereafter the effects which such material had on the subjects of this thesis.

In terms of reformist works designed to instruct a mass audience, as seen above the work of John Gau may be said to have been of the utmost importance for his *The Richt Vay To The Kingdom Of Hevine* was perhaps the first "manual" of the Protestant faith to be printed in Scots (1533) . As witnessed, it dismissed all of the imagery long employed by the Catholic Church to impart its teachings, as no more than idolatry and superstition, the monks, friars and canons and others responsible for its power it condemned as charlatans, manipulating and encouraging superstition, fear and ignorance among the laity to maintain their role -and thus their flawed lives-as the sole mediators -aside from the saints and martyrs- between man and God, their ministrations thereby the means of attaining salvation. Significantly, Gau's work removed all claim to such

efficacy for it denied the importance of "good works" and the existence of any "free will" on the part of man to influence his destiny. It emphasised instead the simple message that the individual rely on the Scriptures for guidance, and the grace imparted through Christ's sacrifice on the Cross for his salvation, for there was no mediator between man and God but Christ

Moving on in time, it is perhaps possible to suggest that copies of *The Good And Godlie Ballatis*, examined above -primarily the work of James, John and Robert Wedderburn-, were in circulation in pre-Reformation Scotland. It is more than likely that in its earliest stages this work would have been printed in separate portions, and the degree to which it was available may perhaps best be judged by the flight of its chief contributor -John Wedderburn- from Scotland to the Continent to avoid charges of heresy. As to the sources of the works which appear therein, the printing presses of Erfurt, Magdeburg, Strasbourg, and Zurich all contributed to its success, albeit that the underlying theme of this compilation is Lutheran/German. Of the nature of the contents, a heavy emphasis is placed on the key role of music and song in educating the laity in the meaning and content of the Scriptures; thus it was possible to reach as wide an audience as possible regardless of their literacy. The reader therefore is informed of the twelve articles of the faith, and of the need for Divine grace to attain salvation; in this formulae it should be noted, great emphasis was placed on the denial of the efficacy of "good works" and "free will":

> "For never was, nor salbe man, Nor woman in this lyfe. . . . That can be saif, throw thair gude deid. . . . Na kynde of outward deid, How haly that ever it be, May save us at our neid, Nor zit us Justifie. . . . Thair is na deidis, that can save me, Thocht thay be never sa greit plentie, Bot throw Christ and his greit mercy, Quhilk deit thairfoir. . . . "

At other points, the hierarchy of the old Church and its servants from the Pope down are condemned for their appalling lifestyles, and for the idolatry which they not only taught, but worse still forced upon the laity, the author including a piece which appears to be based on the assassination of David Beaton to reinforce the idea of the ultimate fate of those who pursue such a course of action. The Pope is described as a fox, hunted by Christ with his hounds "Peter and Paul" for the false doctrines which he espouses, and for his crimes; of the issues involved, the author refers specifically to plurality, simony, immorality, the sale of pardons, confession, absolution, the doctrine of Purgatory and the cult of saints. All of the myriad trappings of the Catholic Church are stripped of their mystery, exposed merely as a means of extorting funds from the laity, for as the

author informs his readers, "ze get na thing unbocht". Beneath the level of the papacy, the monks, friars, canons, and nuns were condemned for their sinful lives, for their part in perpetuating the above failings within the old Church, and more especially still, for their part in compelling the laity, through fear, to trust implicitly in their ministrations and the superstitions -their "awin dremis"- which they entailed. Here the emphasis lay not merely on the effects of excommunication -as examined above-, but in the inquisitorial activities of the Church, the author providing a grim picture of the dread which surrounded early Protestant activity:

> "At midnycht myrk thay will us tak, And in to prison will us fling. . . . Then faggottis man we burne or beir, Or to the deide thay will us bring. . . . In hour of deid, grant us thy strength, Gladlie to thole thair crueltie. . . . "

Such was the fate therefore of those individuals who failed to flee in time for the safety of the Continent. Both of the above examples of Scottish Protestant texts therefore denied the efficacy of all of the intercessionary activity which the servants of the old Church claimed to render on behalf of man, moreover they removed the fear of the power of excommunication for they maintained that the power of the keys belonged to all "trew preichouris"; all of these points the reformers backed by reference to Scripture. In terms of cultivating a belief in the individualistic nature of the Protestant faith therefore -as opposed to a reliance on the services of others-, the appearance of vernacular translations of the Bible were of paramount importance, and it is to a brief analysis of the effects which the increasing availability which such texts had on lay perceptions of the regular Orders and colleges in Scotland, that this thesis will now turn.

Here, the earliest significant contribution towards providing the laity with the means of deciding for themselves what constituted the true means of attaining salvation, came in the publication -in 1525 at Worms- of William Tyndale's translation of the New Testament. Now, the literate sections of the laity at least could see for themselves that there was no foundation for the myriad intercessionary beliefs which the Church of Rome had long taught were essential for the soul's welfare; rather the emphasis clearly lay on the Lutheran claim that only faith in the merits imparted by Christ's sacrifice could justify hope for a favourable reception in the world to come. Greater access to the bible was in turn provided by the subsequent activities of one of Tyndale's early collaborators, an ex-Augustinian friar named Miles Coverdale, for in 1537 -the same year John Rogers, another of Tyndale's known associates, produced his own translation of the Scriptures- he published his translation of the New Testament in Zurich, and shortly afterwards

copies began arriving in England. Still more significant steps towards making the laity aware of Scriptural truths were taken by this individual, for he produced -at Cromwell's request- an officially sanctioned translation of the bible known as the *Great Bible*; printed in Paris it appeared in England in 1539, copies of this work being produced to cater for a "mass" readership in the following year. From a fairly early period therefore, the Scots possessed the means to see for themselves that the Continental and English reformers dismissal of many of the claims of the enclosed, mendicant, and secular clergy on the grounds of their lacking biblical support were indeed justified, such a suggestion supported in the words of one English observer on the Continent in 1527 who remarked that:

> "There were divers merchants of Scotland, that brought many of such like books and took them to Scotland, a part to Edinburgh, and most part to the town of St. Andrews".

Moreover, in 1543, Lord Lisle advised the Governor Arran to:

> "Lett slipp emong the people [of Scotland] in this tyme, the Bible and New Testament in Englishe, whereby they may perceyve the truthe, and so shall they knowe the better howe to eschue sedicion. . . . "

Here it should be noted that the servants of the old religion who form the basis of the present work, had themselves unwittingly contributed to their own downfall, for as well as being involved in the running of leading Continental universities, where members of the Church in Scotland and the Scottish nobility had the opportunity to pursue higher education, they also provided the means of higher acquiring a higher education within Scotland itself. As witnessed in chapter 5, such groups provided what was available in terms of educational opportunities for the nation's poorer scholars, for all colleges possessed schools -if only to train potential members of a choir- and most monasteries and friaries were also involved in providing at least the opportunity of a basic education. Should it be argued at this point that the majority of the Scottish population in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries still lacked the means to interpret the Protestant message for themselves, it should be remembered that much of the Protestant material in circulation employed an extremely basic approach which frequently resorted to graphic illustrations to put across its message. It would have been possible for someone possessed of the basic tools of

literacy therefore to interpret the text for those who had no such skills, and for the latter group to achieve a competent grasp of the aim of the printed material in front of them though discussion and by resorting to the pictures included. The means of instructing the masses in the teachings of the new religion therefore, might be said to have been accomplished to a degree on the established back of the old. For example, one means of achieving a mass change over from old to the new religion, was in effect to replace the saints of the old with those "saints" of the new. Thus, from around 1520/1, Luther began appearing in settings normally associated with pictorial representations of the leading lights of the old faith; initially for instance he might be shown in association with a dove, the symbol of the Holy Spirit, the implication being that he was marked out as chosen by God just as the old saints had been. A further development of this theme was the additional use of the nimbus, the image of Luther as saint complete it might be said, in his edition of the New Testament which appeared in 1524/6, in which he appeared seated in a study, a dove and nimbus above his head, his eyes raised to the figure of Christ on the Cross, a picture of contemplation, a man "chosen", marked out by God. Similar overlaps with the imagery of old could be found in other sources still. In a Protestant pamphlet dated to 1521 for example, the Devil appears in the guise of a monk, Luther as a stern, determined, infinitely superior being, his very stare enough to reduce his foul adversary to a grovelling wreck. The image hitherto associated with the spiritual guardians of the old Church, who were seen as being especially worthy of veneration, who were marked out by God and thus possessed the ability to combat the forces of man's chief adversary, satan, was thus transferred quite clearly to Luther, the garb of the monk telling the "reader" that the old order now stood in league with the enemy. Such publications therefore could also be used to put across many of the criticisms examined in the preceding chapters in relation to the regular orders and inmates of the colleges in Scotland. In one popular woodcut dated to 1523 for example, a monk is depicted in the act of buying a farmer's daughter to live with him as his mistress, simple dialogue being credited to each of the characters as the scene unfolds. Here, it should be noted that visually the message is very easy to grasp, in addition, just as *The Good And Godly Ballads* were to employ popular tunes to fix their message in the minds of the populace at large, so the dialogue of this, and indeed many other such works, was set to rhyme so that those who could not read might quickly remember the text if it was read to them by another.

As to the impact such material was having in contemporary Scotland, the works of the poet Lindsay again serve as a means of ascertaining popular opinion at this time. In *Kitteis Confessioun* for example, the "Curate" asks if "Kitte" knows of "na Heresie", when she replies that she does not know what this means, the "Cyrate" replys "Inglis Bukis". The possession of such

works therefore carried a charge of heresy, that their message was gaining favour however was equally evident, for in "Kitteis" discourse, Lindsay has her state that only Christ could offer absolution and the removal of sin; the mendicant role in society therefore was clearly greatly undermined, for hitherto the friars had long enjoyed favour through lay belief in the need for confession itself.

In *The First Buke Of The Monarche*, the popular desire for such material in the vulgar tongue emerges, for here the poet bemoaned his lack of understanding of "Latyne, Greik, and ald Hebrew. . . . " and of the need therefore for "all bukis necessare for our faith" to be available in translation. Using the examples of St. Jerome and St. Paul he argued that the use of Latin in the services of the Church was all very well for those schooled in such matters, yet when it came to such a weighty matter as "the common weill and our Salvatioun", there was a real need for a medium capable of transmitting Christ's message to as wide an audience as possible. In the *Fourth Buke Of The Monarche*, Lindsay demonstrates that other Protestant claims were in current circulation in Scotland, for in discussing the Last Judgement he stated:

> "Bot those quhilk bene Predestinate Sall from the erth be Elevate. . . . ,

a view more in keeping with the doctrine of Melanchton than the teachings of the subjects of this thesis, whose intercessionary role such a statement so obviously denied.

In his *Satyre Of The Thrie Estatis*, Lindsay provided yet further evidence of the presence of such material in Scotland, in the trial of his character "Veritie" for heresy. At her trial friar "Flattery" interjects:

> "Quhat buik is that, Harlot. . . . Out, walloway, this is the New Testament, In Englisch toung, and prentit in England! Herisie, herisie, fire, fire incontinent!"

Ominously, for the old religion, Lindsay has "Veritie" tell her tormentors:

> "Howbeit ye put ane thousand to torment, Ten hundreth thowsand sall rise into thair place. . . . "

At a later stage in the same work, the poet acknowledged the impact which such a work would have on hitherto tolerated practices, for he has the character of the "Pardoner" remark that

he gave to the keeping of the Devil both the New Testament and those who translated it, for as men learned the truth, he knew his sly trade would perish; thereafter he voiced his opinion that such men as Luther and Melanchton should have been smothered in the crib, and that St. Paul should never been born! All of the issues raise above in relation to Continental and English changes in religious allegiance therefore, which struck at the fundamental beliefs behind the existence of the regular Orders and colleges in Scotland, could be seen to be in common circulation within the realm in the sixteenth century; the degree to which they posed a threat to the continued survival of the subjects of this thesis perhaps best determined initially through a brief examination of examples of the legislation passed to limit the importation and dissemination of such material, of the attempts on behalf of the old Church itself to combat the Protestant message, and lastly through instances of heresy trials in Scotland.

In terms of the first issue, legislation, James I could be seen to have instigated action in 1424 against any "heretics and Lollards" that might be found within his realm. In 1525 parliament passed an act which forbid the importation of Lutheran works into Scotland, and banned any discussion of his doctrine other than for the purpose of its denial, while in the same year the king - James V- wrote to the secular authorities in Aberdeen asking them to confiscate any Lutheran material they might discover. In 1527 it was declared by parliament that anyone who helped in the spread of such doctrine would be severely punished, whilst in 1532 parliament took steps to combat any opposition to the doctrine of the established Church. On 7 and 11 May 1534, the Lords of Council met to discuss the apparent wilful disobedience of the authorities in Dundee in their failure to apprehend the renegade friar, Alexander Dick, whilst in 1535 parliament was again trying to prohibit the importation of Lutheran books and the spread of his doctrine. On 14 March 1540/1, James V warned his subjects against any irreverence towards the Virgin Mary and the saints, maintaining the traditional line that intercessionary prayers should be directed towards them and a suitable reverence paid to their statues; Papal authority moreover was to be respected. On 2 June 1543, the Regent Arran and the Lords of Council turned their attention to the problem of "sclanderous billis, writtingis, ballatis and bukis that [were] dailie maid, writtin and prentitto the diffamatioun of all estatis baith sperituale and temporale. . . . ", whilst in 1549 every bishop was ordered to search his diocese to discover who was keeping such material, and when it was found it was to be confiscated and burnt. In 1551/2, parliament threatened punishment against those who printed such material, the success of this act and the other measures referred to above perhaps best judged by the demands made by the Regent Mary in 1556, that the secular authorities in

Edinburgh track down anyone found to be spreading heretical material and breaking images of saints.

In terms of the second issue, the measures taken by the old Church itself to counter Protestant doctrine, the numerous sessions of the Council of Trent made clear the Catholic defence. For example, whilst it demanded acceptance of "all the books. . . . of the Old and New Testaments", the Council also demanded obedience to, and acceptance of, the "traditions" of the Church, whether they related to "faith or to morals, as having been dictated either orally by Christ or by the Holy Ghost, and preserved in the Catholic Church in unbroken succession"; anyone who knowingly rejected "the aforesaid traditions" was cursed in the eyes of the Church. More importantly still, the Council decreed that in order to "check unbridled spirits" no one should rely on their own judgement:

> "In matters of faith and morals pertaining to the edification of Christian doctrine [or] presume to interpret [the Scriptures] contrary to that sense which the holy mother Church, to whom it belongs to judge of their true sense and interpretation has held and holds. . . ."

The printing, distribution and ownership of any material which contravened these rules was to be punished by cursing and "fire"; all of these strictures the Council stated, were introduced so that "what ought to be approved may be approved and what ought to be condemned may be condemned". To ensure that the correct doctrines were received by the laity, the moral, residential and educational standards of the Church's servants were to be improved, so that the laity could be better instructed in the mysteries of the faith, and thus prevented from straying down the path of false doctrine. Of the issues raised in particular, the Council's sessions reinforced the traditional emphasis on the importance of "free will", the need for "confession", "penance", "contrition", "satisfaction", "good works", the existence of "Purgatory", the importance of "extreme unction", the definition of "venial" and "mortal" sin, the reality of "transubstantiation" and its merits, whilst they denied such claims as "predestination" and a reliance on the power of "faith" alone.

In chapter 6 of this thesis, it emerged that many of the issues concerned with a reform of the behaviour of the servants of the Church -as expressed in the sessions of the Council of Trent, and by similar demands for reform from other Catholic reformers- were mirrored by the issues raised in the Scottish Church councils of the sixteenth century, whilst matters relating to the need to impart a greater understanding of Catholic doctrine to the laity were handled more especially in the

Catechism of Archbishop John Hamilton in 1552. In terms of the last work, although a greater emphasis was laid on the need for a "true and living faith" in the merits of Christ's sacrifice having made satisfaction for the sins of all, and although it was specified that such a faith was necessary for the sinner to receive the benefits of the sacraments, this emphasis on the importance of faith, and the apparent neglect of a full and lengthy discourse on the Mass, should not be taken as an indication of an attempt to placate Humanist or Protestant questioning of Catholic Doctrine, for the crucial importance of the Mass in terms of alleviating the sufferings of souls in Purgatory was driven home forcefully, as indeed was the need for the living to render their prayers for the dead.

In effect therefore, in terms of the subjects of this thesis, the issues which supported their long held role as the only intercessionary agents between man and God other than the saints, were repeated throughout; the veneration of the myriad images employed by them justified, as indeed were the services they claimed to render on behalf of the dead.

In terms of the third issue raised, the pursuit of heretics, that Lindsay's observations regarding the danger of possessing a copy of the New Testament in English were indeed accurate, may be seen in the charges Cardinal David Beaton levelled at Sir John Borthwick in 1540, for the Cardinal condemned Borthwick for just such an act. As stated above however, such issues as the denial of the efficacy of the myriad trappings employed by the old Church -and thus validity of the subjects of this thesis-, had long been of concern on the Continent and in England, and, whilst initially low key, could also have been seen in an earlier age in Scotland, for prior to the coronation of Robert I of Scotland, Pope John XXII had demanded the king agree to extirpate all heresies from his kingdom. Other isolated references still occur, until in 1407 Scotland saw the dramatic burning of the heretic James Resby -a follower of Wycliff doctrine- in Perth. In 1494, the nation witnessed the trial of the "Lollards of Kyle", who, according to Knox, spoke out against such issues as keeping and worshipping images, the veneration of saints and the practice of directing prayers to them, transubstantiation, papal authority, the ability of any man to forgive sin -for only God could act in such a fashion-, excommunication and clerical monopoly of the power of the keys. Other, "higher profile" cases were to follow, and in some instances those charged either did not escape with their lives or were forced into exile to preserve them.

In 1534 for example, David Straton and Norman Gourlay were executed for their Protestant sympathies, whilst in 1535, Alexander Seton, Prior of the Dominican house of St. Andrews, took the bold step of preaching the Lutheran doctrine that only through faith in the merits of God's power and the mercy of Christ could man attain salvation. Given his position as the Confessor of James V, this statement was bound to attract attention, and Seton was fortunate to

escape the same fate as Straton and Gourlay, by fleeing into exile in England where he served as the Chaplain of the Duke of Suffolk. In the same year another of his Dominican brethren, John Willock, followed his example and also fled to serve the new Church in England.

Such a background of mendicant heresy set the scene for the ill fated performance of a Passion play written by another Blackfriar, John Kelour, in which the friar made the mistake of condemning what he saw as the failings of the Church around him in the presence of James V. This event took place around 19 April 1538, the good friar condemned to the flames for his boldness on 1 March 1538/9 in Edinburgh along with John Beveridge a fellow Dominican, a chaplain named Duncan Simpson, Thomas Forret ex-canon of Inchcolm and vicar of Dollar and Robert Forrester "a gentleman"; all perished in the presence of the king. In Glasgow in the same year -1538-, an Observant friar named Jerome Russel and a young man named Kennedy were burned, whilst in the following year no less a figure than George Buchanan was imprisoned, as Spottiswood put it, "for some biting verses written against the Franciscans. . . . "; unlike the others just mentioned however, Buchanan made good his escape to France. In January 1543/4, Robert Lamb, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Ronaldson and his wife, Helen Stark were put to death in Perth, whilst around the same time the Blackfriar John Roger met his death supposedly attempting to escape from the sea tower of St. Andrews castle. In 1546 George Wishart met his death at St. Andrews, and again, if Spottiswood can be relied upon in his description of the event, it was a horrifyingly prolonged affair which earned Wishart the respect of all present. In 1550 Adam Wallace was accused of having denied the validity of the Mass, Purgatory, and the practice of praying to the saints to intercede on behalf of the dead, whilst even greater sympathy and horror than that expressed over Wishart's execution was arguably elicited from those who witnessed the end of Walter Miln in 1558, for Spottiswood described him as "old" and "decrepit".

More influential still perhaps were the earlier actions of Patrick Hamilton, the Commendator of Fearn, for he was forced to flee to the Continent in 1527 to escape the charge of heresy. Whilst there he travelled to Marburg University where he published a tract entitled *Patrick's Places*; therein he espoused his belief in the Lutheran doctrine regarding faith and salvation. Despite the obvious danger, he returned to Scotland and was condemned in 1528 by an inquisitorial panel comprised of James Beaton, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, David Beaton -his nephew, who held Arbroath Abbey-, Bishop William Chisholm of Dunblane and Patrick Hepburn the Prior of St. Andrews. The irony that he should be condemned by men such as these, was not lost on contemporary observers, and it was largely through the sympathy which he showed for Hamilton's views that Alexander Alane -as seen chapter 3-, came to earn the displeasure of

Hepburn, his prior, and was therefore compelled himself to flee persecution. One Henry Forrest was not so lucky however, and if Spottiswood is to be believed, met his death after confessing his approval of Hamilton to "Friar Walter Lang" who betrayed his confidence and thus condemned him to the flames. In the same year -1527- Spottiswood stated that one Norman Gourlay and a David Straiton met their deaths; the former for having denied the existence of Purgatory and the authority of the Pope, the latter for affirming that "tithes were not due to churchmen".

Despite the increasing prevalence of legislation designed to combat the spread of heresy in the period c. 1450 to 1560 therefore, just as Lindsay's character of "Veritie" had warned, for every one who was martyred -or indeed forced into exile- several more stepped forward to fill their place, for these are just some of the names which appear in the ranks of those persecuted for Protestant views. Significantly, as seen above, the friars took a leading role in rejecting the very teachings which had so long sustained them, for not only did they appear among those hunted for their views, they had enjoyed for a brief time the approval of the Earl of Arran, the Dominican Thomas Gwilliam for example was allowed to preach at court, the Dominican John Rough became the Earl's own chaplain, whilst Arran also showed particular favour to the Dominican John Roger, the friar who was soon to die at St. Andrews; all of this at a time when the Earl legalised the reading of the Scriptures in the vernacular in parliament, and lifted the hitherto severe penalties levied for its possession.

Thus the laity could see a denial of the efficacy of the enclosed and mendicant orders, and the secular clergy of the colleges, in terms of an absence of a foundation for their activities in the Scriptures, in terms of -albeit short lived- governmental approval and -most importantly- in terms of the views of a growing number of individuals from the regular Orders themselves; men whose orders had hitherto long supported the myriad symbolism used to establish, maintain and encourage a fearful belief in such doctrines as Purgatory, and the need to secure the services of the old Church to obtain favourable, Divine intervention both in the present world, and in that to come.

Despite the attempts by the Church to condemn challenges to the veracity of Her servants therefore, many of the issues raised at Trent, by the Church Councils in Scotland and by Archbishop Hamilton's *Catechism*, could be seen as no more than a further admission of guilt on the part of the Church itself. Moreover, as witnessed in the preceding chapters of this thesis - especially chapter 6 - whilst there were attempts to raise standards in the Church, most of the individuals who form the focus of the present work seemed more intent in preserving their seemingly wholly flawed, privileged lifestyles, the involvement of some in the execution of their

opponents seen as no more than further evidence of just such an outlook. The defence mounted by the old religion at all levels therefore, in terms of maintaining a continued belief in the efficacy of the myriad forms of imagery and intercessionary services which had long been in use, could be seen as a heavy handed attempt to retain lay belief in, and fear of, the principal means used by the regular Orders and colleges to justify their existence. [8].

That such indeed was the growing belief in Scotland, may be seen for example in the views expressed by John Knox in his condemnation of the Mass, the doctrine of Purgatory and the denial of transubstantiation as early as 1547. The Mass he dismissed as idolatrous, blasphemous, for in his opinion whilst Christ was present in a spiritual sense, the Gospels made it clear that there was no transformation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ; the claim on the part of the Catholic celebrant that he could effect this miraculous transformation therefore Knox viewed as a "blasphemous insult to the one and all sufficient sacrifice of Calvary". The doctrine of Purgatory for its part he denied on account of its lacking any Scriptural basis, and because of his belief in the Calvinist doctrine of pre-destination, which wholly removed the notion that man's actions could in any way influence Divine justice; prayers rendered by the living on the part of the dead were pointless, as indeed was the veneration of relics and the cult of saints. All of this could be seen to strike at the strong appeal to the senses examined in the present work therefore, the trappings used to shape and direct the beliefs of the laity when they were exposed to the houses of the subjects of this thesis. Thus robbed of the trappings which had hitherto ensured that the laity would tolerate long perceived failings in their lives, the subjects of this thesis were open to more direct forms of criticism still; thus for example the *Beggars Summons* was issued on 1 January 1558/9, its contents a demand that the friars leave the hospitals they controlled voluntarily, by 14 May 1559. Although it reflected in some measure the tone of Simon Fish's *Supplicacyon For The Beggars* of 1529, this later piece concentrated on the friars supposed exploitation of the poor as opposed to the Supplication's emphasis on their perceived immorality. Arguably, the sentiments contained in the *Summons* could equally be viewed as a condemnation of the colleges, for as seen in chapter 9 of this thesis, the charity offered to the bedesmen they aided was dependent on their rendering a service to the community as a whole, thereby to aid the soul of the founder of the community and any of the later patrons of the house drawn from his family; similarly the older monastic houses could also be condemned on the same premise, for the charity they offered was seen more as a means of benefiting the souls of the monks, through the perceived merits of rendering "good works", than from any innate desire to alleviate the sufferings of the poor. All of the hitherto tolerated failings of the subjects of this thesis therefore, as examined in the preceding

chapters of this thesis, were, as stated, now seen increasingly in an entirely different light both by growing numbers of the laity and past servants of the old religion itself. That something more than another mere attempt to curb the excesses of the regular Orders and colleges in Scotland was called for moreover, could be seen from the fact that although the Papacy had made several attempts to reform the Church, many of the ingrained sins of the religious of fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland as witnessed in this thesis, were merely a reflection of the activities of the papal see itself.

Here again, the work of Sir David Lindsay may be used to gain a brief insight into the way in which the papacy was viewed by the general populace in Scotland in the period in question. In *The Thrid Buke Of The Monarche* for example, Lindsay describes "the potent pope of Rome" who ruled supreme over all "Christendome". Just as the "Roman Empriouris" therefore had a chain of command to support them, so too the Pope had Cardinals, archbishops, bishops down to "Abbottis and Priouris", thereafter:

> "Legionis of preistis secularis, Peresonis, Vicaris, monkis, and freris. . . . Fair Ladyis of Relegioun. . . . Fals Heremits, fassonit lyke the freirs. . . . Proude parische clerkis, and pardoneris. . . ."

This vast organisation, he held together through fear, for as Lindsay said, those who opposed him were "put to deith, be fyre or swourdis". Should his secular might fail to intimidate then the pope could always rely on his even greater spiritual power, for he was the heir of St. Peter; thus he possessed the ultimate power of the keys, and as such in the writer's eyes was the "Prince of Purgatorie", who possessed the authority to deliver someone from, or commit them to, this dread realm of darkness. Instrumental in his ability to wield such power, the influence granted through the confessional, for through the priests and friars, Rome knew the innermost secrets of all. Despite the responsibility which the papacy carried regarding the salvation of all however, according to Lindsay, those who held the see of Rome went "fyscheing" not for the souls of men, but for the temporal lands and power which they possessed, the papal coffers therefore swelled through such means as the enforcement of teinds, and the sale of "Bullis and Benefyce". In *Ane Satyr Of The Thrie Estaitis*, Lindsay turned to the immorality of the papacy, his character of "Sensualitie" listing her numerous physical attributes and explaining to the audience that they have brought "Pleasouris infinite" to "All the kings of Christindome. . . . And specialle unto the court of Rome". "Chastitie" for her part supports this suggestion by saying that she blamed the Emperor Constantine for her predicament:

"For sen he maid the Paip ane king In rome I could get na ludging, But heidlags in the mirk. . . ."

In the same piece, Lindsay has the character of the "Pardoner" expose the duplicity of the papacy, for whilst the pope led a profligate life, he nevertheless encouraged a state of fear in the minds of the laity over the punishments in the life to come. Only the services which his Church offered -in this instance pardons- could reduce the suffering which all but the elite would be expected to undergo, Lindsay pointing to the nonsensical situation which resulted form such a corrupt belief in Purgatory, whereby the "Pardoner" attempts to sell a "Pauper" a remission of "a thousand yeir of pardons", the latter refusing since he considered such a notion absurd, particularly since he felt the "Pardoner" himself was destined for Hell! When however -despite all of the powers described above-, the Pope felt that his authority was still being challenged, and that something more than having secular rulers act on his behalf was called for, then, said Lindsay, they -the laity- could look to see the Pope defend himself militarily.

The question arises here as to how accurate a picture Lindsay provides however, for if the papacy could indeed be viewed in such a negative way, then his suggestion in *The Fourth Buke Of The Monarche*, that the Pope's servants -among whom were the subjects of this thesis- were also flawed, might be more readily accepted by the laity as a whole. Here it is important to remember that a defence of sorts can be made in favour of the papacy, for Pope Adrian VI (9 January 1522/ 14 September 1523) had been schooled at Zwolle by the Brethren of the Common Life, and on assuming the papal throne stated that his prime objective was the reform of the Curia itself. Here however, despite his honourable intentions, Adrian himself was forced to admit that:

"No man should be surprised if he does not see all errors and abuses immediately corrected by us. For the sickness is of too long standing, nor is it a single disease, but varied and complex. We must advance gradually to its cure and first attend to the more serious and dangerous ills, lest in a desire to reform everything at the same time we throw everything into confusion. . . ."

In short therefore, whilst he in effect condemned the Church, and admitted the urgent need for reform, he would tolerate no doctrinal changes. The laity therefore could see the corrupt institution described by Lindsay thus defended and preserved intact, in terms of the present work,

the dominion of the regular Orders and colleges over the populace would remain unchanged despite such an obvious admission of guilt from the highest authority in the Church. An even greater admission of failure on the part of the papacy to maintain acceptable standards within the Church was made by Paul III, for in a report he commissioned the Pope was told that the papacy had long permitted simony, plurality and the exchange of benefices. Moreover, the Pope was advised to phase out those religious orders who no longer fulfilled an active role in the spiritual life of the laity, the friars for their part were to be examined more carefully than in the past to ensure their ability to preach, those within religious Orders were to be compelled to observe such strictures as residence and the wearing of their respective habits. Unfortunately for Paul III, the findings of his commission fell into the hands of Luther, who was quick to seize on its report as evidence of all of the Protestant criticisms of the old religion.

As to the other observations made by Lindsay, regarding the idea of papal claims of supremacy over secular rulers, ample evidence could be provided to support his arguments over a long period of time. In terms of his claim that the Emperor Constantine had created the Pope a king, Lindsay referred to the reign of Pope Silvester I (31 January 314/ 31 December 335) and the c. eight to ninth century forged document which claimed the Emperor had offered the Pope his crown; significantly, this document was only exposed as a forgery as late as the sixteenth century. During the reign of Pope Gelasius I (492/6) , the case for papal supremacy was taken a stage further, for Gelasius claimed that since the Church was responsible for spiritual as opposed to material matters, it operated on a higher plane; the *Donation of Constantine* and the *Galacian Principal* therefore, set the scene for papal/state power struggles over centuries to come. During the pontificate of Gregory VII (1073/85) for example, papal opposition to lay investiture of ecclesiastics reached crisis point, for in 1075 Gregory issued a document known as the *Dictatus Papae* which contained the claim that the Pope had the power to depose the emperor, in this instance, Henry IV of Germany. In the subsequent dispute between the two men, the Emperor was excommunicated - twice!-; he retaliated by organising the appointment of the anti-pope Clement III, and marching on Rome to oust Gregory. The Pope countered by enlisting the support of Norman forces under Robert Guiscard to defend him , but in the event this proved a mistake, for they sacked Rome and carried Gregory into exile. Significantly, after his death at Salerno on 25 May 1085, Gregory's successor, Victor III (24 May 1086/7) , was to find his way to Rome blocked not only by the Emperor's continued hostility, but also by the troops of the anti-pope Clement III who showed no willingness to renounce his power. In the ensuing papacy of Urban II (1088/99) , further evidence of the papacy's willingness to step outwith the realms of spirituality become evident, for through the

use of bribery he managed to regain Rome, and to ensure the military power of his position he negotiated a series of alliances with Conrad, King of Lombardy -Henry IV's errant son-, William II of England -whom he won over by agreeing that papal legates required the king's approval to enter his kingdom-, Philip I of France -with his tacit approval of the king's adulterous marriage-, and Roger I of Sicily -whom he befriended by granting him and his successors legatine powers over ecclesiastical matters on the island-.

At this point it might be suggested that such material, like Lindsay's reference to Constantine, was long outdated, but this was not so, for a Scottish audience in the sixteenth century could draw on contemporary events. In 1509/10 for instance, Louis XII, king of France wrote to James IV, "to advise him of the hostile activities of the Pope -Julius II [1503/13]- against himself and his temporal and spiritual power. " It transpired that the Pope had allied himself with the Venetians and expelled the French from Genoa, moreover, that Julius was seeking to ally himself with the Swiss not only to further oppose Louis, but to gain support in his conflict with "the Duke of Ferrara on the subject of certain saltworks, which he [the pope] claimed to be his. . . . " The French king in this instance therefore would seem to have been attempting to reassure himself of James IV's support, lest he too was won over to support Julius.

The issues here were complex, and showed the papacy in an entirely unfavourable light. The "salt" referred to was alum, a mineral salt, used not only in glass making but in the dyeing of cloth; demand for it was high in the west, and when rich deposits of this mineral were found at Tolfa, north of Rome, the papacy claimed it as its own. To reduce the effectiveness of eastern competition the papacy declared that the Christian nations of the west buy all the alum they required from Tolfa; thus it was reckoned that the already highly lucrative income which the papacy derived from such sources as the sale of indulgences and dispensations, the collection of annates, the sale of office, could be increased still further, if a monopoly could be established for this highly sought after commodity. As French influence grew in northern Italy however, Julius II became concerned over possible threats to his control over the supply of alum; initially he sought an alliance with the Venetians who also profited from their part in the alum trade, but he alienated them in his attempts to provoke war between France and the Emperor Maximillian, by offering to recognise the claim made by the Emperor to territory the Venetians felt was theirs. The agreement with Maximillian fell through, but undaunted, Julius secured an alliance with the Venetians on 4 October 1511, to form what he termed the "Holy League", the intention, one of "driving the barbarians out of Italy". Vast sums of money therefore, which the papacy derived from its position as the highest spiritual authority in the Church, were employed not to raise the standards of its servants, nor aid the faithful

achieve salvation, but to fund Julius's war to preserve his virtual monopoly of the alum trade; thus when Lindsay spoke of how the laity could:

> "Se the Paip with awfull ordinance [Make] weir against the michtie King of France.
> . . ."

he was merely reporting on what would have been common knowledge, that the Pope was actively promoting warfare in defence of his interests, just as any "Emperor" might do.

Financial acumen and warlike activities were obvious failings of the papacy therefore, the charge of immorality justified by the example of Alexander VI (1492/1503) who secured a cardinalate for his son Cesare Borgia in 1492. Here another failing becomes obvious, for if the Church's official line was to condemn nepotism, the papacy's attitude was to promote it at every opportunity. During the papacy of Alexander VI for example, his nephew Juan Borgia received a cardinalate, as did his son Cesare, his great nephews Juan and Pedro Luis Borgia and Francesco Loriz, along with his cousin, Francesco Borgia whom Alexander promote to the cardianlate in 1500. Julius II (1503/13) , promoted his cousins Clement Della Rovere and Leonardo Della Rovere to the cardinalate in 1503 and 1505 respectively, along with his nephews Galeotto Franiotto Della Rovere and Sisto Gara Della Rovere in 1503 and 1513; Leo X (1513/21) for his part secured the elevation to the cardinalate of two cousins -Giulio De Medici in 1513, Niccolo Ridolfi in 1517 and three nephews -Innocenzo Cibo in 1513, Luigi De Rossi in 1517 and Giovanni Salviati in 1517 Nor should it be thought that such promotions stopped at the cardinalate, for Pietro Barbo the nephew of Eugenius IV (1431/47) became Pope Paul III (1464/71) ; Rodrigo Borgia, nephew of Calixtus III (1455/8) became Pope Alexander VI (1492/1503) ; Francesco Piccolomini, nephew of Pius II (1458/64) became Pope Pius III (1503) ; Giuliano Della Rovere, nephew of Sixtus IV (1471/84) became Pope Julius II (1502/13) , whilst Giulio De Medici, the cousin of Leo X (1513/21) became Pope Clement VII (1523/34) .

Despite the reforms suggested by the papacy therefore -as examined in chapter 5, the laity could be excused for seeing the papacy in a wholly negative light. As stated above therefore, there would be little point in trying to change the errors of the subjects of this thesis, given that the power which controlled them and which dictated their actions was itself so corrupt. The evidence to support such a statement coming from the preceding chapters of this thesis, for each of the errors highlighted by Lindsay with regards to papal failings -the search for power, status, wealth, immorality, violence and the use of fear of ecclesiastic and lay censure to maintain favoured social

status for instance- can be matched in examples taken from the lives of individuals inextricably linked to the regular Orders and colleges in Scotland in the period c. 1450 to 1560.

That it was the destruction of the imagery employed by the old Church however, which was seen as the most effective means of securing a shift in the religious allegiance of the laity, away from the services offered by the regular Orders and colleges, may be seen in the Protestant legislation of the 1560s. On 24 August 1560 for example, parliament not only denied the authority of the Pope in Scotland, it also expressly forbid anyone to celebrate or attend Mass. The primary means whereby the subjects of this thesis could claim to intercede between man and God therefore, was now denied in both theological terms, and in terms of the law of the land. All of the imagery examined in the preceding chapters which the regular Orders and colleges used to create a suitably receptive frame of mind in the laity, to receive the teachings of the old religion, was rendered meaningless, for all the services which they offered, and on which their perceived efficacy lay, had ultimately rested on the enclosed, mendicant and collegiate claims to intercede on behalf of man; all in turn depended, in essence, -even in terms of the ideal image on an enclosed monastic community- on their ability -as the old Church had long maintained- to render the ultimate service on behalf of mankind, the sacrifice which they claimed to enact in the celebration of the Mass. The importance of this piece of legislation should not be underrated therefore, for it was to be repeated in essence by parliament on 20 December 1567 during the Regent Murray's tenure of office, and again on 29 November 1581 during the reign of James VI.

Whilst the Commendator of Crossraguel, Quintin Kennedy, in his *Compendius Tractative* (1558) might repeatedly drive home the crucial importance of tradition in the process of achieving an understanding of "materis. . . . concerning faith and religioun" -through a trust in what he saw as the continuity of the -Catholic Church's "Divinely appointed servants", who could trace their origins back to the time of the Apostles-, and whilst Ninian Winzet, a schoolmaster in Linlithgow -and future Abbot of Ratisbon- might support such an emphasis on the traditions of the Catholic Church as the primary means of denying the efficacy of the Protestant challenge, the Protestant reply, as examined at length in this chapter, was based on a denial of the efficacy of the old religion on the very grounds that such "traditions" as the doctrine of purgatory, prayers for the dead, the cult of saints, the celebration of the mass and all of the myriad trappings which surrounded these issues lacked any Scriptural basis. [9]

This is not to suggest that the services of the old religion were rejected entirely by the laity, for on 19 May 1563, Archbishop John Hamilton, the Commendator of Paisley, faced charges -along with other churchmen-, of having celebrated the Mass and taken confessions in the Abbey of

Paisley and its environs; moreover, that this was not an isolated incident may be seen in a number of other such contemporary prosecutions for an adherence to the old Church. However, such a reliance on traditions founded on human concepts of the means to secure salvation -as examined for example in chapters 8 to 11-, had, by the mid. sixteenth century, largely lost credence in Scotland. Here, the evidence of such a rejection of the appeal to the senses which had so long sustained the inmates of the regular Orders and colleges, may, in the period immediately after 1560, be seen to have been given legislative form, not only in the Acts of parliament referred to above, but in such documents as *The Scots Confession* of 1560. Here, Christ was seen as the only mediator between God and man, his sacrifice the only means of atonement for one's sins; the services proffered by the regular Orders and colleges therefore on this crucial issue were denied, as of course by association was the myriad imagery they employed. Papal authority was denied since Christ was the true head of the Church, therefore the indulgences or benefits attached to the recitation of certain prayers, such as those which carried a remission of time in Purgatory, or the act of going on pilgrimage, were also denied by association. Inherent in such a statement was the removal of the main claim to fame of many religious houses, and, equally those colleges, which served as focal points for the cult of saints; enclosed, mendicant and collegiate communities obviously also all further suffered in such a denial of indulgences, for again it amounted to a denial of their claim to intercede on behalf of the dead. "The notes, signs, and assured tokens" moreover, by which the "true kirk and its members. . . . " were to be differentiated "from the horrible harlot, the false kirk", were "neither antiquity, usurped title, lineal succession, appointed place, nor the numbers of men approving an error"; rather, it was to be recognised by its "right administration of the Sacraments of Christ Jesus. . . . " and the "interpretation of Scripture", which -significantly-, did "not belong to any public or private person, nor yet to any kirk. . . . ", but "to the Spirit of God by whom the Scriptures were written". If, "the interpretation or opinion of any theologian, kirk, or council [was] contrary to the plain Word of God. . . . it [was] most certain that it [was] not the true understanding and meaning of the Holy Ghost, although councils, realms and nations [had] approved and received it"; the defence mounted by such men as Kennedy and Winzet on the grounds of tradition was denied therefore. In chapter xix of this document, another blow was delivered to the regular Orders and collegiate houses in Scotland, for such a reliance on Scriptural truth was claimed to be the true means of securing salvation, man was to depend on them and not on the services which any "men or angels" might claim to render.

Even more damaging, the *Confession* stated that there were only two sacraments, "that is, Baptism and the Supper or table of the Lord Jesus, also called the Communion of His Body and

Blood"; this stood in direct conflict with the greater number specified by the old Church, namely those of the eucharist, baptism, confession, confirmation, matrimony, penance and extreme unction. Again therefore, many of the key services which the regular Orders and colleges had long rendered for the laity were now dismissed, for in denying the Mass, the Protestant Church removed the essential means of interceding on behalf of the dead as witnessed in the lives of the country's collegiate churches. Confession was now no longer feasible for no man could forgive the sins of another, thus one of the main roles of the mendicants was denied, penance too was of no avail as the actions of man could not influence God's judgement; thus were the long perceived benefits of extreme unction also removed. All of the numerous items of religious significance, the buildings, statues, funerary monuments, paintings and books, which had long been inextricably linked to the way in which the laity had been taught to perceive the subjects of this thesis, were now rendered redundant; the dread significance of many of them -such as those relating to death for example- removed by a denial of the powers long claimed by the very Orders and colleges who had so long encouraged and promoted their use. The sentiments expressed by the *Scots Confession*, in turn, were given added significance by the first and second *Books of Discipline*, and in the *Book of Common Order*. In terms of the sum intentions of all of these documents, it was emphasised that only baptism and the celebration of the Lord's Supper were to be retained from the sacraments of the old Church, the ministers responsible for their enaction, who were to serve in the new Church, moreover were to be appointed by popular approval, the authority of their office dependent on the people they served and not as hitherto upon traditions and any notion of Apostolic succession. The importance of preaching the gospels in all of the Protestant churches was emphasised, since in this way the laity could determine the true message of salvation; any doctrine therefore, regardless of its historical strength, which lacked such a Scriptural basis it was emphasised -such as the celebration of the Mass, prayers for the souls of the dead, prayers to saints, the veneration of saints, their images and relics, the celebration of their feast days, and any other form of superstitious behaviour-, was to be abolished. A simple reliance on Scriptural truth was emphasised throughout, the complex rituals and imagery of the old Church surrounding such issues as death, Purgatory, pilgrimage and the cult of saints, the punishment of sin and the demand for satisfaction therefore were removed; the music of the old Church -designed to "tickle the eares and flater the phantasies"- for instance was largely scrapped, the psalms seen as the only acceptable form of such vocal worship, the traditional colourful dress of churchmen-emphasised for example in chapter 9 for example in relation to the garb of inmates of collegiate communities-, so long an essential ingredient in the drama involved in the enaction of Roman doctrines

contemptuously dismissed by Knox as "Romish Rags". The sumptuous decoration of Scotland's leading regular and collegiate houses therefore was rendered meaningless, the wealth accumulated by these groups, and all of their long perceived, yet hitherto tolerated failings, were highlighted thereby -as on the Continent- as never before; thus the demands they made of the laity -in the simplest terms-, were increasingly seen by the Scottish populace as unacceptably repressive, the Protestant doctrine providing an infinitely simpler, and less expensive -as witnessed in terms of the income of the houses of the subjects of this thesis as examined in chapter 4- approach to securing salvation which did not depend on a fearful and continuous attempt to accumulate "Merit", largely, through a reliance on the mediation proffered by the enclosed, mendicant and collegiate communities of the Church of Rome. [10].

In drawing to a close therefore, it is true to say that much of the evidence examined in this thesis which relates to the regular Orders and colleges in Scotland in the period c. 1450 to 1560 does indeed point to their having moved from the ideals stipulated by their founders, yet, in reality, how long had these values been observed unchanged by those whose lives they were supposed to govern? For example, it would perhaps be true to say that the strongest driving force in the monastic world of the tenth and eleventh centuries lay in an attempt -both within the religious communities themselves and among their lay patrons- to revive a strict observance of the monastic life as envisaged by the Rule of St. Benedict. Numerous examples attest to this desire, from the tenth century work of Count Arnulf I of Flanders and his protégé Gerard of Brogne -in restoring Benedictine observance in the houses of St. Bavo of Ghent, St. Peter on Mount Blandin, St. Bertin, St. Amand, St. Omer and St. Vaast, to the reform of Gorze by John of Gorze and archdeacon Einold (933) ; a reform movement which was to lead to the foundation of a sizeable union of like minded houses in Germany.

Arguably, however, by far the most successful monastic community founded in the tenth century, was that of Cluny in 909 at the insistence of Duke William of Aquitaine; the foundation and subsequent organisation of Cluny and its attendant houses -concentrating on an enclosed life, with a lengthy round of prayers and services- served to epitomise the desire in both lay and ecclesiastic circles towards a return to a unified and strict monastic life.

In terms of breaking free from the distractions of the world therefore, Cluny would seem to have been an immediate success, yet, on closer examination, a wholly different picture may be seen to emerge, for in turning to the region of Burgundy, for example, a case study presents itself which illustrates that many of the criticisms levelled at the monastic houses of fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland, were present in the "model" organisation of Cluny within a mere fifty to

sixty years of its inception. In 962, on his succession to his title and lands, Count Alberic II of Macon donated a sizeable tract of land at Ige to Cluny; significantly, the grant entailed half the parish church, the intention behind his generosity to secure the services of the monks for the souls of his deceased father and mother. On his own death, the Count stated that the other half of the parish church should be committed to Cluny, his intention here that he too would enjoy the benefits of confraternity. Thus from this early example, the practice of appropriation may be seen to have been in operation, just as it was in fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland -as seen for example in chapter 7 of this thesis- the intention also the same, of securing the labour of the monks to mitigate the penalties to be exacted in the life to come, a task which in the period under study in Scotland, was largely the preserve of the colleges, who were -as seen in chapter 9- largely funded in the same way.

Further parallels between the two ages may be seen from the fact that the laity maintained a close involvement in the running of the monastery, contrary to the Rule of St. Benedict; in 954 for example, the inmates sought the approval of the then Count of Macon -Leotold- before they presumed to elect a new abbot -Mayeul (965-94) -whilst on the occasion of the election of his successor, Odilio (994-1048) , a charter records the presence of King Rudolph of Burgundy, Duke Henry of Burgundy, his stepson Otto-William and some sixty other members of the laity, who took part in what should have been purely monastic affairs. Similarly, it is equally revealing to note the background of several of Cluny's early abbots, for Abbot Hugh (1049/1109) was the "eldest son of Count Dalmatius of Semur in Brionnais. . . . " and was thereby related to the Dukes of Aquitaine and the Counts of Poitou, moreover, such was his friendship with the Emperor Henry III, that he became the godfather of the future Emperor Henry IV. In possessing such contacts he was not alone, for Abbot Mayeul (965-94) had enjoyed a similar friendship with the French crown and with the Emperor Otto II, whilst Abbot Odilo (994-1049) was of a noble family of the Auvergne. Just as the upper reaches of lay society determined the running of what was founded as the epitome of monastic life in the tenth century therefore, so too -as witnessed in chapters 6 and 7- the kings and noble families of Scotland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were equally keen to preserve their influence in monastic circles, many of the examples of men who held the leading Scottish monastic houses of the period under study either royal offspring, or members of the nobility.

The desire to reform these and other perceived abuses moreover -as witnessed in this chapter and in chapter 6- which occupied the papacy in the sixteenth century, could also be seen to have troubled Rome in a much earlier age. On the appointment of Pope Leo IX in 1049 for example, assemblies of bishops and abbots were called at Pavia, Reims, Mainz, Rome, Siponto,

Salerno, Vercelli, Mantua and Bari; those present were questioned to see whether they had purchased their office, those found guilty punished, those who refused to attend or amend their ways excommunicated. Similarly, Pope Gregory VII (1073/85) , criticised such issues as simony, plurality and immorality within the Church of his day. That the enclosed Orders were further linked to such an early perceived need for reform, may be further seen in the observations of such men as St. Peter Damian (1007/72) and St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090/1153) , the chief target of their criticisms, the Clunaic Order which as seen above, had, in 909 been seen as the very answer to the demand for a return to a strict observance of the Rule of St. Benedict! By the eleventh century however, the network of Clunaic houses had assumed the appearance more of a giant landholding corporation, far beyond the ideal of being under the control of one man, Cluny itself capable of accommodating around twelve hundred people as early as the twelfth century, the close, filial bond desired by the Rule of St. Benedict an impossibility. In addition, making grants of land to lay benefactors -usually "in Precaria"- and drawing additional income from such other sources as lay financial gifts to secure confraternity and the appropriation of parish churches, brought the Order great wealth. Such wealth inevitably came to be expressed in the architectural and ceremonial trappings of Cluny, perhaps the most obvious symbols of power from which laity and religious alike could judge the standards of monastic life within. Here the remark of Jotsaldus, the biographer of Abbot Odilo (994/1040) , is particularly revealing, for he said that Odilo "made a cloister, admirably decorated with marble columns from the furthest parts of that province, not without great labour. . . . he was wont to. . . . jest that he "had found it [Cluny] wood and left it marble", in imitation of Augustus Caesar, of whom chronicles say that he found Rome brick, and left it made of marble. . . . " Other references talk of "the great and vaulted Church [of Cluny]. . . . furnished with numerous altars, [and] endowed with no ordinary number of relics. . . . [it was a building] inordinately wealthy with the most huge and varied treasure. . . . [The cloister moreover] was vast, and by its very beauty [appeared] as if to invite the monks to dwell there. . . . the refectory [for its part]. . . . was painted. . . . with the Last Judgement. . . . [and was so large] it was possible for all the brethren to eat at one sitting". Other features worthy of note in any consideration of the wealth on show, a golden image of St. Peter which dominated the centre of the abbey church, three solid gold chalices -the reward of Imperial favour-, the "Corona" -a giant wheel hung form the roof of the church, encrusted with jewels and bearing no fewer than one hundred and twenty lamps-, gold bound and jewel encrusted books, tapestries, statues, carvings, mosaics, paintings and innumerable other examples of wealth were displayed within the huge complex that was Cluny, the laity witnessing able to see much of this grandeur displayed for their spiritual edification on saints days and other

festivals. Thus, whilst St. Peter Damian expressed his admiration of Clunaic dedication to the celebration of Divine Office after a visit in 1063, he nevertheless criticised the diet of the monks, and what he saw as the exaggerated ceremonial display of Cluny and indeed the other major religious houses of his time, such display wholly at odds in his mind with his view of monastic life as merely the preparation for the ideal religious life, that undertaken in a hermitage. St. Bernard for his part, in referring to the Clunaic Order was equally divided in his opinion, for whilst he stated that:

> "This way of life is holy and good. Chastity is its adornment, discretion its renown. Organised by the Fathers and predestined by the Holy Spirit, it is eminently suited for the saving of souls. . . . ",

he also expressed his horror and revulsion over its lavish display of wealth:

> "What profit is there in those ridiculous monsters, in that marvellous and deformed comeliness, that comely deformity . . . . unclean apes, ... fierce lions. . . . monstrous centaurs. . . . half men. . . . striped tigers. . . . fighting knights. . . . hunters winding their horns. . . . In short, so many and so marvellous are the varieties. . . . we are more tempted to read in the marble than in our books. . . . even if the foolishness of it all occasion no shame, at least one might balk at the expense. . . . "

On the intention behind such display he was equally damning, for he stated that:

> "It is possible to spend money in such a way that it increases; it is an investment which grows, and pouring it out only brings in more. The very sight of such sumptuous and exquisite baubles is sufficient to inspire men to make offerings, though not to say their prayers. In this way, riches attract riches, and money produces money. . . . the richer a place appears, ... the more freely do riches pour in. . . . Instead of candle sticks we see tree like structures, made of much metal and with exquisite workmanship, where candles and gems sparkle equally. . . . "

Such a desire for reform in turn gave rise to the foundation of the Abbey of Molesme in 1075 by Robert of Molesme, the intention being to establish the ascetic standards of the desert tradition within a monastic community. Initially successful, Molesme too came to be supported by noble patrons, possessed numerous lay and ecclesiastic sources of income, and had, by 1090s become to all appearances so similar to Cluny as to attract equal criticism. In 1098 therefore, Robert tried again, establishing a new foundation at Citeaux in the diocese of Chalon-Sur-Saone, his intention that of Cluny's founder, to return to the ideal expression of the monastic life as witnessed in the Rule of St. Benedict. Of the legislation passed by the Order to ensure a uniformly high standard of religious life, the *Carta Caritas* of 1119 is worthy of note, for it allowed the Abbot of Citeaux and representatives of other Cistercian houses to depose and excommunicate any abbot who flouted the ideals of the Order. The *Summa Cartae Caritatis* (1123/4) allowed disciplinary action to be taken by individual abbots in the event of local "disobedience", thus preventing the Abbot of Citeaux wielding the power of his Clunaic counterpart, whilst the *Carta Caritas Posterior* (1134/54) further empowered the General Chapter of the Order, for it allowed the assembled abbots of the Order not only to expel wayward monks but also depose the Abbot of Citeaux. In addition to other similar reforms designed to prevent a recurrence of Clunaic failings, the buildings of the Order were to reflect the ideals of poverty and simplicity -their early churches simple unadorned structures with no towers-, dependent on the labour of the brethren for their upkeep and not on such traditional means of support such as the appropriation of parochial income, churches, land rents and serfs. Such was the popularity of the new Order however, that it secured numerous papal privileges which included exemption from episcopal supervision and exemption from having to pay taxes on any land gifted to the Order. The generosity of the laity ensured that gifts of land were frequent in its early years, and in light of the above exemptions -along with the impressive managerial skills of the Order's abbots- the Cistercians soon accumulated wealth well beyond their founder's intentions. In 1169 therefore, Pope Alexander III (1159/81) , warned the General Chapter of the Order that Cistercians were now accepting revenues in the same way as other monks, and that they too were now becoming involved in worldly matters to defend their interests. Alexander warned therefore that if the Cistercians continued to accrue the same sources of income as their contemporaries, they too would pay the same taxes.

In terms of criticisms of Scottish monastic life in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries therefore, again the parallels with this earlier age are obvious. For example, whilst authors such as Buchanan, Dunbar and Lindsay railed against the apparent excesses evident in Scotland in the later period, the features of monastic life they so heavily criticised were equally prevalent in a much

earlier age. In terms of the ideals of the founder of the Cistercian Order for example, and the demand for simplicity, no more extreme instance of a move away from such a principle can be found than the Border house of Melrose, for if the splendour that remains was once matched by rich artistic trappings within -which arguably it must once have been-, then it must have been an impressive sight indeed. Here however, such apparent excess should not be seen merely as evidence of a late medieval decline of Cistercian standards in Scotland, for as early as the twelfth century, evidence emerges of what must have been an early, and significant move away from the rigorous simplicity originally demanded. In the *Parvum Exordium* of 1120 for example, the author - possibly the Englishman Stephen Harding, an ex-monk of Molesme, one of the founder members of the monastery of Citeaux who rose to become the third Abbot of Citeaux in 1108 before his death on 28 March 1134, looked back to the formative years of his Order, and in so doing spoke in a way which suggested that earlier legislation had been necessary to remove artistic excesses from even Cistercian houses:

> "So that nothing in the house of God. . . . should remain which smacked of pride or excess. . . . they [the Cistercians] established that they would not retain gold or silver crosses, but only those of wood, decorated with colours; and that they should not retain [gold] candelabra, but only a single one of iron; nor gold thuribles, only copper or iron; nor chasubles unless of wool or linen, and without gold and silver brocade. They completely renouncd the use of all pallia, copes, dalmatics and tunics. . . . they retained silver chalices- not gold, but guilded if it could be done. . . . [and] ordained that altar [clothes] be made of linen and entirely without embroidery. . . . cruets were to be without gold or silver. . . . "

Arguably therefore, before the arrival of St. Bernard at Citeaux in 1112, and certainly before his appointment to the position of Abbot of Clairvaux in 1115, Cistercian houses had indeed rapidly moved away from the earlier spartan conditions which existed at the inception of Citeaux in 1098. It is important to note however, that despite such an obvious move away from the ideals of its founder, Citeaux and its daughter houses, like those of the Clunaic empire, retained their fundamental appeal; that is that the wealth and splendour they possessed gave the laity -as stated in chapters 10 and 11 of this thesis- the chance to glimpse, to enter, if just for a short while, the splendour of Paradise to come. The benefits they, the monasteries offered, moreover, both in terms of confraternity, the spiritual efficacy of their prayers, and the access they provided for the laity to

earlier age. In terms of the ideals of the founder of the Cistercian Order for example, and the demand for simplicity, no more extreme instance of a move away from such a principle can be found than the Border house of Melrose, for if the splendour that remains was once matched by rich artistic trappings within -which arguably it must once have been-, then it must have been an impressive sight indeed. Here however, such apparent excess should not be seen merely as evidence of a late medieval decline of Cistercian standards in Scotland, for as early as the twelfth century, evidence emerges of what must have been an early, and significant move away from the rigorous simplicity originally demanded. In the *Parvum Exordium* of 1120 for example, the author - possibly the Englishman Stephen Harding, an ex-monk of Molesme, one of the founder members of the monastery of Citeaux who rose to become the third Abbot of Citeaux in 1108 before his death on 28 March 1134, looked back to the formative years of his Order, and in so doing spoke in a way which suggested that earlier legislation had been necessary to remove artistic excesses from even Cistercian houses:

> "So that nothing in the house of God. . . . should remain which smacked of pride or excess. . . . they [the Cistercians] established that they would not retain gold or silver crosses, but only those of wood, decorated with colours; and that they should not retain [gold] candelabra, but only a single one of iron; nor gold thuribles, only copper or iron; nor chasubles unless of wool or linen, and without gold and silver brocade. They completely renouncd the use of all pallia, copes, dalmatics and tunics. . . . they retained silver chalices- not gold, but guilded if it could be done. . . . [and] ordained that altar [clothes] be made of linen and entirely without embroidery. . . . cruets were to be without gold or silver. . . . "

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encounter the saints again the same in both ages, despite such diversions from the desires of their founders.

Similarly, in terms of the mendicants, as witnessed in chapter 6 of this thesis, much of the criticism levelled at the friars in fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland could be traced unbroken in its continuity to around the time of their very appearance in the thirteenth century. Whilst much of this negativity could be traced to professional jealousy and rivalry on the part of their fellow religious, like the enclosed Orders examined above, they could indeed be seen to have moved steadily away from the values of their founders as their numbers and presence in the world grew apace.

As at earlier points in this thesis however, a defence of the regular and collegiate clergy in Scotland in the period in question can be made, for it may be said that no religious movement if it is to survive can remain static, refuse to change to meet the changing times and social environment in which it finds itself. Thus, it is true to say that the direction taken by the subjects of this thesis had always been dependent on the demands placed upon them by the lay world which surrounded them, and although such behaviour on the part of the religious was criticised, such criticism was intrinsically unfair, for it is possible to suggest that much of the criticism levelled at the subjects of this thesis, stemmed from an unrealistic comparison between the standards of the founders of the various Orders, and a Church which had long since succumbed to the pressures exerted on it by secular authorities to serve as an integral part of lay society. The laity in no small measure therefore both determined the nature of those who served their spiritual needs, and to a large extent tolerated their failings as long as they perceived an adequate spiritual return on their investment.

In the period in question however, the laity had largely abandoned any idea of joining, or seeking to found and/or support religious communities living according to the standards of a more austere, "golden age" of religious life, as witnessed in the work of St. Pachomius (d. 346) , St. Anthony (251/356) , St. Basil (330/79) and St. Jerome (c. 341/420) ; nor did they seek to enter into, establish or patronise a resurgence in the type of the later harsh regime as witnessed at the monastery of Fonte Avellana under St. Romuald (c. 950/1027) and St. Peter Damian (1007/72) as a means of securing spiritual intercession on their behalf.

The reasons for such a change, arguably those which surrounded the climate of fear which determined the outlook of lay piety in fifteenth and early sixteenth century Scotland. Given that the most efficacious means of securing intercession on behalf of one's soul in this period was perceived as securing the services of a collegiate community, there was no popular demand to see

a return to more austere forms of religious life as was witnessed in earlier Continental attempts to satisfy such a desire.

To explain such an argument, the reader is asked to consider for example the foundation of the Order of Grandmont by Stephen of Muret in 1076 which had, arguably, grown out of just such a desire on the part of society for more efficacious means of securing its salvation to be made available. Here, the monastic ideals of a life of isolation, poverty and simplicity were pursued with a vigour perhaps in excess of the early foundation of Citeaux, and possibly even equal to that seen in the community of Fonte Avellana. The monks of Grandmont for example were forbidden to take any of the usual means of securing their future security, being allowed to beg only in times of severe deprivation, moreover, no monk was to be allowed to enter if he had been a member of another Order since it was felt that he would have been thus rendered incapable of withstanding the rigours of Grandmont.

In Scotland in the period under study however, there was no popular desire to see the revival of such a regime, for arguably by this point, the imagery long employed by the Church, which had served to idealise such an existence as the principal means of attaining salvation, had come more to dwell -arguably in the minds of the laity and religious alike- on issues which related to death and judgement, principally as a result of the horrifyingly clear teachings which surrounded the doctrine of Purgatory. There was no longer a need to renounce the world and enter such an institution, nor was there the same reward perceived to be gained from founding or supporting such an austere community, for by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Scotland, the "salvation equation" had been polarised into the form of a simple business transaction, the greater number of masses said for one's soul the greater the chance of mitigating the suffering which awaited all on death. Given that this service was the prime function of the colleges, by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Scotland they were perceived as by far the most reliable means of tapping into the treasury of merit.

The fear which gave rise to the success of the colleges however, remained undiminished for the majority of laity, who were largely excluded from the benefits imparted by these elitist foundations, moreover, even for patrons of the colleges, the doubt remained that despite the undoubted cost of founding and maintaining such a community, they still might not have done enough to secure a meaningful remission of the punishments which awaited all at life's end. The Protestant reliance on faith therefore, which denied the traditional teachings of the old Church and all its attendant imagery, effectively removed the fearful dependence of the laity to secure the services of the subjects of this thesis to intercede on behalf of their souls. [11]

That it was however, perhaps more the doctrine of the old Church, and the way it was expressed which had largely fallen from favour in Scotland, as opposed to the personnel of the regular Orders and colleges themselves, despite the way in which changes in religious perception had served to highlight their perceived demerits, may be seen in a number of contemporary events.

In 1533 for example, Walter Stewart, the brother of Lord Ochiltree, expressed his disapproval of the old doctrine by an attack on the Observant friary of Ayr; significantly however, the charge levelled at him by Gavin Dunbar, the Archbishop of Glasgow, was not one of having harmed any of the friars within the community in question, but of having broken an image of the Virgin within the said friary. In 1537, a similar display of resentment against the trappings of the old Church was seen in the search mounted for two men in Dundee and Perth on a charge of having hanged a statue of St. Francis; again however, no mention is made of violence towards the servants of the old Church. Similarly, some ten years later, on 16 March 1546/7, in the charge levelled at one Stephen Bell of having broken an image of St. Mary Magdalene at a chapel in Lany, there is no reference to violence on a personal basis. In 1556, the collegiate church of St. Giles attracted the attention of Protestant elements in Edinburgh, statues of the Virgin, Trinity and St. Francis being taken down and destroyed, again however, no mention occurs of violence towards members of the college itself. In 1558, the statue of St. Giles itself was taken and thrown in the "North Loch" before the annual procession of St. Giles took place; when a replacement was found to take its place, a riot occurred, but again, the rage of the onlookers was directed at the image itself rather than the religious who bore it in the procession.

A clearer indication still that the focus of lay resentment against the old religion concentrated more on the imagery, trappings and doctrines which had long supported the subjects of this thesis, as opposed to the religious themselves on account of their sins, may be seen in the emotions stirred by Knox's sermon in St. John's church, Perth, on 11 May 1559. In the aftermath of his address, the assembled crowd proceeded to systematically destroy all of the trappings of the old religion which they could readily seize within the Church; thereafter the friaries of the town were attacked and a similar end made to their religious artefacts, the Carthusian house of Scone the Cistercian convent of Elcho and the Carmelite house of Tullilum all suffering similar visitations. From Perth, the Protestants marched on St. Andrews, removing the trappings of the old Church as they encountered them on their way. Thus, at Stirling they stripped the Abbey of Cambuskenneth and the Dominican and Franciscan houses of the town of their altars and images, similar treatment accorded to the other churches within Stirling's environs, the collegiate church of the Holy Rude

doubtless among them; thereafter they advanced on Linlithgow where the process of removing the trappings of the old religion continued unabated.

On nearing St. Andrews, Knox preached in the towns of Crail and Anstruther; an attack was mounted on the collegiate church of Crail, its "Altars and Images" and "all (its) Monuments destroyed", particular reference being made to the burning of "the rude (within the collegiate church) quhilk was ane great idoll (which) abussit all men and wemen baith witht pillgramage. . . . Thereafter, having preached in Anstruther, his supporters vented their resentment on any trappings of the old Church they could find within this town. Arriving in St. Andrews, Knox again seems to have raised significant support for the Protestant message, and in the aftermath of his preaching here, the town's numerous religious foundations -colleges, friaries and Augustinian priory included- were stripped of their altars and their other myriad religious trappings.

Here, it should be noted that the nation's monastic houses were also being specifically targeted at this time, Knox for example tells of the sacking of Lindores Abbey, of the destruction of its "altars. . . . idols, vestments of idolatrie and masse books. . . . " which were all burnt in the presence of the monks; similarly, John Lesley, the Reformed Bishop of the Isles in his work *The History Of Scotland* (1436-1561) , remarked on attacks on "the Abbacies of Dunfermling, Melrosse, Kelsoe and monie ma (abbeys, which were) miserabille brokne doune and wasted" by the Reformers.

Again however, it should be noted that despite the obviously highly charged atmosphere in which all of the above raids took place, there is no mention of mob violence being vented to any significant degree on anything other than the trappings of the old Church, indeed it could be said that the Reformers followed a policy of trying to ensure that while the symbolic trappings of the old religion were destroyed, the inmates of the communities concerned should not be physically harmed themselves. Thus, in June 1559 for example, the Lords of the Congregation wrote to the Abbot of Coupar Angus, Donald Campbell, not to threaten him or his community with violence, but rather to ensure that he reformed his:

> "place of Couper (by) pulling down and birnyng oppinlie all Idolis and Imagis and Tabernaculis within (and by) destroying and putting away all the altaris. . . . "

Moreover, the abbot was to ensure that:

> "na mess be thair done (thereafter) nowther privilie nor opinly. . . . and that the superstitiouse habit of his monkis with their ordour ceremonies and service (was to be removed) . . . . and that na prayeris were (said) in the kirk but in the English toung (and they) according to the scriptouris of God. . . . "

That such restraint was not merely shown on account of Campbell being related to the Earl of Argyll, may be assumed from the incidents covered thus far, in which the abbot did not feature. Thus, while one observer of the destruction wrought by the Reformers commented on their "insane fury", there is little evidence to suggest serious harm was inflicted on the subjects of this thesis themselves. Here, such claim may be further justified in the words of no less a figure than the Provincial of the Dominican Order in Scotland at the Reformation, John Grierson, for although he recorded the forcible expulsion of members of his Order from their houses, at no stage does he mention the actual demise of any of his brethren. At no time therefore was there any mention of the type of violence meted out in the earlier English Reformation as identified for example by Dr. Robert Whiting in his work, *The Blind Devotion Of The People, Popular Religion And The English Reformation*, for Dr. Whiting produced two horrific instances of anti-clericalism which saw one parish incumbent apparently buried alive, whilst another was dressed "in his mass-vestments" and had "a holy-water bucket, sprinkler, sacring bell, beads and other accoutrements" suspended around his neck before he was hanged from the tower of his own church!

In short therefore, given the dread significance which the laity had long attached to most of the images employed by the Church over the centuries -in terms of the part they played in securing a favourable reception in the world to come-, the laity had reached a point whereby -arguably- too many images were in "circulation"; saturation point had been reached, there was no way now therefore in which the Church could induce further respect for Her servants by using such images and linking them ultimately to fearful images of punishment in the life to come. The situation witnessed first on the Continent and in England therefore, in which the Protestant stance dispensed with such trappings completely on the grounds that they lacked Scriptural authority must have been very appealing indeed. In terms of a Scottish context, as such images lost their power, so too did the fearful images, as witnessed in chapter 8, which had so long surrounded the death bed and the dreadful realm of Purgatory beyond.

If man now required no mediator between himself and God, what need had he for such doctrines as espoused by the old religion, or of the attendant imagery which went along with them? Thus while the perceived sins of the regular Orders and colleges may have given rise first to

uncertainty and fear, thereafter to anger and resentment in lay and ecclesiastic circles alike, such feelings were secondary to the rage felt towards the imagery which they saw as the primary means whereby the Church of Rome itself had long held sway over them. [12]

Other factors still may be identified which again suggest that the imagery, and thus the doctrines of the old religion were the true targets of Protestant "fury" as opposed to the regular and collegiate personnel themselves, and that the subjects of this thesis were not as wholly corrupt as some authors examined in this thesis had suggested. In the first instance, it should be remembered that numerous members of the old Church not only declared the Protestant cause but were allowed to serve in the new Church itself, and that those who did not wish to, or could not because an enclosed life had rendered them incapable of fulfilling the Protestant emphasis on preaching, were largely allowed to retain their incomes and live out their lives in peace within their old houses.

Thus, for instance, Ninian Clement, Thomas Gormak, Thomas Lindsay and Nicholas Howeson, monks from the Abbey of Arbroath could be seen to have embraced the new religion, Clement for instance leaving the Abbey to take up the post of minister of Arbroath. Thomas Haliwell, a monk of Melrose became a reader in Melrose, Patrick Cowill, a past member of the community of New Abbey became reader there, Walter Miller an ex-monk of Culross served the new religion as a reader in the town of Culross itself, and at Clackmannan, and Tulliallan, William Kirkpatrick, a past monk of Kilwinning became the town's minister whilst John Sanderson, a past member of Glenluce Abbey became a reader there.

In terms of mendicant examples, John Willock, a past member of the Franciscan Observant house of Ayr, who had fled to avoid capture on heresy charges, returned to serve the new faith as a minister first at Ayr, thereafter at Edinburgh and St. Andrews; that he was not alone in his decision may be seen in other similar examples, for John Christison, a past member of the Dominican house of Montrose, John Blindscheill, a past member of the Dominican house of Elgin, Alexander Young, Prior of the Carmelite house at Tullilum, William Smith, Prior of the Carmelite house at Banff, and John Smith, a past member of the Carmelite community of Inverbervie, all chose to serve in the Protestant Church.

Regular canons were also well represented in the ranks of the new faith, for example, Robert Acheson, an ex-Augustinian canon of St. Andrews became the minister of Ayr, John Duncanson, another member of the St. Andrews community entered the Reformed ministry at Stirling, whilst Patrick Boncle, John Goodfellow and David Robertson also made the decision to leave their priory at St. Andrews and serve the Protestant cause; the Augustinian houses of Scone and Inchaffray for their part contributed at least nine members of their ranks to the service of the

Protestant cause. Of the eleven inmates of Premonstratensian Priory of Whithorn at the Reformation, it has been estimated that at least seven became readers in the new Church, whilst at Premonstratensian Tongland of the eight inmates at the Reformation five chose to serve in the Protestant Church.

Other instances still of such a change in religious allegiance may be seen in the example of Patrick Gillespie, a past chaplain in the collegiate church of the Holy Rude at Stirling who left his old office to become the minister of St. Ninians; similarly, John Dickson, the ex-prebendary of St. Andrews kirk, Peebles, became the town's minister in 1560; replaced in turn by John Allan -a former chaplain- he was kept on as the town's "redare and exhortare of the commoun prayeris".

In terms of the higher echelons of the old Church, the men who held the religious houses of Arbroath, Balmerino, Coupar Angus, Culross, Dundrennan, Holyrood, Paisley, Scone and Sweetheart are all recorded as helping to fund the preaching of the new doctrine in the churches held by their foundations. Nor was this merely a case of coercion on the part of the Reformed Church, for the Commendator of Arbroath for example, John Hamilton, and his brother Claud, the Commendator of Paisley -both sons of James Hamilton, 2nd. Earl of Arran and Duke of Chatelherault- along with Gavin Hamilton, the Commendator of Kilwinning -another kinsman of Chatelherault- appear to have willingly promoted the Protestant cause, as did other such individuals as Donald Campbell, the Abbot of Coupar Angus, James Stewart, the Commendator of St. Andrews, Robert Stewart, the Commendator of Holyrood, Alexander Gordon, the Commendator of Inchaffray, David Erskine, the Commendator of Inchmahome Priory, Walter Reid the Commendator of Kinloss, John Philip, the Commendator of Lindores and Mark Ker, the Commendator of Newbattle.

In terms of those who chose not to serve in the new Church but who nevertheless were allowed to remain in their old houses, Culross Abbey provides a useful case in point. When the Commendator of this house, William Colville accepted the Protestant faith, five of his monks followed him, and although they chose not to leave their abbey, they continued to receive their portions. Of the four members of the community who chose to adhere to Rome, none were expelled from their old home although Colville refused to pay their portions; significantly however, the latter group of monks took Colville to court some four years later, winning a sum of £20 each in lieu of their commendator's refusal to support them. Such cases of servants of the old Church being allowed to remain in their old communities were by no means uncommon; for example, whilst the Conventual Franciscan house of Roxburgh may have been reduced to merely two inmates post 1560, both were still receiving a pension whilst they continued to reside in their house, similarly, two

monks of the Abbey of Glenluce, Richard Brown and Robert Galbraith continued in litigation long after 1560 to try and enforce the payment of their portions which had been withdrawn in 1559. The most significant example however perhaps is that provided by Sweetheart Abbey, for here the Abbot, John Brown, only resigned his hold on his house in May of 1565, and it should be noted that he did so in favour of a member of is own family, Gilbert Brown who held the abbey until he was forfeited in the late sixteenth century for his continued adherence to the Catholic cause.

In terms of collegiate foundations, in 1567 parliament decreed that prebendaries and chaplainries should still be made available to university students to support them in their studies; significantly, at Bothans collegiate church, appointments to the office of titular provost were still being made as late as 1630. Thus, most of the collegiate structures in Scotland continued in existence, mainly as parish churches, or in other instances still they continued to operate in connection with their original educational function.

In short therefore, there was a marked continuity in terms of personnel between the old and new religion, the financial security of those who chose not to renounce their long held beliefs, relatively assured -albeit some had to fight to maintain their income- a situation hardly possible if the subjects of this thesis had indeed been as hopelessly corrupt as claimed in some of the contemporary works examined above. [13]

At this point it is also important to remember that having largely destroyed the now generally detested, repressive imagery of the old church, and thereby the doctrines and power of the institutions -enclosed, mendicant and collegiate- it had long supported, financial motivations would appear to have been foremost in many Reformers minds, rather than a desire to wreak vengeance on the servants of the old religion, such an outlook seen in the common fate of the property of many friaries and monastic houses, in that it was frequently taken by the very town councils and landowners who had long invested in the support of the subjects of this thesis. That this was an approach shared by the upper and lower echelons of society furthermore, may be largely explained by two simple economic factors. Firstly, as stated, the rich had hitherto been compelled to invest heavily in their salvation and now saw an opportunity to recoup their losses, secondly, those at the lower end of the financial scale saw an opportunity to escape a system into which they too had been forced to pay, but into which -as witnessed in chapter 9 for example- they could never pay enough; moreover, some also saw the chance to make a short term profit from the booty available from the collegiate churches, priories, abbeys, friaries and other foundations which the Reformers "cleansed" in their progress across Scotland.

Here, it should be noted that the Scottish Protestants had an immediate example of the wealth available from such treatment of the old Church from neighbouring England, for as witnessed in chapter 6 above, the English crown profited handsomely from its confiscation of Church property. In 1536 for example, the Court of Augmentation was established to handle the lands which had once belonged to the Church, and it has been estimated that by 1547, the crown had amassed a profit of around £800, 000 from the sale of such lands, usually to those landowners who had held their lands from a religious house; although the process was temporarily reversed in the reign of Mary I (1553-1558) therefore, a fateful precedent had been set for the behaviour of landowners towards the Church, and in terms of a Scottish context, the example was not wasted.

Thus, for example, the Benedictine Priory of Coldingham, long fought over by such families as the Homes, Douglasses and Blackadders -as witnessed in chapter 3-, fell in the long term to Alexander Home on 10 August 1592; thereafter, in 1606, Home created a temporal lordship for himself using both Coldingham and the Abbey of Jedburgh. At Benedictine Pluscarden, a similar scene of ecclesiastic property being seized by the nobility was enacted, for in the aftermath of the Reformation, George, 5th. Lord Seton, assumed control of the house.

In the Clunaic house of Crossraguel, the Kennedy family's control of the foundation, as witnessed in pre-Reformation times in the commendatorship of William Kennedy, continued post Reformation when William's nephew, Quintin, took control of the abbey; again a similar pattern was seen in the Clunaic house of Paisley, where John Hamilton passed control of the abbey to his nephew Claud Hamilton in 1553, the Hamilton claim on the house strengthened still further when Paisley was recognised as the temporal lordship of Claud, Lord Hamilton on two separate occasions -29 July 1587 and 22 March 1591/2-.

The Order of Tiron was similarly plundered, for at Arbroath, the powerful Hamilton family again stamped its claim, here, the Commendator James Hamilton granted the lands of this house to his son, James Hamilton, 2nd. Marquis of Hamilton, in 1600; he in turn secured them as a temporal lordship in 1606. The Abbey of Kelso was to share a similar fate, in that it was handed over to the nephew of Mary Queen of Scots, Francis Stewart -the future Earl of Bothwell- in 1566/7, whilst the Abbey of Kilwinning in post Reformation times passed first to the son of the Earl of Glencairn, Alexander Cunningham, thereafter to William Melville in the form of a free barony. Finally, the Tironensian Abbey of Lindores became a temporal lordship for Patrick Leslie, Lord Lindores in 1600, this boon confirmed in parliament in 1606.

In terms of the Cistercian Order, Balmerino Abbey became the temporal lordship of Sir James Elphinstone, Lord Balmerino in 1603, the erection recognised in parliament 1606, whilst

Coupar Angus went the same way, granted to James Elphinstone in the same year. At Culross Abbey, the Colville family connection established by William Colville in 1531 continued until James Colville of Easter Wymss received the abbey as a temporal lordship in 1589, the grant recognised again on his receiving the title of Lord Colville in 1609. Dundrennan Abbey in the post reformation period was held first by the powerful Maxwell family, thereafter -28 February 1598/9- it fell to John Murray, later Earl of Annandale, who secured it as a temporal lordship. At Glenluce Abbey, the pre-Reformation interest shown in this house by the Earl of Cassillis, was maintained through the appointment of Thomas Hay as commendator, in 1560, Hay subsequently holding this office until 1580, the abbey suffering the final indignity of being used as a quarry to build the castle of Park. At Kinloss, Walter Reid held the house both before and after the Reformation, thereafter it passed to Edward Bruce, who received it as a temporal lordship in 1601, and in 1608, following his elevation to the title of Lord Kinloss. In terms of Melrose, the abbey became the property of John Ramsay, Viscount Haddington, who subsequently assumed the title of Lord Melrose, whilst Newbattle passed from the hands of the pre-Reformation commendator Mark Ker to those of his son on 7 April 1567, the latter coming to control the property as a temporal lordship in 1587. The fate of Sweetheart Abbey was of a similar nature, for -as seen above- when the pre-Reformation Abbot of this house John Brown resigned his office around 23 May 1565, he did so in favour of a member of his family, Gilbert Brown, who held on to the abbey until his forfeiture in the late sixteenth century.

In terms of the single Carthusian house in Scotland, that at Perth, the lands and buildings hitherto owned by the monks, passed to the control of the Perth burgh authorities on 9 August 1569.

In turning to the houses of the Augustinian canons, it emerges that they fared no better. Cambuskenneth for example fell to John, Lord Erskine, its history thereafter tied to the Erskines, first through the appointment of Adam Erskine to the position of Commendator on 30 June 1562, thereafter in its erection into a temporal lordship with the Abbey of Dryburgh and the Priory of Inchmahome in 1604 and 1606 for John, 2nd. Earl of Mar, and his subsequent appointment of his son, Alexander Erskine, as commendator of Cambuskenneth on 23 August 1617. Holyrood Abbey as witnessed above was held by Robert Stewart at the Reformation, thereafter, in 1568 he presented the abbey to Adam Bothwell the Bishop of Orkney in return for the temporalities of Orkney; the abbey in turn came to form the temporal lordship of Adam's son, John, in the early seventeenth century. Inchaffray Abbey for its part came to form part of the powerful Drummond family's holdings in Perthshire, James Drummond, Lord Madderty first laying claim to it, the abbey coming in time to form part of the landholding of William Drummond, the future Viscount Strathallan.

At Inchcolm Abbey in the Forth, James Stewart secured an initial hold on the community through his appointment as "titular abbot" on 13 August 1544. Thereafter, in 1549 he assumed full control of the house as its commendator, a position he maintained until 1581, when he passed the abbey over to his son in 1581; he, in turn, secured the abbey's lands and buildings as a temporal lordship in the early seventeenth century. Moving on alphabetically, the Abbey of Jedburgh saw John Hume establish his family's influence at this house, an influence which was to be maintained and recognised, as seen above, in the erection of this foundation and that of Coldingham into a temporal lordship for Alexander Home (or Hume) in 1606. The rich Priory of St. Andrews again witnessed Stewart domination of a religious house, for the community passed from James Stewart, the Earl of Moray -the pre-Reformation commendator-, to Robert Stewart-the brother of the Earl of Lennox, Matthew Stewart- on 9 October 1570, thereafter to Ludovic Stewart, 2nd. Duke of Lennox, who was created the commendator of this house on 21 August 1586. In terms of the Abbey of Scone, when the long hold of Patrick Hepburn over the buildings and lands of this community was broken in the late sixteenth century, as with so many of the examples covered thus far, they passed into the hands of a member of society's upper echelon, William, Lord Ruthven, on 2 September 1571.

In moving on from examples of the fate of the monastic houses in Scotland to those of the mendicant, a similar picture emerges. In terms of the Dominican Order, the buildings and lands of the Ayr community for instance, were handed over to the burgh authorities on 14 April 1567, a similar fate befalling the lands of the community at Cupar, for here too the local burgh authority was the beneficiary of the friars downfall. In Dundee, the burgh again profited by receiving the possessions of the friars in 1567, the fate seen in terms of the Dominican houses of Edinburgh -13 March 1566/7-, Glasgow -16 March 1566/7-, Perth -9 August 1569-, St. Andrews -17 April 1567- and Stirling; in the last instance, a struggle between Alexander Erskine of Langholm and the burgh authorities ending successfully for the burgh claimants in 1652.

In terms of the Franciscan communities in Scotland, the lands and possessions of the Conventual community at Dundee for example, would seem to have been held by the town magistrates as early as 1560, a similar situation occurring at Haddington. In terms of Observant houses, the property of the Aberdeen community passed to the town council in 1559, that of Ayr to the burgh in 1567; the St. Andrews community resigned their house to the town's magistrates in 1559 -the property formally granted to the burgh authorities in 1567-, the Stirling community's property granted to that town's magistrates in 1567.

Lastly, in terms of the Carmelite Order's presence in Scotland, the community at Aberdeen saw its property formally given to the town council in 1583, whilst at Banff, the friars leased out their property in 1559, thereafter, in 1574, they saw it granted to King's College Aberdeen.

Thus, as stated above, despite the claim made concerning the Protestants "fury", the aim of those who had long invested the most in the upkeep of the enclosed and mendicant houses, cannot be said to have been one of setting out to systematically punish the servants of the old religion. Rather, in most instances, having destroyed the religious trappings of Catholicism they, the Reformers, appeared as intent on following the earlier example of the English, that is, that they secured the property of the community in which they had invested most before the Reformation. Similarly, again as stated above, the rank and file of the laity would seem to have been equally more concerned to secure some sort of profit from the "cleansing" of the old religious foundations, than to take revenge against past members of the regular Orders or secular colleges.

As early, for example, as the attack on the Blackfriars and Greyfriars houses at Dundee in 1543, and the contemporary sacking of other religious foundations, such a dual motivation could be seen to be at work, for in each case, having torn down the offending imagery of the old religion, the Protestants set about looting the valuables and possessions of the communities in question. Thus, at Dundee, having destroyed the religious trappings of the friaries, the crowd proceeded to carry off the silverware of the altars, the friars bed clothes, their "meal, malt, flesh, fish, coals, napery, pewter plates, tin stoups. . . . ", in short, anything they could lay their hands on which they felt might be of some use to them. Similarly, whilst the raid on the Perth Blackfriars in the same year did not witness the iconoclasm of Dundee, economic factors were still prominent, for the friars cooking pot was paraded through the streets by the jubilant crowd, apparently resentful at the friars comfort in what were -as witnessed in chapter 7- hard times for the country as a whole; again however, it could not be said that the crowd exhibited any "rage" against the friars themselves.

Further evidence of a lack of any serious ill feeling towards the friars, may be seen in the treatment meted out to the Dominican and Carmelite houses of Aberdeen in 1560. Again, there is no evidence of violence towards the friars themselves, indeed the town council declared its intention to protect the friars since they had resigned their houses over to its keeping, the council's concern here to prevent any further loss of potential income from the property of the houses concerned, for the laity of Aberdeen and the surrounding environs, were actively stripping them of anything of value, down to the timber, slates and lead from their roofs!

Here however, it might be said that the lower orders of society were merely following the council's example, for the magistrates of Aberdeen had earlier been entrusted -16 June 1559- with

the silver work and moveable wealth of the parish church; few if any of the laity could have failed to have foreseen the inevitable outcome of this decision, its sale to boost council funds on 6 January 1561/2. In the case of the Aberdeen friaries therefore -arguably- the citizens intended to pre-empt similar council action. Having removed the offending trappings of the old religion therefore, and having realised the wealth tied up in its houses, again, indifference to, as opposed to hatred of, the friars may be said to have been the prevailing attitude. Further, that the example of Aberdeen was no mere isolated incident, may be seen in the action taken by the town councils of Edinburgh, Stirling and Peebles, for in Edinburgh, in 1559, the town council took possession of the moveable wealth of the collegiate church of St. Giles on 27 June 1559, and by 1 August 1560 had begun to sell it off, the same approach to the valuables of the old religion employed in both of the other locations listed. [14]

In drawing this thesis to a close therefore, it is fair to say that the views expressed by contemporary observers, regarding the nature and activities of the regular Orders and colleges of fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland, were, by and large accurate. As witnessed in chapter 1, many of the men who controlled the houses of the above servants of the Church did indeed channel their energies into serving the crown, thus the enclosed houses and colleges of the period c. 1450 to 1560 were frequently viewed as a means of establishing personal power within the kingdom as a whole, for as a rule, the higher the rank an individual secured within the Church, the higher the state office he could hope to hold. The possession of multiple abbacies therefore was commonplace by the period in question, and as a result, whilst the offices of abbot and commendator are easy to separate in a technical sense, arguably in the period in question, the frequency with which commendatory positions were awarded had given rise to a situation in which the two had become blurred, the one merged with the other. As a result of this readily identifiable search for power on the part of the higher echelons of the Church, the men responsible for the abbeys, priories and colleges committed to their care, were largely seen to ignore the spiritual demands of the different Rules which governed the lives of a regular community, whilst the heads of colleges obviously must have often flouted the wishes of their founders and later patrons.

Having secured a powerbase within the realm principally through the prohibited acquisition of numerous, equally exclusive spiritual offices and state duties, many of the individuals who form the focus of this thesis thereafter sought additional honours still, that is, promotion to a bishopric, thence hopefully on to an archbishopric, and perhaps even a cardinalate.

Given that such ambition is indicative of a forceful personality, there is little to be wondered at, that such individuals were, as seen in chapter 2, entrusted with some of the key fortifications

within Scotland, and that they held them in the manner of any lay warlord , for, as witnessed in chapter 3, many of these men had a ready willingness to resort to violence to maintain their favoured status in the realm. Ambitious, and with a ready capacity for violence, such men also displayed a level of financial acumen at odds with the nature of the offices they held, for as seen in chapter 4, on achieving promotion to a bishopric, they sought not to renounce the religious houses which they had held hitherto, but to gain still more to meet the costs incurred in securing such a prize.

Thus far, the members of the mendicant Orders remained unsullied, but in turning their attention to a range of other flaws which they saw in the Church, as witnessed in chapter 5, contemporary observers were frequently harsh in their treatment of the friars. In terms of immorality for example, although the weight of actual evidence points to the guilt of the men in charge of the monastic communities of the period, the friars were an easy target for innuendo as they worked in the lay community, and maintained less of a "distance" between themselves and lay society than the other subjects of this thesis; of other such charges levelled at the friars, their cunning and financial sharp practice was also treated as common "knowledge", for like the monks they were seen as ill educated over worldly parasites who duped and fed off the laity.

At this point it should be noted, that whilst all of the faults raised by such authors as Dunbar and Lindsay could be readily identified by the laity, there was nothing really new in what they had to say, for all these failings could be traced back to long before the period in question; moreover, as witnessed in chapter 6, it was entirely possible to mount a credible defence on behalf of the personnel of the regular Orders and colleges, and to suggest as a result, that the attacks mounted by the Protestants on the friaries for example, were more an attempt to undermine the most able opponents of the Reformation, than to rid the nation of some corrupting influence.

Here, it might be suggested that the social conditions which the Scottish nation experienced from the mid fifteenth century to the early sixteenth century, might have lent added weight to such criticisms, yet although -as witnessed in chapter 7- such an argument could be justified to an extent, it in turn gave rise to the question as to how the popularity of the nation's collegiate churches could be explained. The solution therefore, as to why the laity should view hitherto long tolerated faults in the older enclosed and mendicant Orders in an increasingly unfavourable manner, whilst they sought to obtain the services of the colleges in ever greater numbers, lay, arguably, in the changing face of popular piety, primarily in terms of human perceptions of death and punishment in the afterlife. In chapter 8 therefore it emerged that the fear surrounding these areas had reached a point by the period in question, whereby the foremost

concern of laity and religious alike, was to secure as much as they could in the way of favourable intercession for the world to come; in chapter 9 it became obvious that the popularity of the colleges was due to the way in which they directly targeted these fears -primarily those surrounding the doctrine of Purgatory-, and claimed to provide a solution.

This is not to say that laity and religious alike had abandoned earlier means of attempting to tap into the treasury of merit, for the imagery and symbolism which so convinced humanity of the horrors of the life to come, was equally at work to convince them of the power of the saints -and thus their guardians in the houses of the enclosed Orders and those of the colleges-, to intercede between man and God, thereby securing physical -and more importantly- spiritual succour for the faithful. Thus, in chapters 10 and 11 it emerged that the older Orders, both enclosed and mendicant, continued to fulfil a vital role in the process of interceding on behalf of the laity, both by tending the shrines of saints, and -in terms of the work of the mendicants- spreading the fame of these spiritual giants through preaching. All of this vast intercessionary network however, which underpinned the reputation and authority of the regular Orders and colleges within Scotland, as witnessed throughout this thesis, relied for the greater part on myriad forms of audio and visual imagery which transmitted the Church's teachings to all levels of society, regardless of literacy. Of the nature of such imagery, it emerged from chapters 8 to 11, that whilst the laity were informed of the dazzling brilliance and joy of Paradise to come -through a variety of means which ranged from architecture, through music, religious texts, preaching and even the costumes of many pre-Reformation religious-, the ultimate means employed to encourage an acceptable Christian lifestyle, lay in use of fearful images of death and judgement in the life to come.

Arguably therefore, in the period in question, the voices raised in opposition to such imagery, found an increasingly receptive audience drawn from the ranks of the laity, and, as witnessed in the present chapter, from within those of the subjects of this thesis, for by the sixteenth century in Scotland, no one -no matter how pious they were, or how much time effort and money they might have spent in trying to reduce the weight of sin they had accrued in life-could be sure they had done enough to appreciably reduce the level of suffering which awaited them in the realm of Purgatory; moreover, given the complex definition of sin, -as outlined in this chapter in relation to the confessional- both laity and religious alike were aware that it was possible for someone to unwittingly accumulate such a burden of sin, that they incurred damnation. Thus, the Protestant denial of the efficacy of such imagery and the services which depended upon it -especially the Mass- on the grounds that it had no Scriptural basis, removed the myriad means whereby the regular Orders and colleges instructed the laity in the importance of the roles they claimed to play,

primarily, that of being the main intercessionary agents between man and God. The result, the removal of the "mystique" surrounding the lives of the subjects of this thesis, thereby the removal of the need for their existence.

In the final analysis therefore, as witnessed in the Scottish Protestants destruction of Catholic imagery, but their relative indifference towards the actual servants of the old Church themselves, it could be said that the regular Orders were no more sinful in the period ranging from c. 1450 to 1560 than their predecessors had been in previous centuries, and that the colleges - which largely supplanted them in terms of lay affections- had, in the main, satisfied the intentions of their founders and patrons. Both regular Orders and colleges however had depended for their existence on now largely outmoded beliefs, and discredited, widely detested, repressive doctrines; on their removal, they could hardly continue as before. As witnessed in this chapter however, having renounced such beliefs, the Reformers would appear to have experienced little difficulty in allowing men from the regular Orders and colleges to enter the service of the new faith in significant numbers, a situation hardly credible if they had been as wholly flawed, ignorant and corrupt as many of the authors examined thus far had suggested. It was ultimately changes in lay and ecclesiastic religious beliefs therefore, more than the perceived sins of the subjects of this thesis, which led to the demise of the regular Orders and colleges as an active force in the spiritual life of Scotland.

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Appendix A

HENRY ABERCROMBY
Witnessing Charters As The Abbot Of Cambuskenneth.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Linlithgow 3
Stirling 2
Dundee 1

Witnessing Charters As The Abbot Of Cambuskenneth/Royal Treasurer.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 57
Falkland 3
Cupar 2
Kilmarnock (Castle) 1
Durisdeer 1
Ayr 1
Newark 1
Spynie 1
Stirling 13
Linlithgow 2
St. Andrews 1
Ardros 1
Whithorn 1
Dumfries 1
Dingwall 1
Glenarthy 1
Aberdeen 6
Glasgow 2
Methven 1
Dunstaffnage 1
Perth 1
Glenfinglas 1
Jedworth 1

PATRICK PANTER,
Witnessing Charters As The King's Secretary
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 94
Leith 1
Stirling 2
Perth 1
Linlithgow 1

Witnessing Charters As The King's Secretary/Abbot of Cambuskenneth.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 3
Stirling 1

Witnessing Charters As The Parson Of Fetteresso/King's Secretary.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 46
Stirling 5
Corstorphine 1

Witnessing Charters As The Archdeacon Of Moray/King's Secretary.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 9
Stirling 2

Witnessing Charters As The Parson Of Tannades/King's Secretary.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 193
Jedburgh 1
Stirling 9
Leith 1
Linlithgow 2
Tain 1

GEORGE CRICHTON,
Witnessing Charters As The Abbot Of Holyrood.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 70
Arbroath 2
Dumfries 2
Stirling 15
Montrose 2
Cupar 1
Linlithgow 4
Inverness 2
Aberdeen 1

Witnessing Charters As The Abbot Of Holyrood/Keeper Of The Privy Seal.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 57
Linlithgow 2
Glasgow 5
Dumbarton 1
Stirling 2
Newbattle 1

Witnessing Charters As The Bishop Of Dunkeld.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 53
St. Andrews 5
Dundee 1
Cupar 1
Stirling 11
Perth 4
Crag 1
Falkland 10
Cullerny 1
Frendrauch 1

Witnessing Charters As The Bishop Of Dunkeld/Keeper Of The Privy Seal.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 8 Stirling 4

GEORGE HEPBURN.
Witnessing Charters As The Abbot Of Arbroath.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 16 Stirling 1

Witnessing Charters As The Abbot Of Arbroath/Royal Treasurer.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 65 Stirling 27 Falkland 1
St. Andrews 1

DAVID BEATON.
Witnessing Charters As The Abbot Of Arbroath/Keeper Of The Privy Seal.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 36 Stirling 10 Falkland 3
Linlithgow 1 Dundee 1 Peebles 1
Inveraray 1 Perth 1 Crag 1
St. Andrews 1 Largo 1

Witnessing Charters As The Cardinal Of St. Andrews.
SUGGESTED LOCATION CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 1

Witnessing Charters As The Cardinal Of St. Andrews/Royal Chancellor.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 10 Linlithgow 4 Stirling 1
Hamilton 1 Dumbarton 1

GEORGE DURY.
Witnessing Charters As The Abbot Of Dunfermline.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 85 Stirling 36 Glasgow 18
Linlithgow 11 Perth 5 Falkland 4
Aberdeen 3 Ayr 2 Dumbarton 2
Cupar 2 Melrose 2 Glenfinglas 1
Kelso 1 Elgin 1 Lanark 1
Newerk-Finlauston 1 Mingarry Castle,Ardnamurchan 1 Dundee 1
Dunfermline 1 Dunglas 1 Upsedlington 1

JAMES BEATON.
Witnessing Charters As The Abbot Of Dunfermline.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 345 Stirling 21 Linlithgow 7
St. Andrews 5 Falkland 4 Perth 3
Dumbarton 2 Dunfermline 2 Glasgow 1
Dundee 1 Spynie 1 Aberdeen 1
Lochmaben 1 Fortrose Cathedral 1 Jedburgh 1
Paisley 1 Brechin 1

Witnessing Charters As The "Choice" Of The Chapter Of Glasgow/Royal Treasurer.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 27 Stirling 3 Perth 1
Kirkcudbright 1

Witnessing Charters As The Archbishop Of Glasgow.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 5
Stirling 1

Witnessing Charters As The Archbishop Of Glasgow/Royal Treasurer.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 12
Stirling 4
Jedburgh 2
Dunfermline 2
Inverness 1

Witnessing Charters As The Archbishop Of Glasgow/Royal Chancellor.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 46
Glasgow 5
Stirling 2
Linlithgow 1
Perth 1

Witnessing Charters As The Archbishop Of St. Andrews.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 20
Cullerny 1

Witnessing Charters As The Archbishop Of St. Andrews/Royal Chancellor.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 12
Dumbarton 1
Stirling 1

GEORGE SHAW.
Witnessing Charters As The Abbot Of Paisley/Royal Treasurer.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 78
Stirling 33
Glasgow 16
Linlithgow 5
Falkland 4
Perth 4
Dumbarton 2
Melrose 2
Cupar 2
Kelso 1
Elgin 1
Lanark 1
Ayr 1
Mingarry Castle,Ardnamurchan. 1
Newark-Finlayston 1
Dundee 1
Dunfermline 1
Hume 1
Dunglas 1
Upsedlington 1

ROBERT SHAW.
Witnessing Charters As The Abbot Of Paisley.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 37
Stirling 2
Glasgow 2
Linlithgow 1

JOHN HAMILTON.
Witnessing Charters As The Abbot Of Paisley/Keeper Of The Privy Seal.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 1

Witnessing Charters As The Abbot Of Paisley/Royal Treasurer.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 7
Linlithgow 4
Hamilton 1
Dumbarton 1

Witnessing Charters As The Abbot Of Paisley/Royal Treasurer/Keeper Of The Privy Seal.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 3
Stirling 2

Witnessing Charters As The Bishop Of Dunkeld/Royal Treasurer.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 15

Witnessing Charters As The Archbishop Of St. Andrews/Royal Treasurer,
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 26
Glasgow 1
Hamilton 1
Irvine 1
Linlithgow 6
St. Andrews 1
Inverness 1
Perth 2
Haddington 1
Banff 1

Witnessing Charters As The Archbishop Of St. Andrews.
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 56
Aberdeen 1
Stirling 4
Holyroodhouse 1
Inverness 2
Paris 1

ANDREW HUNTER,
Witnessing Charters As The Abbot Of Melrose/Royal Treasurer/Confessor To James II,
SUGGESTED LOCATIONS CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 60
Linlithgow 6
Lanark 1
Stirling 10
Methven 4
Falkland 8
Perth 2

Appendix B

GAVIN DUNBAR,
Witnessing Charters As The "Postulatus Glasguen",
LOCATION CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 14
Linlithgow 1

Witnessing Charters As The Archbishop Of Glasgow.
LOCATION CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 26
Stirling 1
Newbattle 1
Cullerny 1

Witnessing Charters As The Archbishop Of Glasgow/Chancellor.
LOCATION CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 73
Stirling 21
Falkland 13
St. Andrews 6
Linlithgow 4
Perth 4
Dundee 1
Inveraray 1
Peebles 1
Crag 1
Frendrauch 1
Largo 1
Coupar 1
Glamis 1
Fawlay 1

JOHN HEPBURN,
Witnessing Charters As The Prior Of St. Andrews.
LOCATION CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 20
Stirling 7
Linlithgow 3
St. Andrews 1

Witnessing Charters As The Prior Of St. Andrews/Keeper Of The Privy Seal.
LOCATION CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 191
Linlithgow 46
Stirling 16
Perth 13
St. Andrews 4
Duchell 3
Dumbarton 3
Dundee 3
Falkland 2
Peebles 2
Wigton 1
Ayr 1
Dunglas 1
Halis 1
Arbroath 1
Coupar 1
Innes 1

Witnessing Charters As The Prior And Vicar General Of St. Andrews.
LOCATION CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 12
Stirling 4
Linlithgow 3
Dumfries 2
Aberdeen 1

GAVIN DUNBAR,
Witnessing Charters As The Archdeacon Of St. Andrews/Clerk Of The Rolls, Register And Council.
LOCATION CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 38
Stirling 1
Linlithgow 1
Perth 1

Witnessing Charters As The Bishop Of Aberdeen/Clerk Of The Rolls, Register, And Council.
LOCATION CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 64
Stirling 6
Linlithgow 1
Dumbarton 1
Newbattle 1
Cullerny 1
Dundee 1

PATRICK HEPBURN,
Witnessing Charters As The Prior Of St. Andrews.
LOCATION CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

Edinburgh 75
Stirling 16
Falkland 7
Linlithgow 2
Cullerny 1
Dundee 1
Inverness 1
Peebles 1
Perth 1
Crag 1
Frendrauch 1
St. Andrews 1
Largo 1
Cupar 1

ALEXANDER STEWART,

Witnessing Charters As The Archbishop Of St. Andrews.

LOCATION CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF APPEARANCES

- Edinburgh 362
- Leith 2
- Tain 1
- Stirling 18
- Corstorphine 1
- Linlithgow 3
- Jedburgh 1

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